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SUR LE SENS DU MOT עַיִן EN EZ. i 18 ET x 12

PAR

PAUL AUVRAY

Montsoult (S. et O.)

Dans la description de ce qu'on nomme assez improprement le „char de Yahvé", au ch. i d'Ezéchiel, on lit:

וְגַבֹּתָם מְלֵאֹת עֵינַיִם סָבִיב לְאַרְבַּעְתָּן

„*et leurs jantes* (*des roues*) *étaient pleines d'yeux, tout autour, à elles quatre*" (i 18).

Tandisqu'au ch. x on retrouve à peu près la même formule, appliquée cette fois aux animaux et aux roues, du moins à première vue:

וְכָל־בְּשָׂרָם וְגַבֵּהֶם וִידֵיהֶם וְכַנְפֵיהֶם וְהָאוֹפַנִּים מְלֵאִים

עֵינַיִם סָבִיב לְאַרְבַּעְתָּם

„*et tout leur corps et leur dos, et leurs mains, et leurs ailes et les roues étaient pleins d'yeux tout autour, à eux quatre*" (x 12).

Il ne semble pas que ces yeux mystérieux aient surpris les premiers lecteurs. Les anciennes versions (LXX, syr., vulg.) traduisent littéralement „pleins d'yeux" sans apparemment se poser de problème. On en peut dire autant de l'Apocalypse qui s'inspire manifestement de ces textes: τέσσερα ζῷα γέμοντα ὀφθαλμῶν ἔμπροσθεν καὶ ὄπισθεν iv 6. 8. Mais on notera qu'il ne s'agit, ici, que d'animaux, non de roues.

Beaucoup de commentateurs ont suivi la même voie, se contentant de la traduction obvie. Tout au plus ajoutent-ils un commentaire pour faire remarquer que les *yeux* ainsi multipliés sont le symbole de la vie, de l'intelligence, voire de l'omniscience divines [1]). D'autres apportent des analogies tirées de l'art et des religions des autres peuples, Egyptiens, Perses, Indiens, Grecs [2]), et mentionnent même

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[1]) Par exemple, Cooke („*Ezechiel*", *ICC*, 1936) qui, après avoir cité Apoc. iv 8, renvoie à Dante, *Purg.* XXIX, 94, et à Milton, *Parad. lost*, XI, 129 s.

[2]) Ad. Jacoby, Zur Erklärung der Cherube, dans *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* XXII (1923), p. 257-265.

en confirmation une petite statuette égyptienne du dieu Bès[1]).

Tout cela n'est pas sans intérêt, mais se heurte à une grave objection. Les motifs symboliques apportés, les analogies mises en avant seraient frappants et convaincants s'il était question, dans les textes étudiés, de la figure de Yahvé, constellée d'yeux. On comprendrait parfaitement qu'il s'agisse, comme sans doute dans le cas de la statuette de Bès, de rendre plastiquement un attribut divin. Mais l'explication paraît plus laborieuse lorsqu'elle s'applique aux animaux mystérieux qui portent le char. Elle devient tout à fait invraisemblable en ce qui concerne des objets matériels comme les jantes des roues.

Or une étude textuelle un peu attentive fait apparaître que ce qui est premier, dans le texte, — et probablement seul authentique — ce sont les roues. On a remarqué, en effet, que en x 12 le texte de la LXX n'est pas exactement identique au TM:

TM	LXX
et tout leur corps	
et leur dos (גִּבֵּהֶם)	et leurs jantes (ou leur *dos*)
et leurs mains	et leurs mains
et leurs ailes	et leurs ailes
et les roues ...	et les roues ...

Or il apparaît au premier coup d'oeil que „et leur dos" du TM est étrange, surtout après la mention de „tout leur corps", qui manque dans le grec. D'autre part, la comparaison avec la LXX suggère que la leçon de l'hébreu „et leur dos" (גִּבֵּהֶם, grec: νῶτοι) pourrait bien être une transcription erronée de „et leurs jantes" (גַּבֹּתָם, grec: νῶτοι) que l'on trouve en effet en i 18. Enfin il est frappant que les deux versets précédents parlent des roues, non des chérubins. Bref tout suggère que nous avons là une faute de texte. Primitivement il n'était question comme en i 18 que des roues dont les *jantes* étaient pleines d'yeux. Les autres éléments (corps, mains, ailes) sont des amplifications rédactionnelles. C'est la conclusion à laquelle arrivent beaucoup de bons auteurs. [2])

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[1]) La statuette est de bronze et mesure 13 cm.; elle a quatre bras, quatre ailes, quatre têtes d'animaux de chaque côté de sa tête humaine. Tout son corps et ses membres (pas ses ailes!) sont constellés d'yeux. Elle provient du Serapeum de Memphis et paraît assez récente. Elle est mentionnée par Cooke (*comm.* de x 12). Cf. H. Gressmann, *Altorientalische Bilder zum A.T.*, fig. 567.

[2]) Ainsi, par ex. Herrmann, Bertholet (cf. Coppens, cité infra). Torrey arrive à la même conclusion par une autre voie plus ingénieuse: ayant supprimé

Mais alors les yeux deviennent de plus en plus gênants, puisque les analogies apportées pour les rendre intelligibles perdent toute leur valeur. Dénués de sens symbolique ils ne sont plus qu'un vague motif d'ornementation [1]). C'est peu, et le rapprochement de la queue du paon ne contribue guère à rendre cette explication vraisemblable.

M. le Chanoine COPPENS a proposé jadis une solution différente. [2]). Elle consiste à corriger le texte et à lire, au lieu de עינים „yeux", le mot ענן ou הענן „nuage". On notera que l'auteur ne s'occupe que de Ez. i 18 ou plutôt qu'il corrige x 12 avec „la presque totalité des commentateurs" pour n'y lire que la mention des roues. D'après lui „le sens auquel on aboutit est parfait. Les roues supportantes le chariot se trouvaient engagées dans le nuage sans doute à peu près comme nous voyons représentés dans nos églises le Christ, la Vierge et les Anges, montants au ciel et en descendants, portés par les nuées" (p. 262).

A vrai dire, en dépit des explications de l'auteur, la solution ne paraît pas de tout point satisfaisante. Non pas seulement parce qu'elle impose au texte une correction arbitraire [3]), mais surtout parce qu'elle ne s'adapte pas parfaitement au contexte. Que l'on essaie de relire tout le passage en remplaçant עינים par ענן et l'on se rendra compte tout de suite que toutes les difficultés ne sont pas résolues. C'est qu'au ch. i il n'a plus été question de nuée depuis le v. 4 où est mentionnée une nuée venant du nord qui s'ouvre et laisse apparaître le char de Yahvé; mais ensuite cette nuée disparaît et le mouvement du char, soulevé par les ailes des chérubins, montre

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comme dittographie le second לֹא יִסַּבּוּ בְלֶכְתָּם (v. 11), il rattache les trois mots difficiles, dos, mains, ailes, à ce qui précède, puis il commence une phrase: „Et les roues étaient . . ." („Notes on Ezechiel", dans le *J.B.L.*, LVIII (1939), p. 69-86, particulièrement p. 71-73). Saint Jérôme adoptait une solution analogue tout en maintenant la mention du corps, du dos, des mains, des ailes, mais en les rapportant aux roues. SPADAFORA, toujours réservé, avoue que la divergence entre les deux descriptions (i 18 et x 12) le laisse perplexe.

[1]) C'est l'idée de M. SPADAFORA qui rappelle à leur sujet la queue du paon, et ajoute: „de couleur très vive, ils s'adaptent à merveille à la couleur dorée (?) des roues". Solution étrange chez un auteur qui n'a pas eu le courage de supprimer les yeux chez les chérubins!

[2]) „Notes philologiques sur le texte hébreu de l'A.T. III, Deux passages obscurs du livre d'Ezéchiel, I, 25 et I, 18", dans *Le Muséon*, XLVII (1934) p. 259-263. Cf. encore *Biblica*, 25 (1944), p. 38, note 3.

[3]) Il est piquant de noter que M. COPPENS, dans *Biblica*, rappelle cette solution intéressante pour illustrer le paragraphe où il conseille de s'en tenir au texte reçu sans le corriger („te totum applica textui")!

bien qu'il n'est pas porté par les nuages. Quant au ch. x, la seule nuée dont il est question (x 3) c'est la gloire de Yahvé (x 4) qui, loin de soulever le char, s'élève au-dessus des chérubins et emplit la maison. Bref, nulle part il n'est vraisemblable que la nuée ait porté le char, encore moins qu'elle ait „empli" les roues. Aussi la correction, que ne favorise aucun argument interne de critique textuelle, ne peut-elle s'imposer. C'est ailleurs qu'il faut chercher la solution de ce problème.

N'est-ce pas l'occasion de se rappeler deux principes élémentaires, mais souvent oubliés, de critique textuelle: 1° Conserver, autant que possible, le texte donné par les témoins. 2° expliquer un auteur par lui-même. C'est dire qu'il convient, tant que son interprétation n'est pas désespérée, de conserver le mot עינים, et de scruter attentivement le texte d'Ezéchiel pour préciser les sens qu'il donne au mot עין.

Il est clair, en effet, qu'à côté de son sens propre, *oeil* [1]), le mot עין est susceptible d'une ou de plusieurs significations figurées. C'est ainsi qu'il désigne parfois *la surface* (Ex. x 5), ou *l'apparence* (Nb. xi 7; cf. Lev. xiii 5. 37. 55 (corr.); 1 Sam. xvi 7), ou encore *l'aspect brillant, l'éclat*. Or cette utilisation précise du mot עין, représentée 9 fois, au dire des dictionnaires [2]), se rencontre 7 fois dans Ezéchiel [3]). Elle sert à décrire par comparaison (toujours: כְּעֵין) un objet brillant aperçu par le prophète. C'est le firmament qui a *comme l'éclat du cristal* (i 22); ce sont les roues qui ont *comme l'éclat de la pierre de Tarsis* (i 16; x 9); ce sont les sabots des Kerubs qui ont *comme l'éclat de l'airain poli* (i 7; cf. Dan. x 6); c'est enfin cette sorte de lueur indéfinie qui fait le centre de la vision, qui marque l'apparition de Yahvé lui-même, et qui a *comme l'éclat du vermeil* (i 4. 27; viii 2). Il n'est pas toujours aisé de préciser la nature de ces termes de comparaison, et les mots *airain poli*, *vermeil* ne sont peut-être pas tout à fait exacts, mais ce qui est certain c'est qu'il s'agit toujours d'objets brillants.

Bien plus, une étude attentive du style du prophète permet de noter qu'ayant plusieurs mots à sa disposition pour signifier „apparence", „ressemblance" (דמות, מראה) il choisit régulièrement עין chaque fois qu'il veut marquer l'aspect brillant d'une chose. C'est donc bien que pour lui עין signifie non pas simplement „apparence" comme dans

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[1]) Inutile de mentionner le sens de *source* qui, quelle que soit son origine, constitue un autre mot, avec un pluriel différent (עינות).

[2]) Brown-Driver-Briggs: 4c, gleam, sparkle (of metal, jewels etc.) Ez. i 4. 7. 16. 22. 27; viii 2; x 9; Dan. x 6; of wine, Pr. xxiii 31.

[3]) Encore Dan. x 6 est-il dépendant d'Ezéchiel.

d'autres livres bibliques [1]) mais plus précisément „apparence brillante", „éclat".

Dès lors, on se demande si ce même mot, עין, ne peut pas être employé absolument, sans que soit exprimé un terme de comparaison. On a, semble-t-il, au moins une attestation d'un tel usage dans le texte de Prov. xxiii 31: „Ne regarde pas le vin: comme il est vermeil, comme, dans la coupe, il donne son éclat (עֵינוֹ)". [2]) N'aurait-on pas un exemple analogue dans ces *yeux* dont sont constellées les roues du char? Après avoir déclaré que les roues ont *l'oeil de la pierre de Tarsis*, lorsqu'il dit que les roues sont pleines d'yeux, le prophète ne voudrait-il pas décrire tout simplement les reflets brillants qu'elles émettent?

L'emploi du pluriel [3]) (עינים) ne paraît pas constituer une objection. Au contraire c'est justement la forme que l'on attend pour marquer une sorte de pluriel de composition, analogue à מים, *eau*, דמים, *sang*, ou encore חטים, *blé*, etc. où le pluriel répond à la multitude de

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[1]) Et comme le voudraient plusieurs dictionnaires: GESENIUS-BUHL [14], ZORELL, KÖHLER-BAUMGARTNER.

[2]) Il est vrai que l'expression יִתֵּן עֵינוֹ est traduite de deux manières différentes. En face de la majorité des auteurs qui adoptent la traduction que nous avons proposée, quelques autres (par ex. SEGOND, DUESBERG, HAMP) traduisent: „comme il pétille", voyant dans ces *yeux* une allusion aux perles, aux bulles qui montent à la surface du liquide. HAMP mentionne même l'accadien *înu* qui aurait le même sens. Mais cette traduction présente plusieurs difficultés. Que les Israélites aient connu et apprécié le vin mousseux, c'est déjà improbable. Mais il serait encore plus étrange qu'ils aient comparé à des yeux ces minuscules perles gazeuses qui s'échappent du vin. D'autant que, dans ce cas, plutôt qu'un „collectif" injustifiable, on attendrait un pluriel pour marquer l'abondance, la mobilité de ces „perles". Quant aux arguments tirés de l'accadien (P. DHORME, „L'Emploi métaphorique ..." *R.B.* 1921, p. 528; cf. Fr. DELITZSCH, *Assyr. Handwörterbuch*), la forme *êni alpi* „oeil de boeuf", paraît faire allusion au bouillonnement violent qui se produit dans la cuve à l'époque de la fermentation: c'est donc un autre phénomène. L'expression *înu ša šikara* „l'oeil de la boisson fermentée", pose le même problème que notre texte des Proverbes, elle ne le résoud pas. Il est peu probable que cet *oeil*, toujours au singulier, désigne le pétillement. Tout compte fait, il paraît plus raisonnable d'adopter la traduction commune en faveur de laquelle témoignent les versions, non la LXX qui, à supposer qu'elle ait lu notre texte, ne l'a pas compris („si tu tournes les yeux vers le vin...") mais la syriaque („n'arrête pas ton oeil sur le vin, dont *l'oeil* rutile dans la coupe") et le latin („ne intueris in vinum, quando flavescit, cum *splenduerit* in vitro *color* ejus"), deux traductions qui, pour être une conflation du TM et de la LXX n'en témoignent pas moins du sens de l'hébreu que nous préconisons.

[3]) Plus exactement, du duel, mais on sait que pour les objets allant habituellement par paires, la forme du duel a généralement supplanté celle du pluriel, même pour indiquer un véritable pluriel. On a en Zach. iii 9 le duel, עֵינַיִם, pour désigner sept yeux.

gouttes d'eau ou de sang, de grains de blé, etc. Ainsi עינים désignerait une multitude de reflets, un scintillement.

Ce n'est là qu'une hypothèse soumise au jugement du lecteur. Qu'il soit permis, pour finir, de souligner qu'un tel sens répond assez bien au contexte. Dans cette vision, toute de lumière, de couleur, de reflets, quoi d'étonnant si les roues, qui sont semblables au chrysolithe, scintillent de lumière? Quoi d'étonnant, même, pour qui se refuse à corriger le texte de x 12, si les corps des animaux, entourés de charbons ardents et d'éclairs, émettent, eux aussi, lorsqu'ils meuvent leurs ailes, de multiples reflets?

ZUM ANGEBLICHEN GEBRAUCH VON את VOR DEM NOMINATIV

VON

JOSUA BLAU

Jerusalem

Unter den Hebraisten herrscht die Meinung, dass את nicht nur Zeichen des determinierten Akkusativs ist, sondern manchmal auch das Subjekt hervorhebt; so GESENIUS-BUHL [1]), GESENIUS-KAUTZSCH § 117m, JOÜON § 125 j. KROPAT, Die Syntax des Autors der Chronik, *ZATW Beihefte*, XVI, geht soweit zu behaupten, dass *'et* selbst beim Passiv zur Bezeichnung des *Subjektes* dient (vergleiche weiter § 6). Dieser Ansicht widersetzte sich ALBRECHT und behauptete, *'et* führe niemals das Subjekt ein; um diese seine Meinung zu begründen, emendierte er jedoch *'et* in allen Fällen, in denen es auf das Subjekt hinzuweisen schien (und das war keine all zu schwere Aufgabe bei einem so kurzen Wort wie *'et*). Die Unrichtigkeit dieser Methode ist jedoch schon dadurch erwiesen, dass sie ALBRECHT dazu brachte, selbst den Subjektakkusativ beim Passiv zu leugnen, obwohl dieser eine allgemeinsemitische Erscheinung ist, siehe die Antwort C. BROCKELMANNS, *ZATW*, N. F. VIII, Seite 147, und weiter § 6.

Ich glaube nun beweisen zu können, dass *'et* niemals den Nominativ hervorhebt; in den allermeisten Fällen, in denen man glaubte, *'et* hebe das Subjekt hervor, wurde das grammatische Subjekt als im Akkusativ stehend empfunden [2]). Die übrigen Beispiele [3]) genügen nicht, um die Theorie des nominativischen *'et* zu begründen. —

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[1]) Abkürzungen: (K.) ALBRECHT („*'et* vor dem Nominativ und beim Passiv", *ZATW*, N.F. VI, Seite 274ff.). GESENIUS-BUHL (*Handwörterbuch* [17], Leipzig 1921); falls kein näheres Zitat angegeben ist, ist Artikel *'et* 12 gemeint. GESENIUS-KAUTZSCH (*Hebräische Grammatik* [28], Leipzig 1909). (W.) HAVERS (*Handbuch der erklärenden Syntax*, Heidelberg 1931). (P.) JOÜON (*Grammaire de l'Hébreu Biblique* [2], Rom. 1947). (C. BROCKELMANN,) *Grundriss (der vergleichenden Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen* II, Berlin 1913).

[2]) Ähnlich schon H. EWALD, *Ausführliches Lehrbuch der Hebräischen Sprache* [8], Göttingen 1870, Seite 692, Anm. 3.

[3]) Das einzige Beispiel bleibt eigentlich Hes. xliv 3.

Nebenbei werden einige besondere Konstruktionen von *'et* aufgezeigt werden wie seine Verwendung vor dem grammatischen Subjekt von *haya l*ᵉ; *w*ᵉ*'et*, das vielleicht dem arabischen *wa'iyyā* entspricht; Kontamination des persönlichen und unpersönlichen Passivs und so weiter.

§ 1. Das Subjekt eines Satzes, der einen vorangehenden Satz näher erläutert [1]), mag sich zum Prädikat dieses wie ein Objekt verhalten. Falls nun dieses Subjekt vorausgestellt ist, das heisst sich unmittelbar dem ersten Satz anschliesst und daher besonders seinem Einfluss ausgesetzt ist, mag es in ihn einbezogen, dadurch als Objekt empfunden und mit der nota accusativi *'et* versehen werden [2]): Hes. xxix 4 ונתתי חחיים בלחייך והדבקתי דגת־יאריך בקשקשתיך והעליתיך מתוך יאריך ואת כל־דגת יאריך בקשקשתיך תדבק: Und ich lege Haken in deine Kinnbacken und hefte die Fische deiner Flüsse an deine Schuppen und ziehe dich herauf aus deinen Flüssen und alle Fische deiner Flüsse werden an deinen Schuppen haften. Kontamination zwischen *w*ᵉ*kol*...*tidbaq* „und alle ... werden haften" und *w*ᵉ*'et kol* ...*'adbīq* „und alle ... werde ich heften", begünstigt insbesondere dadurch, dass in beiden Sätzen dasselbe Verbum erscheint, wenn auch in anderen Stammformen [3]).

Neh. ix 19 [4]) — ואתה ברחמיך הרבים לא עזבתם במדבר את־עמוד הענן לא־סר מעליהם ביומם להנחותם בהדרך ואת־עמוד האש בלילה [5])...: Und du in deiner grossen Barmherzigkeit verliessest sie nicht in der Wüste, die Wolkensäule wich nicht von ihnen am Tage, sie zu führen am Wege, und die Feuersäule in der Nacht. Kontamination zwischen *'ammūd he'anan lō sār me'alēhem* „die Wolkensäule wich nicht von ihnen" und *'et 'ammūd he'anan lō hesarta me'alēhem* „du liessest die Wolkensäule nicht von ihnen weichen".

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[1]) Nur 2 Kön. vi 5 setzt der zweite Satz den ersten fort; Hes. xx 16 ist der zweite Satz dem ersten parallel.

[2]) Über solche Kasusattraktionen — siehe HAVERS Seite 72, insbesondere das besonders einleuchtende Beispiel aus Terentius, obwohl das attrahierte Wort dort nicht vorausgestellt ist — vergleiche § 2. Es ist natürlich abwegig, in diesen Fällen von Isolierung des *natürlichen* Subjektes zu sprechen, denn die mit *'et* eingeleiteten Nomina sind *grammatische* Subjekte, die in den vorausgehenden Satz einbezogen wurden. Cp. H. RECKENDORF, *Arabische Syntax*, 1921, S. 541.

[3]) Auch 2 Kön. vi 5 und Dan. ix 13 erscheint dasselbe Verbum im 1. Satz im Qal, im 2. in Hifʿil.

[4]) Im Gegensatz zu GESENIUS-KAUTZSCH § 117 m, GESENIUS-BUHL; vergleiche ALBRECHT, der auch Einfluss von Num. xii 10 annimmt.

[5]) *'ammūd-ha'eš* steht als paralleles Glied zu *'ammūd he'anan* selbst mitten im 2. Satz im Akkusativ.

Hierher gehören auch 2 Kön. vi 5 [1]), Hes. xvii 21 [2]), Hes. xx 16 [3]), Jer. xlv 4 [4]), Dan. ix 13 [5]).

§ 2. Das Subjekt mag selbst dann als Akkusativobjekt in einen voranstehenden Satz einbezogen werden, wenn es von ihm durch den Einschub eines anderen Satzes getrennt ist. Insbesondere geschieht dies, wenn das Subjekt bereits im ersten Satz als Akkusativobjekt vorkommt [6]): Neh. ix 34 [7]) 32: אל ימעט לפניך את כל־התלאה אשר־מצאתנו למלכינו לשרינו ולכהנינו ולנביאנו ולאבתינו ולכל עמך מימי מלכי אשור עד היום הזה. 33: ואתה צדיק על כל־הבא עלינו כי־אמת עשית ואנחנו הרשענו. 34: ואת־מלכינו שרינו כהנינו ואבתינו לא עשו תורתך ולא הקשיבו אל מצותיך ולעדותיך... 32: Nicht sei gering vor dir alles Ungemach, das uns betroffen, unsere Könige, unsere Fürsten und unsere Priester und unsere Propheten und unsere Väter und dein ganzes Volk seit den Tagen der Könige Assyriens bis zum heutigen Tag. 33: Doch du bist gerecht bei allem, was über uns gekommen, denn du hast nach der Wahrheit gehandelt, wir aber haben gefrevelt. 34: Und unsere Könige, unsere Fürsten, unsere Priester und unsere Väter haben deine Lehre nicht ausgeführt und nicht gemerkt auf deine Gebote und deine Zeugnisse. Der Ausdruck *mᵉlaḵēnū śarēnū* etc., der Vers 32 als direktes Objekt durch *lᵉ* dem

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[1]) Es ist unwahrscheinlich, mit GESENIUS-BUHL (sub verbo *ʾet* III) *ʾet* als Substantivum aufzufassen und gar auf Grund dieses Verses für *ʾet* III die Bedeutung „Beilblatt" statt „Pflugschar" zu beweisen. Auch der Vorschlag von GESENIUS-KAUTZSCH § 117m, *hippīl* statt *nafal* zu lesen, wie auch der im Wörterbuch von KÖHLER-BAUMGARTNER (sub. verbo *ʾet* III), *ʾet* zu streichen, werden damit überflüssig.

[2]) In diesen zwei Versen (2 Kön. vi 5, Hes. xvii 21) wurde das Subjekt von *nafal* als Objekt empfunden, vergleiche S. 10 Anm. 4.

[3]) Die Störung in der Rektion von *maʾas* (במשפטי מאסו ואת־חקותי), das sich sowohl mit dem Akkusativ wie auch mit der Präposition *bᵉ* verbindet (siehe GESENIUS-BUHL sub verbo) erklärt sich wohl durch den Einfluss des nachfolgenden ואת־שבתותי חללו, vergleiche KÖNIG, *Lehrgebäude*, III, § 270e, und vielleicht durch den Willen, dreifache Wiederholung des *bᵉ* zu vermeiden (יען במשפטי מאסו ובחקותי לא־הלכו בהם). Unser Vers mag ferner von Lev. xxvi 15 beeinflusst sein: ואם־בחקתי תמאסו ואם את־משפטי תגעל נפשכם.

[4]) Vergleiche jedoch § 7.

[5]) Im Gegensatz zu GESENIUS-KAUTZSCH § 117m; für GESENIUS-BUHL dient unser Vers als Hauptstütze für die Theorie des „isolierenden" *ʾet*. ALBRECHT liest baʾá (ultimabetont), das heisst Particip als Attribut zu *ʾet kol-haraʿa*. Vergleiche KÖNIG, *Lehrgebäude* III, Seite 221, Anmerkung 2.

[6]) Vergleiche K. REUSCHEL bei HAVERS Seite 74 über die Wiederholung eines Nomens im selben Kasus, in dem es vorher verwendet wurde.

[7]) Im Gegensatz zu GESENIUS-BUHL, GESENIUS-KAUTZSCH § 117m, JOÜON § 125 j3. ALBRECHT emendiert *ʾet*.

Verb *mᵉṣaʾatnū* untergeordnet ist, kehrt fast wörtlich Vers 34 wieder, und obwohl er diesmal Subjekt zu *lō ʿaśū* ist, wird er durch den Einfluss des ersten Satzes als direktes Objekt empfunden und daher durch *ʾet* eingeleitet.

Hierher gehört scheinbar[1]) auch Ri. xx 44; 46 כתרו את־בנימין 43: הרדיפהו מנוחה הדריכהו עד נכח הגבעה ממזרח שמש. 44: ויפלו מבנימין שמנה־עשר אלף איש את־כל־אלה אנשי חיל. 45: ויפנו וינסו המדברה אל־סלע הרמן ויעללהו במסלות חמשת אלפים איש וידביקו אחריו עד גדעם ויכו ממנו אלפים איש. 46: ויהי כל־הנפלים מבנימין עשרים וחמשה אלף איש שלף חרב ביום ההוא את־כל־אלה אנשי חיל· 43: Sie umzingelten Benjamin, jagten ihn bis Mᵉnūḥa, trieben ihn bis Gibʿa gegenüber, gegen Sonnenaufgang. 44: Und es fielen von Benjamin 18000 Mann, all diese streitbare Männer. 45: Und sie wandten sich und flohen in die Wüste nach Sela Rimmon, und sie hielten Nachlese an ihm auf den Strassen, 5000 Mann, und setzten ihm nach bis nach Gidʿom und schlugen von ihm 2000 Mann. 46: Und es waren all die Gefallenen von Benjamin an jenem Tag 25000 Mann, schwertzückende, all diese streitbare Männer. In Vers 43, 45 ist Israel das Subjekt, Benjamin das Objekt. Es scheint, dass durch den Einfluss dieser Verse, obwohl in beiden Fällen ein Satz eingeschoben ist (44a, 46a)[2]), in denen die Gefallenen Benjamins Subjekt sind, *kol ʾelle* als Objekt empfunden wurde, dies umsomehr, da vielleicht auch 44a, 46a *wayyipplū* und *kol-hannōfᵉlīm* im Sinne von *wayyakkū mibbinyamīn* oder *wayyašḥītū mibbinyamīn*[3]), das heisst als eine Art Passiv empfunden wurden, dessen Subjekt, siehe § 6, manchmal als Objekt gefühlt wird[4]).

§ 3. Wie bekannt — siehe *Grundriss*, Seite 586, Joüon § 158m — werden Relativsätze manchmal jener Präposition untergeordnet, die eigentlich mit Pronominalsuffix als rückweisendes Pronomen im

[1]) Im Gegensatz zu Gesenius-Buhl, Gesenius-Kautzsch § 117 m, Joüon § 125 j3.

[2]) Vergleiche die schon S. 8 Anmerkung 2 zitierte Terentiusstelle bei Havers (wo zwar kein ganzer Satz, sondern nur einzelne Worte vor dem Akkusativ-Subjekt stehen) und auch § 1 Hes. xvii 21, Dan. ix 13, wo zwar nur je ein kurzer, auch dem Sinne nach untergeordneter Nebensatz eingeschoben ist.

[3]) *Wayyakku* findet sich wirklich Vers 45; vergleiche insbesondere den parallelen Vers 35: וישחיתו בני ישראל בבנימין ביום ההוא עשרים וחמשה אלף ומאה איש כל(!)־אלה שלף חרב (das heisst gerade in diesem Fall fehlt die nota accusativi, was noch nicht bedeuten muss, dass keine Attraktion stattfand).

[4]) Es ist bemerkenswert, dass wir schon § 1 zwei Fälle von akkusativischen Subjekt bei *nafal* fanden. Vielleicht wurde auch in diesen Fällen *nafal* als eine Art Passiv empfunden, wie auch — siehe Gesenius-Buhl sub verbo *ḥanaf* — Jer. iii 9 והיה מקל זנותה ותחנף את הארץ (statt החנפה את הארץ), vergleiche S. 14, Anmerkung 2.

Relativsatz hätte stehen sollen. So finden wir auch *et ʾᵃšer*[1]) in Fällen, in denen wir *ʾet* mit Pronominalsuffix im Relativsatz erwartet hätten. *Grundriss* und Joüon, *loc. cit.*, zitieren Num. xxii 6 כי ידעתי את אשר־ . . . תברך מברך[2]): Denn ich weiss, *wen* du segnest, ist gesegnet, anstatt אשר תברך אותו מברך. Hierher gehört auch Hes. xiv 22[3]) ונחמתם . . . על־הרעה אשר הבאתי על־ירושלם את כל־אשר הבאתי עליה (anstatt: על כל־אשר הבאתי אותו עליה)[4]): Ihr werdet euch trösten über das Unglück, das ich über Jerusalem gebracht, über alles, was ich über sie gebracht habe.

Vielleicht gehört hierher auch der schwere Vers Sach xii 10 את אשר־דקרו וספדו עליו falls = על אשר דקרו אותו וספדו עליו Den sie erstochen haben, um ihn werden sie jammern.

§ 4. Nachdem das im Semitischen ursprünglich zum Hauptsatz gehörige Relativpronomen auf diese Weise in den Relativsatz einbezogen wurde, wird nun manchmal das Beziehungswort an den Kasus des unmittelbar folgenden Relativums angeglichen (attractio inversa[5])); wenn nun das Relativum als direktes Objekt des Verbums des Relativsatzes empfunden wurde, wurde das Beziehungswort an seinen Kasus angeglichen und erhielt die nota accusativi *ʾet*:

Ex. i 14[6]) — וימררו את־חייהם בעבדה קשה בחמר ובלבנים ובכל־עבדה בשדה את כל־עבדתם אשר עבדו בהם בפרך anstatt ובכל עבדה בשדה בכל עבדתם אשר עבדו אותה בהם בפרך . . . : Und verbitterten ihnen das Leben durch harte Arbeit in Lehm und in Ziegeln und in allerlei Arbeit auf dem Felde, in all ihrer Arbeit, zu der sie sie mit Härte anhielten. Nach § 3 wurde *ʾᵃšer*, da es *ʾōtah* vertritt, als Akkusativus empfunden, dann wurde ihm das Beziehungswort *kol-ʿabōdatam* im Kasus angeglichen und daher mit *ʾet* eingeleitet.

So auch Num. xxxv 6 (zweimal: *wᵉʾet heʿarīm* und *ʾet šeš ʿarē ham-*

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[1]) Vielleicht entwickelte sich aus diesem *ʾet ʾᵃšer* der so häufige Gebrauch von nominativischem *ʾet še* im Mittelhebräischen (Mischnischen). Ausgehend von Fällen, in denen *ʾet še* vom Verbum des Relativsatzes regiert war, mag es sich auch auf andere Fälle verbreitet haben, vergleiche insbesondere S. 17, Anmerkung 8.

[2]) Vergleiche Albrecht; doch mag der Vers auch zu § 6 gehören oder Einfluss von *yadaʿtī* vorliegen.

[3]) Im Gegensatz zu Joüon § 125 j5, König *op. cit.* § 270b, Albrecht.

[4]) Es ist auch Beeinflussung durch das voranstehende *hebēti* anzunehmen.

[5]) Vergleiche *Grundriss* Seite 585, Anm. 3, Gesenius-Kautzsch § 117 1, für das Äthiopische *Grundriss* Seite 584, für das Griechische und Lateinische zum Beispiel Goodwin, *Greek Grammar* (London 1946) § 1035 und insbesondere Havers Seite 76/77.

[6]) Im Gegensatz zu Joüon § 125 j1.

miqlaṭ) [1]), Hag. ii 5 [2]), Zech. vii 7 [3]). Wie auch sonst (siehe HAVERS Seite 71) werden Appositionen und erklärende Zusätze hinter einem Relativsatz in den Kasus des Relativums gesetzt: Hes. x 22 ודמות פניהם המה הפנים אשר ראיתי על נהר כבר מראיהם ואותם (anstatt: *mar'ēhem wahema*): Und die Gestalt ihrer Angesichter (war die der) Angesichter, die ich am Strome Kebar gesehen, ihr Anblick und sie selbst [4]).

§ 5. Wie die dem Relativsatz nachfolgende Apposition des Beziehungswortes — siehe § 4, Ende — wird auch das nominale Prädikat dem Kasus des voranstehenden, vom Subjekt des Nominalsatzes abhängigen Relativsatzes angeglichen: es mag daher durch *'et* eingeleitet wrden, wenn der Relativsatz akkusativisch ist:

Num. xxxv 7 כל־הערים אשר תתנו ללוים ארבעים ושמנה עיר אתהן ואת מגרשיהן (anstatt הן ומגרשיהן): All die Städte, die ihr den Leviten gebet, 48 Städte, sie und ihre Weideplätze. Das nominale Prädikat *'arba'īm ušmōne 'īr* wurde dem Kasus des von seinem Subjekt *kol-he'arīm* abhängigen Relativsatzes — das wegen der Rektion von *titt'nū* akkusativisch ist — angeglichen; als indeterminiertes Nomen blieb es jedoch ohne *'et*, das erst die nachfolgende determinierte Apposition *-'ethen w'e'et migr'šēhen-* einleitet. Ähnlich Deut. xiv 12 [5]), 1 Chron ii 9 [6]).

Umgekehrt steht das voranstehende Subjekt im Akkusativ, falls sein Prädikat ein substantivierter Relativsatz ist, dessen Relativum

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[1]) GESENIUS-KAUTZSCH § 117m fasst hier *'et* im Sinne von „quod attinet ad" auf. Die Unrichtigkeit dieser Erklärung beweist bereits der nächste Vers (vergleiche § 5), in dem unter ähnlichen Umständen *'et* die zwei letzten Worte des Satzes einleitet. Ausserdem wirkte noch der Einfluss von *natan* (zweimal in Vers 2, einmal in Vers 3) nach; die Konjektur ALBRECHTS ist also abzulehnen.

[2]) Das Prädikat *'ōmedet* stimmt mit dem nächststehenden Subjekt überein (vergleiche zum Beispiel GESENIUS-KAUTZSCH § 146e, der Jes. ix 4 zitiert, und zum Beispiel auch Hes xxxv 10), übersetze also, als ob es hiesse *haddabar 'ašer . . . w'ruḥi 'ōmedōt*: Das Wort, das . . ., und mein Geist stehen. *'et haddabar* mag aber auch vom voranstehenden *wa'aśū* abhängig sein.

[3]) *lᵃlō* steht hier im Sinne von *hinne* — vergleiche GESENIUS-BUHL, Seite 374a, Zeile 15. Es scheint unwahrscheinlich, *hinne-lᵃlō* Verbalrektion beizumessen.

[4]) Im Gegensatz zu ALBRECHT.

[5]) Das Fehlen von *'et* vor einem Teil der parallelen Akkusative ist ganz gewöhnlich. Die nachfolgenden Prädikate wurden so behandelt, als ob sie von תאכלו, dem Prädikat des Relativsatzes, der hier logisches Subjekt ist, abhängig wären. — Es wäre auch möglich, unseren Vers § 10 einzureihen.

[6]) *Nōlad*, das Prädikat des Relativsatzes, ist unpersönliches Passiv (da es im Singular steht, obwohl es sich auf einen Plural bezieht) und regiert daher den Akkusativ, siehe § 6. Die Prädikate wurden in den Akkusativ versetzt, als ob sie von נולד abhängig wären.

virtuell im Akkusativ steht: Zech. viii 17 [1]) כי את כל־אלה... אשר שנאתי...: Denn all dies ist, was ich hasse. Das voranstehende Subjekt *kol-'elle* wurde durch Attraktion zu *śanētī* in den Akkusativ, den Kasus von *'ašer*, versetzt (Kontamination mit כי את כל־אלה שנאתי).

§ 6. Neben dem persönlichen Passiv gibt es im Semitischen im allgemeinen, im Hebräischen im besonderen, ein unpersönliches Passiv, das in 3. Person singularis steht und ein Akkusativobjekt regieren kann (siehe *Grundriss* Seite 126, GESENIUS-KAUTZSCH § 121a, JOÜON § 128b und insbesondere den bereits zitierten Artikel BROCKELMANNS in *ZATW*, N. F. VIII, Seite 147 gegen ALBRECHT und KROPAT, *op. cit.*). Beispiele: siehe in der zitierten Literatur.

Hierher gehört auch Deut. xx 8 ולא ימס את־לבב אחיו כלבבו...: nicht schmelze das Herz seiner Brüder wie sein Herz (die alten Übersetzungen lasen nicht *yames*, sondern übersetzten dem *'et* gemäss). Auch das Partizip kann als unpersönliches Passiv verwendet werden [2]):

Ps. lxxxvii 3 נכבדות מדבר בך: Ehrenvolles ist von dir geredet (anstatt: נכבדות מדוברות בך). *Mᵉdubbar* blieb als unpersönliches Passiv in 3. Person singularis.

Hierher gehört vielleicht auch 2 Chron xxxi 10 והנותר את־ההמון הזה [3]): Und diese Menge blieb übrig.

Schliesslich werden, wie im Arabischen, persönliches und unpersönliches Passiv kontaminiert [4]); das Ergebnis ist, dass das Akkusativobjekt erhalten bleibt, obwohl das Passiv mit ihm kongruiert. Dies geschieht einerseits beim *Verbum finitum* [5]), wie

2 Sam xxi 22 [6]) את־ארבעת אלה ילדו: Diese vier wurden geboren. Kontamination zwischen dem persönlichen (ארבעת אלה יולדו) und unpersönlichen (את־ארבעת אלה יולד) Passiv.

2 Kön xviii 30 [7]) ולא תנתן את־העיר הזאת ביד מלך אשור: Und diese Stadt wird nicht in die Hand des Königs von Assyrien gegeben

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[1]) Im Gegensatz zu GESENIUS-KAUTZSCH § 117; ein „Cleftsentence".

[2]) Siehe JOÜON Seite 385.

[3]) Die Konjektur *wannōtar* ist also überflüssig; eigentümlich ist, dass das Partizip, obwohl determiniert, seine Verbalrektion voll beibehält (Kontamination mit ונותר את ההמון הזה ?). — Hierher gehört vielleicht auch Num. xxii 6, siehe S. 11 Anm. 2.

[4]) Siehe *Grundriss* Seite 126, Anmerkung 2, Seite 161, Anmerkung 1. Vergleiche im allgemeinen HAVERS Seite 84.

[5]) Siehe *Grundriss* Seite 127, Anmerkung 2.

[6]) Im Gegensatz zu GESENIUS-KAUTZSCH § 121b; siehe *Grundriss* loc. cit.

[7]) Im Gegensatz zu GESENIUS-KAUTZSCH, § 121b, Anmerkung 2; siehe *Grundriss* loc. cit.

werden. Mischung der persönlichen — ולא תנתן העיר הזאת [1]) — und unpersönlichen — ולא ינתן את־העיר הזאת — Konstruktion [2]).

Entsprechend auch im Partizip [3]):

Jer. xxxvi 22 [4]) והמלך יושב בית החרף בחדש התשיעי ואת־האח לפניו מבערת: Der König sass im Winterhause im neunten Monat, und das Kohlenbecken war vor ihm angezündet. Kontamination zwischen והאח לפניו מבערת (persönlichem Passiv) und ואת־האח לפניו מבער (unpersönlichem Passiv). Ebenso 2 Sam. v 8.

§ 7. Nach *haya l*ᵉ „haben" wurde das grammatische Subjekt als Objekt empfunden [5]). Dies hatte zwei Erscheinungen zur Folge:

a) Da das grammatische Subjekt von *haya l*ᵉ nicht mehr als Subjekt empfunden wurde, stimmt selbst nachfolgendes [6]) *haya l*ᵉ nicht mehr mit ihm überein. Beispiele: Gen. xlvii 24, Ex. xii 49, xxviii 7, 32, Num. ix 14, xv 29, Deut. xviii 2, xxv 15? [7]), Hes. xvi 49? [8]), xliv 30? [9]), xlv 10? [9]), Koh. ii 7? [10]), 2 Chron. vi 29? [11]), xvii 13.

b) Das grammatische Subjekt von *haya l*ᵉ wird durch *ʾet* eingeleitet [12]):

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[1]) So wirklich Jes. xxxvi 15.

[2]) So stimmt auch Jer. iii 9, siehe S. 10, Anm. 4, das aktive, aber passiv gefühlte Verbum mit seinem Subjekt überein, obwohl dieses als Akkusativ empfunden und durch *ʾet* eingeleitet ist.

[3]) Hierher gehört auch, siehe Gesenius-Kautzsch § 121b, Gen. xxix 27 ...ונתנה לך גם־את־זאת, falls wᵉnittᵉna nicht erste Person plural Kohortativ des Imperfekt Qal ist.

[4]) Im Gegensatz zu Gesenius-Kautzsch § 117 1.

[5]) Vielleicht durch Analogie von Verba wie *yaraś* (das Hes. xxxv 10 wirklich *haya l*ᵉ parallel ist) oder *lō ḥaser* (zum Beispiel Deut. viii 9, Ps. xxxiv 11); siehe schon Ewald *op. cit.* Seite 757. Diese Erscheinung ist durch den Einfluss verschiedener indogermanischer Sprachen weit verbreitet im Neuhebräisch Palästinas. Vergleiche im Äthiopischen *Grundriss* § 232, im Syrischen Th. Nöldeke, *Kurzgefasste syrische Grammatik* [2], Leipzig 1898, § 307 (durch Einfluss von ἔχειν).

[6]) Voranstehendes *haya l*ᵉ bleibt gewöhnlich im 3. Person sing. masc., siehe Joüon § 150j, Anmerkung 2, vergleiche § 150k, 2 und insbesondere Anmerkung 3, die die Inkongruenz des nachstehenden *haya l*ᵉ für eine noch ungeklärte Erscheinung hält. Cp. auch Gesenius-Kautzsch § 141m.

[7]) Attraktion zu *ṣedeq* (Deut. xxv 15 zweimal)?

[8]) Einfluss von *gaʾōn*? Oder Attraktion zu *haśqeṭ*?

[9]) Einfluss von *kol*?

[10]) Attraktion zu *bayit* und Einfluss von *miqne ubaqar*?

[11]) Einfluss von *kol* und *ʾaśer*? In der parallelen Stelle 1 Kön. viii 38 *tihye*; dürfen wir aus dieser vereinzelten Stelle schliessen, dass die Inkongruenz von *haya l*ᵉ in späterer Zeit häufiger wurde?

[12]) Interessant ist, dass in allen Fällen *haya l*ᵉ mit dem Subjekt-Objekt kongruiert, wir haben also wohl Kontamination zwischen den beiden Konstruktionen (mit Subjekt und mit Objekt) anzunehmen, vergleiche auch S. 7, Anmerkung 2.

Num. v 10 [1]) ...ואיש את־קדשיו לו יהיו: Und eines jeden Heiligtümer gehören ihm.

Hes. xxxv 10 [2]) יען אמרך את־שני הגוים ואת־שתי הארצות לי תהיינה וירשנוה: Weil du sagtest: die beiden Völker und die beiden Länder, mir sollen sie gehören und wir werden sie *in Besitz nehmen* [3]).

§ 8. Ähnlich wird das grammatische Subjekt mancher Verba als accusativus specificationis empfunden, und sie werden zu Impersonalia [4]):

2 Sam. xi 25 אל ירע בעניך את־הדבר הזה...: Möge diese Sache nicht leid sein in deinen Augen.

Neh. ix 32 אל ימעט לפניך את כל־התלאה...: Möge nicht gering sein vor dir alles Ungemach. Danach auch Jos. xxii 17 המעט לנו את־עון פעור: Ist uns wenig die Schuld von Peor? [5]). In den beiden letzten Fällen wirkte auch die Analogie der verba copiae et inopiae mit, siehe GESENIUS-KAUTZSCH § 117a.

§ 9. Ein isoliertes Wort mag wieder in den Satz einbezogen werden; dies geschieht natürlich nicht nur bei Präpositionalausdrücken [6]), sondern auch bei isoliertem Akkusativobjekt, das also durch *'et* eingeleitet werden kann. Beispiele: siehe *Grundriss* § 274, JOÜON § 156 c 1, S. DRIVER, *The Use of the tenses* [3], S. 266 [7]). Es besteht daher gar kein Grund, mit GESENIUS-BUHL *'et* Num. xvii 3 zu emendieren: את מחתות החטאים האלה בנפשתם ועשו אותם רקעי פחים ... Die Pfannen dieser um ihr Leben Sündigen — man mache aus ihnen Blechplatten .... Das isolierte Objekt *maḥtōt*, das durch *'ōtam* mit dem Satz verbunden ist, wurde wieder in den Satz einbezogen und erhielt daher die nota accusativi *'et* [8]).

Hierher gehört scheinbar auch Hes. xliii 7 [9]) — את־מקום כסאי

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[1]) Im Gegensatz zu GESENIUS-KAUTZSCH § 117m, ALBRECHT.

[2]) Im Gegensatz zu GESENIUS-KAUTZSCH § 117m, JOÜON § 125 j3. Es ist auch unwahrscheinlich, mit KÖNIG *op. cit*, III § 270c den Einfluss einer anderen Konstruktion anzunehmen, siehe auch ALBRECHT und insbesondere EWALD *op. cit.* Seite 757.

[3]) Hierher gehört vielleicht auch, siehe GESENIUS-KAUTZSCH § 117 1, Jos. xvii 11, siehe aber S. 17, Anm. 3, und ebenso Jer. xlv 4, siehe S. 9, Anm. 4.

[4]) Siehe *Grundriss* Seite 125, 349, JOÜON § 125,j6 und auch HAVERS Seite 84.

[5]) Vergleiche ALBRECHT.

[6]) Zum Beispiel Gen. ii 17 ... ומעץ הדעת טוב ורע לא תאכל ממנו.

[7]) Nach JOÜON § 156 ist auch 1 Kön. xv 13 so aufzufassen (aber nicht nach JOÜON § 125 j4).

[8]) GESENIUS-BUHL zitiert selber fünf Fälle, die hierher gehören, und nennt sie „Prolepsis des Objektes".

[9]) Im Gegensatz zu GESENIUS-BUHL, JOÜON § 125j5, ALBRECHT.

ואת־מקום כפות רגלי אשר אשכן שם בתוך בני־ישראל לעולם ולא יטמאו עוד בית־ישראל שם קדשי ... : Die Stätte meines Thrones und die Stätte meiner Fussballen, wo ich thronen werde unter den Kindern Israels auf ewig, — nicht mehr soll das Haus Israel verunreinigen meinen heiligen Namen. *Mᵉqōm kisʾī* und *mᵉqōm kappōt raglay* sind augenscheinlich isolierte, wieder in den Satz einbezogene Nomina; der Vers scheint nur deshalb schwierig, weil statt eines auf das isolierte Nomen rückweisenden Pronomens ein ihm paralleles Nomen erscheint: *šem qodšī* [1]), als ob es hiesse: בני ישראל לא יטמאו עוד את שם קדשי את מקום כסאי ואת מקום כפות רגלי אשר אשכון שם בתוכם לעולם.

§ 10. *Wᵉʾet* dient als Ausdruck der Begleitung und Verbindung. Gesenius-Buhl und Joüon § 125j2 halten diesen Gebrauch für eine Weiterentwicklung der nota accusativi, Gesenius-Kautzsch § 117k jedoch für die der Präposition *ʾet* und übersetzt „und zwar mit" [2]). Dies scheint jedoch gekünstelt; wahrscheinlicher ist, dass *wᵉʾet* aus Kontamination von *wᵉ* und der Präposition *ʾet* entstanden ist, die insbesondere durch die Verwechslung der Präposition *ʾet* mit der nota accusativi *ʾet* begünstigt wurde [3]). In einem Vers wie Deut. iii 2 ... בידך נתתי אתו ואת־כל־עמו ואת ארצו : (Denn in deine Hand habe ich gegeben ihn und all sein Volk und sein Land) wurde *wᵉʾet*, das in Wirklichkeit aus *wᵉ* und der nota accusativi zusammengesetzt ist, durch den Einfluss des voranstehenden Verses (ויצא ... עוג מלך־הבשן לקראתנו הוא וכל עמו) als aus zwei Ausdrücken der Begleitung — dem Waw der Begleitung und der Präposition *ʾet* [4]) — zusammengesetzt empfunden. Es ist jedoch möglich, dass *wᵉʾet* nicht durch Kontamination entstanden ist, sondern älter ist und wirklich die nota accusativi enthält. Im Arabischen regiert das *wāw il-maʿiyya*, das Waw der Begleitung, den Akkusativ, und *waʾiyyā*, das genau

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[1]) Über die Wiederholung des Beziehungswortes im Relativsatz an Stelle eines rückbezüglichen Pronomens siehe *Grundriss* Seite 585, Anmerkung 1, Joüon § 158h, Anmerkung 2, über die Wiederholung des isolierten Wortes oder Verwendung eines parallelen Ausdrucks siehe insbesondere S. Driver *op. cit.* Seite 267, obs. 2. Beide Erscheinungen sind recht häufig im Mittelarabischen.

[2]) Über *wᵉ* in der Bedeutung „und zwar" siehe Gesenius-Buhl sub verbo *wᵉ*,1.

[3]) Über die Vertauschung dieser zwei siehe zum Beispiel Gesenius-Buhl sub verbo *ʾet* II, Zeile 9. Vielleicht ist sogar die Aussprache der nota accusativi durch die Präposition beeinflusst, siehe H. Birkeland, *Akzent und Vokalismus im Althebräischen*, Oslo 1940, Seite 124.

[4]) *ʾet* als Ausdruck der Begleitung siehe zum Beispiel Gen. xxxvii 2, 2 Chron. xxii 5.

wᵉ'et entspricht, wird in den Dialekten genau wie *wᵉ'et* als Präposition verwendet [1]). Es ist daher möglich, dass auch *wᵉ'et* aus dem Waw der Begleitung und der nota accusativi zusammengesetzt ist [2]). Beispiele:

Jos. xvii 11 [3]) ויהי למנשה בישׂשכר ובאשר בית־שאן ובנותיה ויבלעם ובנותיה ואת־ישבי דאר ובנותיה וישבי עין־דר ובנותיה וישבי תענך ובנתיה וישבי מגדו ובנתיה שלשת הנפת: Und M. hatte in I. und in A.: Bet-Sean und ihre Tochterstädte ... nebst den Bewohnern von Dor und ihren Tochterstädten und .... Ebenso Num. iii 26 [4]); 1 Sam. xvii 34 [5]), xxvi 16 [6]), Jes. lvii 15 [7]), Jer. xxvii 8 [8]). (1 Kön. xi 1?)

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[1]) Siehe zum Beispiel *Grundriss* Seite 324, Wright, *Arab. Grammar* [3] II, Seite 84, Anmerkung 2 und auch ZDMG LXVIII Seite 370.

[2]) So schon Ewald *op. cit.* Seite 692, Anmerkung 2. Eine andere Frage ist es, ob die Präposition *'et* nicht erst aus *wᵉ'et*, das heisst aus der nota accusativi, sich entwickelt hat. In diesem Falle müssten wir annehmen, dass der Unterschied zwischen den beiden *'et* sowohl im Hebräischen als auch im Phönizischen sekundär ist und dass dieser Unterschied in späterer Zeit (fürs Hebräische vergleiche S. 16 Anm. 3) verschwunden ist; die akkadischen und äthiopischen Formen wären dann nicht verwandt.

[3]) Im Gegensatz zu Joüon § 125j2; dies scheint mir wahrscheinlicher, als den Akkusativ für von *haya lᵉ* abhängig zu halten, siehe S. 15 Anm. 3. Es ist gar kein Grund vorhanden, *'et* trotz der LXX zu streichen.

[4]) Im Gegensatz zu Joüon § 125j und Albrecht; dies scheint mir wahrscheinlicher, als mit Gesenius-Kautzsch § 117 Verbalrektion von *mišmeret* anzunehmen. Vergleiche König *op. cit.* III § 270a „und zwar mit".

[5]) Gegen Gesenius-Buhl, Albrecht. Vergleiche die Fortsetzung: ויצאתי: 35 גם את־ הארי גם הדוב הכה עבדך: 36 ... אחריו.

[6]) Im Gegensatz zu Gesenius-Buhl, Gesenius-Kautzsch § 117m, Anmerkung 3, Albrecht; dies scheint mir besser als mit Gesenius-Kautzsch § 117 *wᵉ'et* von *rᵉ'e* regiert werden zu lassen.

[7]) Vergleiche Albrecht; hier würde auch die Auffassung von Gesenius-Kautzsch § 117k „und zwar mit" passen.

[8]) Gegen Albrecht vergleiche Gesenius-Buhl; dies scheint mir besser, als in *wᵉ'et ᵃšer* einen isolierten Ausdruck zu sehen, der wieder in den Satz einbezogen wurde (in diesem Fall müssten wir Störung in der Rektion von *paqad* annehmen, mit *'et* und mit *ʿal*). — Hier treffen wir *'et ᵃšer* wie so häufig im Mittelhebräischen (Mischnischen) *'et še*. Vielleicht ist dies der Ausgangspunkt für das Entstehen des nominativischen *'et še*: Von Fällen, in denen der zweite von zwei parallelen *še*-Sätzen mit dem verbindenden *wᵉ'et še* begann, wurde *'et še* auch auf den ersten Satz übertragen. Dies würde erklären, warum in der Mischna und der Tosephta nominativische *'et še* in ungefähr der Hälfte der Fälle in parallelen Sätzen stehen (der Parallelismus mag zwar auch konträr sein, aber der Übergang ist in diesen Fällen sehr leicht, siehe zum Beispiel Mischna Berachoth 3, 1). Erst dann wurde *'et še* selbst ausserhalb paralleler Sätze nominativisch verwendet. Diese Entwicklung mögen die Fälle begünstigt haben, in denen *še* vom Verbum des Relativsatzes als Objekt regiert wurde, siehe S. 11 Anm. 1. — Die andere häufige Verwendung von nicht-akkusativischem *'et* im Mittelhebräischen ist das Demonstrativpronomen *'ōtō* etc.; in unserem Vers findet sich יעבדו אותו את נבוכדנאצר. Wenn nun *'et* vor dem Nomen nicht wiederholt wurde (wie es oft vor Nomina

Hierher gehört vielleicht auch 1 Kön. xi 25 [1]) ויהי שטן לישראל כל־ימי שלמה ואת הרעה אשר הדד . . . , falls es bedeutet: Er war ein Widersacher für Israel alle Tage Salomons *ausser* dem Unheil des [2]) Hadad.

§ 11. Vielleicht durch Analogie zu *šᵉmarḵem*: *šamar ʾetḵem* entstand *ʾēnḵem*: *ʾēn ʾetḵem* [3]):

Hag. ii 17 הכיתי אתכם בשדפון ובירקון וברד את כל־מעשה ידיכם ואין אתכם אלי: Ich habe euch geschlagen mit Kornbrand und Rost und Hagel, all die Arbeit eurer Hände, und ihr wollt nicht zu mir [4]).

Durch Kontamination zwischen dem genitivischen und akkusativischen Gebrauch entstand vielleicht Jer. xxxiii 22 משרתי אותי: die mir dienen. Dagegen hat Hes. xliii 17 סביב אותה: rings um ihn — *saḇīḇ* Verbalrektion [5]).

§ 12. Schliesslich mögen einige Fälle erwähnt werden, in denen man irrtümlich besonderen Gebrauch von *ʾet* sehen wollte:

Num. iii 46 [6]): ואת פדויי השלשה והשבעים והמאתים העדפים על־הלוים מבכור בני ישראל 47: ולקחת חמשת חמשת שקלים לגלגלת; *pᵉdūyīm* bedeutet hier „Lösegeld" [7]) und *laqaḥ* regiert zwei Akkusativobjekte: 46: Und als Lösegeld der 273, die überzählig sind über die Leviten von den Erstgeborenen der Kinder Israels, 47: nimmst du je fünf Schekel für den Kopf. . . .

Deut. xi 2 . . . 7: כי עיניכם הרואות . . . אשר לא את־בניכם וידעתם היום כי. Anakoluth oder Aposiopese [8]): Und ihr sollt wissen, dass nicht

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fehlt, also אותו נבוכדנאצר), mochte *ʾōtō* wegen der demonstrativen Kraft des Pronominalsuffixes (vergleiche Ausdrücke wie *bō bayyōm* „an jenem Tage", zum Beispiel Mischna Yadayim 4, 1) als Demonstrativpronomen empfunden worden sein, und von hier mag der Gebrauch von *ʾōtō* (und so weiter) als Demonstrativpronomen seinen Ausgang genommen haben.

[1]) Gegen Gesenius-Kautzsch § 117m, Anmerkung 2, Albrecht.

[2]) Vergleiche König, *op. cit.* III § 288.

[3]) Auch im Mandäischen wird das Subjekt von *ʾīt* und *lēt* durch das Objekt *-lᵉ* eingeleitet, siehe *Grundriss* § 54b, Anmerkung 2, zitiert bei M. Bravmann in *Magnes anniversary book* (Jerusalem 1938), Seite 67.

[4]) Die LXX verstanden den Vers im Sinne von „und es bringt euch nicht zu mir zurück", lasen aber wohl nicht so. — Dagegen scheint es unwahrscheinlich, dass Hes. xxxvii 19 das Pronominalsuffix von *ʿalaw* auf *ʿeṣ yᵉhūda* hindeutet, das dann nach Analogie von *šᵉmartīw ʾet haʿeṣ* in den Akkusativ gesetzt sein würde.

[5]) Siehe Gesenius-Kautzsch § 117k.

[6]) Gegen Gesenius-Buhl, Gesenius-Kautzsch § 117a.

[7]) Siehe Gesenius-Buhl sub verbo. Vergleiche Vers 48: ונתתה הכסף לאהרן ולבניו פדויי העדפים בהם: Und gebe das Geld Aharon und seinen Söhnen als Lösegeld der Überzähligen unter ihnen.

[8]) Vergleiche Albrecht.

mit eueren Kindern [rede ich], die . . . 7: Sondern euere Augen sind es, die gesehen haben. . . .

1 Kön. viii 30 [1]) ושמעת אל־תחנת עבדך ועמך ישראל אשר יתפללו אל־המקום הזה ואתה תשמע אל־מקום שבתך אל השמים ושמעת וסלחת. 31: את אשר יחטא איש לרעהו ונשא־בו אלה להאלותו ובא אלה לפני מזבחך בבית הזה. 32: ואתה תשמע השמים. 30: Und höre auf das Flehen deines Knechtes und deines Volkes Israel, die beten werden an diesem Orte, und du höre an der Stätte deines Sitzes, im Himmel, höre und verzeihe. 31: Dass jemand fehlt gegen seinen Nächsten und ihm einen Eid auferlegt, ihn zu beeidigen, und es kommt der Eid vor deinen Altar in diesem Hause. 32: Höre es im Himmel . . . *'et 'ašer* leitet einen akkusativischen Substantivsatz [2]) ein, der von *tišma'* Vers 32 abhängig ist (*šama'* kehrt auch Vers 30 dreimal wieder).

Die Präposition *'et* finden wir vielleicht in dem schwierigen Vers 2 Kön. ix 25 [3]) . . . כי זכר אני ואתה את רוכבים צמדים אחרי אחאב אביו . . . , wenn es bedeutet: Gedenke, wie ich und du *mit* den paarweise hinter Achaw, seinem Vater, Reitenden waren. So auch 2 Kön. x 6 [4]) . . . ובני המלך שבעים איש את גדלי העיר מגדלים אותם: Die Söhne des Königs, 70 Mann, waren bei den Grossen der Stadt, die [5]) sie grosszogen.

Jer. xxxviii 23 ואת העיר הזאת תשרף באש. Es ist gar kein Grund vorhanden, mit Gesenius-Buhl Seite 794a, letzte Zeile Niph'al zu lesen (so auch Köhler-Baumgartner, *op. cit.*, Seite 100) und dann mit Gesenius-Buhl Seite 76, Zeile 23 von unten, *'et* zum Ausdruck der Isolation verwendet anzusehen, sondern Qal drückt einfach die Folgen der Handlung aus [6]): Und diese Stadt verbrennst du (durch deine Schuld) im Feuer.

Koh. iv 3 [7]) 2: ושבח אני את־המתים שכבר מתו מן־החיים אשר המה חיים . . . 3: וטוב משניהם את אשר־עדן לא היה עדנה. In Vers 3 regiert *šabbe'ḥ* zwei Akkusativobjekte, die sich zu einander wie Subjekt zu Prädikat verhalten [8]): 2: Ich preise glücklicher die Toten, dass sie schon gestorben, als die Lebenden, dass sie noch leben. 3: Und glücklicher als beide preise ich die, die noch nicht geworden.

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[1]) Gegen Gesenius-Buhl; vergleiche Albrecht.

[2]) Solche Sätze sind häufig, wie Jos. ii 10, Hes. xxxvi 27 und so weiter.

[3]) Gegen Gesenius-Buhl Ende; vergleiche Albrecht.

[4]) Gegen Mandelkern, *Concordantia*, sub verbo *'et*.

[5]) Gesenius-Kautzsch, § 131b, Anmerkung 1 sieht in *m'gadd'lim 'ōtam* accusativus adverbialis; vielleicht ist es *ṣifa*.

[6]) Vergleiche zum Beispiel Socin-Brockelmann, *Arabische Grammatik*[12], § 21b.

[7]) Vergleiche auch Gesenius-Kautzsch § 117 2, gegen Gesenius-Buhl.

[8]) Vergleiche *Grundriss* § 209.

DIE IMMANUEL-WEISSAGUNG
EIN GESPRÄCH MIT E. HAMMERSHAIMB *)

VON

JOHANN JAKOB STAMM
Bern

In den *Studia Theologica*, Vol. III, Fasc. II, 1951, S. 124-142, hat der dänische Alttestamentler E. HAMMERSHAIMB einen Aufsatz veröffentlicht mit dem Titel: "The Immanuel Sign". In diesem zieht er, so viel möglich, die Texte von Ras-Schamra zur Erklärung der das Immanuel-Zeichen enthaltenden Jesaja-Stelle (vii 10-17) heran. Dieser Umstand genügt, um der Arbeit von H. eine besondere Beachtung zu sichern; denn bei einem Text, der trotz aller zu seinem Verständnis aufgewendeten Mühe noch immer recht rätselhaft bleibt, wird man von der Erschliessung neuen Materiales stets neues Licht erwarten. So hat man allen Grund, dankbar und aufmerksam an die Studie von H. heranzutreten.

H. nimmt seinen Ausgangspunkt bei der bekannten Schrift von RUDOLF KITTEL, *Die hellenistische Mysterienreligion und das Alte Testament*, 1924. Hier findet er eine verwandte und doch von der seinigen charakteristisch verschiedene Anschauung. Nach KITTEL [1]) hätte Jesaja den alten Mythus von einem himmlischen mit wunderbarer Speise ernährten Götterkind, bei dessen Geburt eine neue Zeit anhebt, aufgegriffen, ihn ins Sittliche umgebogen, und unter dem so entstandenen Bilde habe er den kommenden Herrscher auf dem Throne von Juda angekündigt; ausser an der in Frage stehenden Stelle Jes. vii 10-17 tat er dies noch Jes. ix 1-6 und xi 1-9. H. ist ebenfalls von der Zusammengehörigkeit dieser drei Texte überzeugt; nur meint er, diese seien nicht bloss allgemein mit einem weit verbreiteten Mythus zu verknüpfen, vielmehr hingen sie mit einer Grösse zusammen, die für Jesajas Hörer mehr Realität besessen habe als jener alte Mythus. Diese Grösse sei der König, insofern er

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*) Diese Arbeit wurde während des 12. deutschen Orientalistentages in Bonn (29.7.-2.8.52) in der alttestamentlichen Sektion verlesen.

[1]) *L.c.*, S. 64 ff.

in Israel so gut wie im übrigen Alten Orient göttlicher Natur und Mittelpunkt einer jährlichen Krönungsfeier gewesen sei. Diejenigen Elemente dieser Feier, die für Jes. vii besonders wichtig sind, findet H., wie schon angedeutet, in den Texten von Ras-Schamra. Diese sind nicht einfach erzählende Mythen, sondern Rituale, zu denen die Begehung eben des Königsfestes im Herbst gehört, darum setzen sie — wenn auch verschieden deutlich — die Göttlichkeit des Königs voraus. Die Texte bezw. Szenen, welche H. im besonderen heranzieht, sind die folgenden:

1) *Dan'el* 2, II. Kol., Z. 12 ff., wo Dan'el nach der Geburt seines ersehnten Sohnes spricht: „Ich will niedersitzen und ruhen, und meine Seele soll ruhen in meiner Brust; denn ein Sohn ist mir geboren (*yld bn ly*) wie meinen Brüdern, ein Nachkomme, wie meinen Genossen."

2) Aus dem *Nikkal-Text* (Z. 7) der Satz: „Siehe, das junge Weib gebiert einen Sohn" (*hl ġlmt tld b(n)*), wobei nach dem Zusammenhang die Göttin Nikkal als künftige Mutter gemeint ist.

3) Aus dem *Keret-Epos* die Worte, mit denen Keret seine Bitte um die Tochter des Königs Pbl von Udm begründen soll und mit denen er sie dann auch begründet hat, sie lauten: „Denn in meinem Traum hat El mir gewährt, in meiner Vision der Vater der Menschen, dass ein Spross dem Keret geboren wird, ja ein Knabe dem Diener des El" (*Krt* A Z. 150 ff. und Z. 296 ff.) [1]).

4) Zwei Stellen aus dem *Baal-Anat-Zyklus*, deren Gegenstand Geburt und Nachkommenschaft ist. Die eine derselben betrifft die Verbindung des Baal mit einer jungen Kuh und die Geburt eines Knaben (*mt*) [2]), die andere die Verbindung des Baal mit Anat in Gestalt von Ochse und Kuh und die Geburt eines Stieres [3]), ein Ereignis, das als eine frohe Botschaft (*bšrt*) verkündet wird [4]).

Alle die aufgeführten Belege lehren nach H. nun, dass die Bewahrung und Fortsetzung der Monarchie durch die Geburt eines Sohnes eine wichtige Rolle im Drama des Königsfestes spielte. Der König soll hier den Baal darstellen und die Königin die Anat; somit bedeute die Verbindung zwischen Gott und Göttin und die

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[1]) Die obige Zeilenzählung nach Cyrus H. Gordon, *Ugaritic Handbook*, II, 1947, S. 185 und S. 187; *Ugaritic Literature*, 1949, S. 71 und 74.

[2]) Text: I *ABV Z. 16 ff. = Gordon Nr. 67 (*Handbook*, II, S. 149; *Ug. Lit.*, S. 42).

[3]) Text: IV AB I-III = Gordon Nr. 76 (*Handbook*, II, S. 152 f.; *Ug. Lit.* S. 49 ff.).

[4]) In dem in der vorigen Anmerkung genannten Text Kol. III, Z. 34.

Geburt eines Knaben oder eines Stieres, von denen im *Baal-Anat-Zyklus* die Rede ist, nichts anderes, als die Ehe des Königspaares und die Geburt eines königlichen Prinzen. Beim *Keret-Text*, in welchem die Werbung des Königs und seine Heirat in der Tat im Mittelpunkt stehen, nimmt H., wie schon vorher JOHANNES PEDERSEN[1]) an, er enthalte die Legende vom ersten König, dem Gründer der Dynastie; die Dauer derselben werde durch die vom Gotte El befohlene Ehe gesichert. Die Erzählung von den Anfängen der Dynastie habe ihren Platz gehabt in der jährlichen Thronbesteigungsfeier, ähnlich wie man in Israel nach den Stellen 2 Sam. vii, Ps. lxxxix 21 ff., cxxxii 11 ff. auf Jahwes Versprechen an David Gewicht legte, dass dessen Haus auf dem Throne in Jerusalem bleiben solle.

Soviel zu dem von H. aus Ras-Schamra-Ugarit beigebrachten Material. Mit ihm tritt er an die Immanuel-Perikope heran. Wie erscheint sie auf diesem neuen Hintergrund?

H. skizziert zuerst kurz die geschichtliche Lage Jerusalems im Jahre 734 und danach analysiert er den Text. In dessen erstem Teil (Vs. 1-9) sei es des Jesaja Absicht, dem König Ahas Mut zu machen und ihn von dem erst geplanten Hilfegesuch an Assur abzuhalten. Damit habe der Prophet zunächst Erfolg gehabt, doch mit Rücksicht auf den nach wie vor furchtsamen und schwankenden König machte er bei anderer Gelegenheit einen neuen Versuch, diesen endgültig von dem unheilvollen Schritt abzuhalten; den Bericht darüber haben wir in Vs. 10-17 mit dem Zeichen der Immanuel-Geburt als Mittelpunkt. Für das Verständnis dieses Zeichens sind für H. seine aus den Ugarit-Texten gewonnenen Erkenntnisse entscheidend. Er schreibt (S. 134): „Die Tatsache, dass die Worte in Vs. 14 «Siehe die junge Frau wird schwanger werden (oder ist schwanger) und gebiert einen Sohn» Zitat aus einem alten Kult sind, ist strenger Beweis für die verheissende Art des Zeichens." Gegen diese feste Ansicht kommt weder der Inhalt von Vs. 13, den H. deutlich abschwächend umschreibt [2]), noch auch das *lākēn* am Anfang von Vs. 14 auf. Dieses letztere leite hier sowenig wie vor dem Heilswort Jer. xvi 14 f. eine Drohung ein. Verbürgt nach H. schon die alte kultische Tradition, in der das Zeichen drinsteht, dessen heilvollen Charakter,

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[1]) *Berytus*, Vol. VI, Fasc. II, 1941, S. 63 ff.

[2]) In folgender Weise (S. 135): "It is pretty hard that you now not only weary us prophets with your contumacy, but also Yahweh himself; yet, since you will not demand a sign, though Yahweh had offered it, he will have to give it to you himself".

so tut das nicht weniger der Gegenstand desselben. Dieser Gegenstand ist die Schwangerschaft der Königin und die Geburt eines Sohnes durch sie. Die Proklamation dieses Ereignisses war seit alters Anlass zum Jubel, in Ugarit so gut wie auf dem Boden Kanaans. Wenn Jesaja darauf zurückgreift und die nahe Geburt eines Thronfolgers ankündigt, so kann das für Ahas nur eine Ermutigung sein. Für die besondere Lage Jerusalems bedeutet das konkret, wie H. ausführt (S. 135): „Wenn der Sohn geboren ist, dann ist das Zeichen eingetreten, und der Sohn wird den Namen erhalten »Gott ist mit uns« oder vielleicht »Gott sei mit uns«, weil seine Geburt das Vorzeichen dafür ist, dass Jahwe auch tun wird, was noch grösser ist, nämlich die Feinde im Norden zu vernichten, indem er den Assyrern erlaubt, sie zu züchtigen."

Den im Zeichen selber liegenden Verheissungscharakter findet H. weiter in den Worten von Vs. 15-17. Dabei folgt er bei Vs. 15 und 16 vielfach vor ihm schon vertretenen Deutungen: Dickmilch und Honig ist die gewählte Nahrung einer glücklichen Zeit, und Vs. 16 ist in seiner überlieferten Form, ohne Streichung der zweiten Vershälfte zu belassen, der Vers kündet also das Ende der beiden Feindstaaten Damaskus und Nordisrael an. Um auch Vs. 17 unter die Verse verheissenden Inhaltes aufnehmen zu können, schlägt H. einen, soweit wir sehen, völlig neuen Weg ein:

Die Tage welche kommen, sind nicht solche, d.h. so böse, wie sie seit der Reichsteilung noch nie dagewesen waren, sondern es sind solche, wie sie seit jenem Ereignis nicht mehr waren. „Jesaja versucht zu sagen, dass die Tage, welche zu kommen im Begriffe sind, nicht ihresgleichen hatten in all der Zeit, die seit der Reichsteilung verflossen ist" (S. 137). Das Zurückgehen bis auf die Zeit vor der Reichsteilung lasse vermuten, dass Jesaja die Wiederaufrichtung der davidischen Herrschaft auch über das Nordreich erwartete. Bevor es dazu kommt, wird aber die schon Vs. 16 angekündigte Züchtigung des Nordreiches durch den Assyrer überstanden sein müssen. Das bevorstehende Gericht über ebendieses Reich ist auch der Inhalt von Kap. vii 18-25 [1]). Dieses Stück stellt H. darum neben das Drohwort viii 1-4, in welchem die nahe Zerstörung von Samaria und Damaskus angekündigt ist.

Wenn Jesaja in der Hoffnung, seinen König von dem Bündnis mit

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[1]) Aus diesem Zusammenhang nimmt H. die Verse 21 und 22 heraus; denn ihr Inhalt sei das Glück, dessen die in Juda Übriggebliebenen teilhaftig werden sollen (S. 139).

Assyrien abzubringen, wirklich in Vs. 10-17 nur Heil zugesagt hat, so erhebt sich die Frage, wie sich dazu die Tatsache verhält, dass Ahas nach 2 Kön. xvi 7 schliesslich der Versuchung erlag und Tiglatpilesar III zuhilfe rief. Diese Problematik ist H. nicht entgangen, und er löst sie in folgender Weise: Die Ereignisse von vii 10-17 liegen vor dem Hilfegesuch. Nachdem dieses gestellt war, änderte der Prophet den Ton und fällte das Urteil über den König. Den Niederschlag dieses Umschwunges haben wir in viii 5 ff., der Ankündigung des Gerichtes über Juda. In diesem Text steht bekanntlich zweimal (Vs. 8 und 10) das Wort Immanuel, und nach H. soll damit bezeugt werden, dass Jahwe sein Volk trotz allem nicht aufgegeben habe. Zwar ist das Gericht nunmehr unausweichlich, aber ein Rest wird bleiben, nach viii 16-18 sind es die Schüler des Propheten. Wie die Verheissungen in Kap. ix und xi lehren, wird Jahwe auch das davidische Königshaus nicht verleugnen; nur wird der Heilszeit eine Zeit der Not für Volk und Königshaus vorausgehen. Das bedeutet etwas Neues gegenüber der reinen Heilserwartung von Kap. vii 10-17, es ist die Folge von des Ahas Kleinglauben.

Zum Schluss weist H. noch auf die Verwandtschaft hin, die seine Identifikation des Immanuel mit dem Sohne des Ahas mit der schon alten jüdischen Erklärung hat, welche in Immanuel den späteren König Hiskia sah [1]). Doch legt er darauf und überhaupt auf das Eintreffen der Prophezeiung wenig Gewicht. Er schreibt (S. 141): „Es ist nach der konkreten Erklärung richtig, dass die Verheissungen in Vs. 14 einen Sohn des Königs und seiner Königin betrafen, aber die äussere Erfüllung der Prophezeiungen war nie ein wesentlicher Punkt für die Propheten, und es ist deshalb von geringer Wichtigkeit, ob wir feststellen können, dass die Königin, einige Zeit nach Jesajas Worten in vii 14, einen Sohn gebar, der später König Hiskia wurde."

Die Darlegungen von H. lassen sich in drei Kreise zerlegen: Ein erster äusserster umfasst die Texte von Ras-Schamra mit ihrer Königsideologie und Kultpraxis; ein zweiter innerer Kreis umspannt die mit Ras-Schamra scheinbar übereinstimmenden israeli-

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[1]) Die bekannte chronologische Schwierigkeit, dass Hiskia, wenn er nach 2 Kön. xviii 2 im Alter von 25 Jahren König geworden ist, bei der Thronbesteigung seines Vaters, der nach 2 Kön. xvi 2 16 Jahre lang regierte, bereits 9 Jahre alt gewesen sein muss, beseitigt H. mit Procksch (zuletzt im *Jes.-Komm.*, S. 125) dadurch, dass er 2 Kön. xviii 2 statt 25 vielmehr 15 liest (S. 141).

tisch-judäischen Gedanken über das Königtum und das dazu gehörende Königsfest, und im innersten Kreis finden wir die Auswertung des zuvor beigebrachten Materials für das Stück Jes. vii 10-17 und die Exegese des Textes. Bei der kritischen Erörterung, zu der wir nunmehr übergehen, halten wir uns an diese drei Kreise in der eben angegebenen Reihenfolge.

Wenn H. die Texte aus Ugarit nicht als freie religiöse Dichtungen auffasst, sondern als Rituale zur Begehung eines für das Leben der Stadt und des Kosmos wichtigen Königsfestes im Herbst, so findet er sich in Übereinstimmung mit einer Reihe von Gelehrten wie Joh. Pedersen [1]), Hvidberg [2]), Engnell [3]) und Th. H. Gaster [4]). Diesen stehen aber andere gegenüber, wie Baumgartner [5]), Eissfeldt [6]), C. H. Gordon [7]) und de Langhe [8]), welche zwar den hier vertretenen Gesichtspunkt als berechtigt anerkennen, aber deswegen doch nicht alle Ras-Schamra-Texte als Festrituale ansehen möchten. Diese letzteren kommen zu ihrer Zurückhaltung vor allem aus Rücksicht auf die Schwierigkeiten der Texte: Bei den vielen Fragen, die sie der Erklärung noch stellen, lassen sie eine sichere Antwort über ihren Gebrauch nicht zu. Bei der genannten Zurückhaltung spielt weiter die prinzipielle Erwägung eine Rolle, dass es in jeder religiösen Literatur neben den eigentlichen Kulttexten eine freiere Dichtung gibt, in welcher entweder Erleben und Gestalten eines Dichters oder die Reflexion eines Denkers ihren Niederschlag gefunden haben.

Wenn wir auf dem Hintergrund dieser Problemlage an die von H. besonders berücksichtigten Texte herantreten, so mag ohne Anspruch auf Vollständigkeit Folgendes bedacht sein: Für den *Baal-Anat-Zyklus*, bei dem es sich, wie weithin angenommen, um einen Jahreszeiten-Mythus handelt [9]), liegt die Verbindung mit einem am

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[1]) „Canaanite and Israelite Cultus" (*Acta Orientalia* 18, 1931, S. 1 ff.).
[2]) „Vom Weinen und Lachen im AT" (*ZAW*, NF. 16, 1939, S. 150 ff.).
[3]) *Studies in Divine Kingship in the Ancient Near East*, 1943, S. 97 ff.
[4]) *Thespis*, 1950, S. 115 ff.
[5]) „Ras Schamra und das AT", II (*Theol. Rundsch.*, NF. 13, 1941, S. 94 f.).
[6]) *Ras Schamra und Sanchunjaton*, 1939, S. 76 ff.
[7]) *Ugaritic Literature*, 1949, passim.
[8]) *Mythes et rites dans les textes de Ras Shamra-Ugarit* (Proceedings of the 7th congress for the History of Religions, Amsterdam, 4th-9th September 1950, ed. by C. J. Bleeker, G. W. J. Drewes, K. A. H. Hidding, Amsterdam 1951, S. 97 ff.).
[9]) Eine abweichende Auffassung vertritt C. H. Gordon, *Ug. Lit.*, S. 3 ff. Er sieht in Baal einen Gott der Fruchtbarkeit, aber keinen Jahreszeitengott. In

Ende des Jahres, beim Wechsel der Jahreszeiten, gelegenen Fest nahe. Soweit wäre H. unbedenklich zuzustimmen, aber für seine These genügt das nicht; denn für diese kommt es nicht allein auf das Fest an, sondern ebensosehr auf die Mitwirkung des Königs bei diesem. Nun gibt H. im Unterschied etwa zu ENGNELL zu, dass im *Baal-Anat-Zyklus* der König als Gott nirgends direkt hervortrete, aber, so meint er, was hier fehle, das zeige sich im *Dan'el-Epos* deutlich: Dan'el sei Knecht des Gottes El, er werde König genannt, spreche als solcher Recht und erhalte den ersehnten Sohn in Zusammenhang eines *hieros gamos*. Das ist richtig beobachtet, hier steht die Figur des Königs wirklich im Mittelpunkt, nur ist der Zusammenhang mit dem Kult fraglicher als bei den *Baal-Anat-Texten*. Der *hieros gamos*, wenn es sich wirklich um einen solchen handelt, würde zwar auf eine kultische Begehung hinweisen, das Rechtsprechen des Königs vielleicht auch, andererseits trägt das bei *Dan'el* zentrale Motiv des Bogens als Göttergeschenk an den Königssohn mehr den Charakter einer freien erzählerischen Gestaltung. Die Möglichkeit, dass es sich überhaupt um eine solche handelt, wird nicht auszuschliessen sein, muss doch selbst GASTER zugeben [1]), das Epos mache „den Eindruck einer rein literarischen Schöpfung, die niemals dramatisch aufgeführt oder auch nur liturgisch rezitiert worden ist". Ausser den beiden genannten Arten der Auffassung gibt es zudem noch eine dritte vermittelnde, wonach das Epos die Ätiologie für ein bestimmtes, im Text auftretendes Opfer sei [2]). Der Kult wäre somit wohl Anlass oder Ausgangspunkt des Textes gewesen, er wäre diesem aber nicht im Sinne eines Rituales verhaftet geblieben, da er das Eigenleben eines dichterisch gestalteten Werkes gewonnen hätte.

Auch beim *Keret-Epos* steht der König im Mittelpunkt, und seine für H. wichtige göttliche Natur ist darin ausgeprägt, dass er „Sohn des El" genannt wird [3]). Die Beziehung dieses Textes zum

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seinem Schicksal verkörpert sich der Wechsel zwischen sieben fruchtbaren und sieben mageren Jahren.

[1]) *Thespis*, S. 257. Die Stelle hat auch EISSFELDT in seiner Besprechung in *BiOr*, 8, 1951, S. 59 hervorgehoben.

[2]) Das erwägt GORDON, *Ug. Lit.*, S. 7. Er weist daraufhin, dass Dan'el *mt hrnmy* genannt werde (z.B. 2 *Aqht* I 37) und dass er nach dem Tode des *Aqht* ein *hrnmy*-Opfer darbringt (1 *Aqht* 186 und 193). Danach sei das Epos dazu geschaffen, um die Entstehung des *hrnmy*-Opfers zu erklären.

[3]) Krt C (= IIK) Kol. 1-2, Z. 20 f. und Z. 110 f.; GORDON, *Handbook*, II, S. 162 und 163, *Ug. Lit.*, S. 77 und 79.

Königsfest wäre gegeben, wenn sein Thema wirklich die Sicherung der Dynastie durch Nachkommen war. Das ist möglich, mit Sicherheit könnte es aber nur dann behauptet werden, wenn wir den Schluss des Epos hätten. Jetzt endet es mit der Verwünschung des Erstgeborenen, der seinem kranken Vater gegenüber ungebührlich aufgetreten ist. Gerne möchte man, wie GINSBERG erwägt [1]), den Schluss dahin ergänzen, dass der seinem Vater treu gebliebene zweite Sohn in die Stellung des erstgeborenen eingesetzt und so zum Träger der Dynastie gemacht wurde. Dieser Schluss würde sich zur Rezitation am jährlichen Fest eignen, solange er aber nur vermutet werden kann, bleibt der Sitz des ganzen Textes im Kult und seine Zugehörigkeit zum Königsfest eine offene Frage.

Beim *Nikkal-Text* schliesslich, ist die Verbindung mit dem Kult ebenfalls wahrscheinlich, aber wie sie im einzelnen zu denken sei, ist umstritten. Wird hier wirklich durch menschliche Repräsentanten — König und Königin — die Hochzeit zwischen der Göttin Nikkal und dem Mondgott dargestellt, oder bildet der Text nur den mythologischen Hintergrund für eine irdische Hochzeit, die dem Segen jener Götter unterstellt werden soll? [2])

Im Rückblick müssen wir feststellen, dass die Texte von Ras-Schamra noch nicht sicher genug gedeutet sind, als dass sie ohne weiteres als Rituale für ein Königsfest gelten könnten; denn entweder ist wie beim *Baal-Anat-Zyklus* und beim *Nikkal-Text* die Verbindung mit dem Kult leidlich gesichert, dann ist aber die Rolle, welche König und Königin dabei spielten, zweifelhaft, oder der König ist, wie bei *Dan'el* und *Keret*, die Hauptfigur, dann aber ist die Verknüpfung des betreffenden Textes mit dem Kult im allgemeinen und die Zuordnung zu einem bestimmten Fest im besonderen fraglich. Auf Grund dieses Befundes wird man Sicheres über das Herbstfest in Ugarit und über die Rolle des Königs dabei einstweilen nicht sagen können.

Damit gehen wir zum zweiten Problemkreis über, d.h. zu den angeblich mit Ras-Schamra übereinstimmenden israelitisch-judäischen Gedanken über das Königtum und zu dem dazugehörigen Fest. Dabei möchten wir um der nötigen Objektivität willen einmal unterstellen, H. habe mit Hilfe der Ras-Schamra-Texte beweisen können, was er wollte, es habe also im alten Nord-Syrien ein Herbstfest

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[1]) *The Legend of King Keret*, S. 8 (*BASOR*, Supplementary Studies, Nos. 2-3, 1946).

[2]) Dazu W. BAUMGARTNER, *l.c.* (S. 6 Anm. 5), S. 94.

mit dem göttlichen König als Hauptfigur gegeben. Dann erheben sich die zwei folgenden Fragen:

1) Kannte Israel die Gestalt des göttlichen Königs, und

2) hatte es ein Herbstfest, ähnlich dem von Ugarit?

Auf die erste Frage kann man nach unserer Meinung nur mit einem runden „Nein" antworten. Dazu berechtigen allgemeine und spezielle Gründe. Zu den ersteren rechnen wir die Tatsache, dass die Figur des göttlichen Königs nicht einmal in den ausserisraelitischen Reichen gleichmässig vorhanden ist. Ägypten allein ist ihr klassisches Land, hier finden wir sie seit alters und als ein Kernstück der religiösen Vorstellung [1]). Im sumerisch-babylonischen Kulturbereich begegnet sie auch, aber mit zeitlicher Beschränkung. Die dritte Dynastie von Ur ist die Epoche der Königsvergötterung, und nur in einzelnen, in ihrem Wert umstrittenen Spuren, setzt sie sich in der altbabylonischen Zeit und darüber hinaus fort. Was schon in Sumer-Babylon nicht unbestrittener Glaube war, konnte es in Israel noch viel weniger sein. Denn dort sah man nach der Tradition der Königslisten im Königtum immerhin eine uranfängliche, vom Himmel auf die Erde herabgekommene Institution [2]), hier dagegen war man sich stets seines späten, an eine bestimmte geschichtliche Situation gebundenen Ursprunges bewusst; dazu begegnete das Königtum früh einer teils politisch und teils religiös begründeten Kritik bezw. Opposition [3]), wobei die letztere ihrer Natur nach dem Gedanken eines menschlichen Gottkönigs denkbar entgegengesetzt war. Soviel zu den allgemeinen Gründen [4]).

Bei den speziellen tritt das Stadtkönigtum von Jerusalem ins Gesichtsfeld; zu diesem gehörten ein Zeremoniell und eine Hofpoesie — die Königspsalmen — die nachweislich Traditionen aus

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[1]) Auf den Unterschied zwischen ägyptischem und sumerisch-babylonischem Königsglauben hat namentlich H. FRANKFORT, *Kingship and the Gods*, 1948, S. 295 ff. hingewiesen. Zum Nachwirken der spätsumerischen Königsvergötterung in Babylonien s. A. FALKENSTEIN, „Ein sumerisches Kultlied auf Samsu'iluna" (*Symbolae Hrozný* = *Archiv Orientální*, XVII, pars prima, 1949, S. 212 ff.).

[2]) Die grosse sumerische Königsliste beginnt mit den Worten: „Als das Königtum vom Himmel herabkam."

[3]) Ri. ix 7 ff. und viii 22 f.

[4]) Neuerdings hat JOHN GRAY in seinem wichtigen Aufsatz „Canaanite Kingship in Theory and Practice" (*VT*, 2, 1952, S. 193 ff.) die Eigenart des kanaanäisch-syrischen Königtums gegenüber dem ägyptischen und dem babylonischen hervorgehoben (namentlich S. 199 f.). Gleichzeitig weist er im Anschluss an ALT, *Die Staatenbildung der Israeliten in Palästina*, 1930, auf den zeitlichen und wesensmässigen Abstand des israelitischen Königtums vom kanaanäischen hin (besonders S. 194 und 219).

Israels Nachbarländern und vor allem aus Ägypten übernommen hatten [1]), aber gerade den Gedanken der Göttlichkeit des Königs, seiner physischen Verwandtschaft mit der Gottheit, hat man vermieden, ja er ist, wie die Verwendung von Adoptionsformeln zur Umschreibung des Verhältnisses zwischen Jahwe und dem König beweist, geradezu abgelehnt worden. Im Lichte dieser sicheren Erkenntnis wird man auch Psalm xlv 7, die einzige den König als Gott anredende Stelle beurteilen müssen [2]), und jene Erkenntnis wird einem auch davor warnen, aus Ps. cx 3 mit Hilfe gewagter Konjekturen die direkte Sohnschaft des Königs durch göttliche Erzeugung herauszulesen [3]).

Bei der Frage nach der Existenz eines Herbst- und Königsfestes in Israel lässt sich nicht wie bei der vorigen eine so rasche und eindeutige Antwort geben. Es gilt hier schärfer zuzusehen und näher zu präzisieren. Nach den genialen Arbeiten von Volz [4]) und namentlich Mowinckel [5]) kann am Charakter des Laubhüttenfestes als eines Neujahrs- und Thronbesteigungsfestes kaum mehr gezweifelt werden. Fraglich kann nur sein, wie man sich dieses Fest des Näheren vorzustellen habe. Mowinckel und noch mehr ihm folgende skandinavische Forscher malen es als ein Kultdrama aus, bei welchem mythische Elemente (Drachenkampf, Götterkampf, Leiden und Sieg des Gottkönigs) vorherrschen. Dagegen wandte sich, von Forschern, welche die Thesen Mowinckels gänzlich ablehnten [6]), abgesehen, implizite schon Albrecht Alt, *Die Ursprünge des israelitischen Rechts*, 1934, S. 62 ff., indem er auf Grund von Dtn. xxvii, xxxi 10 ff. und Ps. lxxxi das Laubhüttenfest als die Situation beanspruchte, an der Texte des apodiktischen Rechtes periodisch verlesen wurden [7]). Explizite hat dann Gerhard von Rad in seiner Schrift *Das formgeschichtliche Problem des Hexateuchs*, 1938, S. 35 f.

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[1]) Vgl. dazu Gressmann, *Der Messias*, 1929, S. 2 ff.; Gunkel-Begrich, *Einleitung in die Psalmen*, 1933, S. 160 ff. und neuerdings G. von Rad, *Theol. Lit.-Z.*, 72, 1947, Sp. 211 ff.; A. Alt, *Bertholet-Festschrift*, 1950, S. 42 f.

[2]) Vgl. C. R. North in *ZAW*, NF. 9, 1932, S. 29 ff. und M. Noth in *Zeitschr. f. Theologie und Kirche*, 47, 1950, S. 188 f.

[3]) So etwa A. Bentzen, *Messias, Moses redivivus, Menschensohn*, 1948, S. 14, Anm. 3.

[4]) *Das Neujahrsfest Jahves*, 1912.

[5]) *Das Thronbesteigungsfest Jahwäs und der Ursprung der Eschatologie*, 1922.

[6]) Zu diesen gehören Eissfeldt in *ZAW*, NF. 5, 1928, S. 81 ff., L. I. Pap, *Das israelitische Neujahrsfest*, 1933, und N. H. Snaith, *The Jewish New Year Festival*, 1947, S. 204 ff.

[7]) Wertvolle Anregungen dazu gab Mowinckel selber in seinem Buch *Le Décalogue*, 1927.

Bedenken angemeldet im Zusammenhang mit seinem Nachweis, dass die Sinai-Tradition die Festlegende des Laubhüttenfestes gewesen ist. Ist dies, woran wir nicht zweifeln, richtig, dann müssen in der Tat am Laubhütten-Neujahrsfest die spezifisch israelitischen Elemente, d.h. die Heilsgeschichte und nicht der Mythus, den grössten Raum eingenommen haben. Namentlich in Deutschland hat sich diese Erkenntnis seit ALT und VON RAD stark ausgebreitet, wir erinnern nur an das Bild, welches WEISER in der Einleitung seiner Psalmenauslegung [1]) vom Bundesfestkult entwirft mit der Theophanie und dem Vortrag der heilsgeschichtlichen Tradition als Mittelpunkt. In die gleiche Richtung ist neuerdings HANS-JOACHIM KRAUS, *Die Königsherrschaft Gottes im Alten Testament*, 1951, weiter vorgestossen. Für die Auseinandersetzung mit H. sind die Ergebnisse von KRAUS darum so wichtig, weil sie gerade die Verhältnisse in Jerusalem und die Rolle des Königs und seiner Dynastie am Feste zum Inhalt haben. Danach gab es, um nur dies kurz zu nennen, in Jerusalem am 15. Tag des 7. Monats ein königliches Zionsfest mit 2 Sam. vi und vii als Kultlegende und den Königspsalmen, nicht aber den Thronbesteigungspsalmen, als liturgischen Texten. Dies bedeutet, dass die Dynastie und ihr Bestand in der Tat am Fest ihren Platz hatten; dies aber nicht in einer Form, wie H. sie aus Jes. vii 14 herauslesen möchte, sondern streng an die alte Natansverheissung gebunden, wie die Zitate im Ps. lxxii 5, Ps. lxxxix 37 und Ps. cxxxii 12 beweisen.

Im Blick auf unsere Frage nach dem Königsfest in Israel-Juda können wir zusammenfassend sagen: Selbst wenn es in Ugarit ein mythisch bestimmtes Königsfest im Sinne von H. gegeben hätte, würde das für Juda nichts beweisen, da hier die Wertung des Königtums eine andere, eine geschichtlich-heilsgeschichtliche, war und darum auch das Fest, wie konkrete Texte lehren, einen entsprechend anderen Charakter hatte. Dennoch wäre nicht ausgeschlossen, dass Jesaja sich in seinem Wort an Ahas auf eine Situation dieses genuin israelitischen Festes bezogen hätte, so dass unter einem etwas veränderten Aspekt H. doch noch Recht behielte. Dies muss abgelehnt werden, weil, wie wir soeben sahen, die Hoffnung auf einen weiteren und dauernden Bestand der Dynastie bei dem Jerusalemer Königsfest nicht nach Jes. vii 14 als ein freies Orakel beliebig erging, sondern

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[1]) *Die Psalmen*, I, 1950 (ATD 14); hierzu sind die kritischen Bemerkungen von H.-J. KRAUS, „Der gegenwärtige Stand der Forschung am AT." *(Beiträge zur evang. Theologie*, Bd. 15, 1952, S. 126 f.) zu beachten.

unter stetem Rückgriff auf David und die ihm durch Natan zuteil gewordene Zusage. Jes. vii 14 steht somit nicht im Zusammenhang mit dem Kult des Königsfestes; viel wahrscheinlicher gehört dieser Vers samt den verwandten Texten (Gen. xvi 11, Ri. xiii 3), wie vor Jahren PAUL HUMBERT [1]) einleuchtend gemacht hat, zur Einrichtung eines Orakels an unfruchtbare Frauen. Natürlich bleibt die Ähnlichkeit des Wortlautes zwischen Jes. vii 14 und den eingangs erwähnten Worten aus dem *Nikkal-Text* auffallend und bemerkenswert; aber, so fragen wir, sind diese Worte wirklich derart, dass eine direkte Abhängigkeit der jüngeren Version von der älteren angenommen werden muss? Lebt in ihnen nicht der allgemein-menschliche Wunsch nach Nachkommen, der sich hier wie dort einen ähnlichen Ausdruck zu schaffen vermochte?

In aller Kürze haben wir zuletzt noch auf die Einzelinterpretation des Textes selber einzugehen. Nachdem wir in ihm keinen Teil des Königskultes zu sehen vermögen, entfällt auch die Notwendigkeit, ihn als reines Heilswort zu verstehen, wie H. will. Dies ist aber auch ganz ohne Rücksicht auf die Situation höchst unwahrscheinlich. Dagegen spricht schon Vs. 9 mit seinem Hinweis auf den Unglauben und dessen Folgen, und ebenso tut es Vs. 13, dessen Inhalt, wenn man ihn ohne absichtsvolle Abschwächung würdigt, nur als Drohung verstanden werden kann. Danach kann dann auch *lākēn* am Anfang von Vs. 14 nur drohenden Sinn haben. Das erfordert der Textzusammenhang, und so entspricht es überdies dem sonstigen Sprachgebrauch bei Jesaja, der an sicher echten Stellen ein *lākēn* nur in Verbindung mit Droh- oder Scheltworten kennt [2]), während Heilsworte, die das *lākēn* auch haben [3]), in ihrer Echtheit umstritten sind. Mussten wir uns bis dahin deutlich gegen H. abgrenzen, so können wir ihm bei Vs. 15 und 16 zustimmen; denn diese beiden Verse sind in der Tat von einem für Juda verheissenden Inhalt. Mag man bei Vs. 15 wegen der verschiedenen Auffassung, welche Milch und Honig als Nahrung des jungen Immanuel zulassen, noch schwanken, so bringt Vs. 16 die Entscheidung, da dieser Vers im Verständnis eindeutig ist; es sei denn, man entschliesse sich dazu, sein Ende zu streichen, was aber ohne Anhaltspunkt im masoretischen Text und bei den alten Übersetzungen ist.

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[1]) Im *Archiv für Orientforschung*, 10, 1935, S. 77 ff. Es ist kaum zufällig, dass H. die oben genannten alttestamentlichen Parallelen zu Jes. vii 14 ausser Betracht lässt.

[2]) Jes. i 24, v 13, 14, 24, viii 7, x 16, xxviii 14, 16, xxix 14, xxx 7, 12, 13, xxxvii 33.

[3]) Jes. x 24, xxix 22, xxx 18.

Unsere bisherigen Beobachtungen genügen, um festzustellen: Das Immanuel-Orakel enthält weder durchwegs Heilszusage noch durchwegs Drohung, vielmehr enthält es beides. So entspricht es der Situation und dem Zusammenhang des ganzen Kapitels. Bei der ersten Begegnung mit Ahas (Vs. 1-9) hatte Jesaja dem König die Rettung Jerusalems aus der Bedrohung von Norden zugesagt. Dieses Wort bleibt, wie Vs. 16 beweist, bei der zweiten Begegnung des Propheten mit dem König in Kraft. Es wird durch die Weigerung des Königs, ein Zeichen zu fordern (Vs. 12), nicht aufgehoben, wohl aber bewirkt diese, dass das von Jahwe durch Jesaja gesetzte Zeichen nunmehr nicht nur Heil, sondern auch Gericht ankündigt. Das letztere ergibt sich, wie wir sahen, aus Vs. 13, dem Anfang von Vs. 14 und besonders deutlich aus Vs. 17. Zwar möchte H. diesen Vers in heilsverheissendem Sinne deuten, als ob er so glückliche Tage verheisse, wie sie seit der Reichstrennung nicht mehr waren, aber überzeugend ist dieses Verständnis wohl nicht. Zu seinen Gunsten könnte man allenfalls geltend machen, dass der hebräische Ausdruck *hēbī' 'al* (nicht *'äl* oder *le*) an der Stelle Gen. xviii 19 von einer Verheissung gebraucht wird, die Jahwe gegenüber Abraham und dessen Nachkommen zu verwirklichen gedenkt, aber diese mögliche Parallele im Sprachgebrauch böte für H. keine hinreichende Stütze; denn, wenn er recht hätte, so müsste in dem Sätzchen bei Jesaja (vii 17) *iāmīm 'ašär lō' bā'ū* ein *'ōd* stehen, so dass es lautete: „Tage, wie sie nicht mehr gewesen sind, seit Ephraim sich von Juda trennte". Gegen H. spricht positiv die alte Überlieferung in den folgenden vier Instanzen, die alle ein Verständnis des Satzes im Sinne einer Gerichtsansage voraussetzen:

1. Die Glosse: „den König von Assur";
2. Das in LXX am Anfang auftretende *'alla*, wonach zwischen dem Inhalt von Vs. 16 und 17 ein Gegensatz besteht;
3. Das in der von Burrows edierten Jesaja-Rolle an der gleichen Stelle stehende *we*; dieses kann — muss freilich nicht — im Sinne des *'alla* verstanden werden;
4. Die Benützung der Stelle in der *Damaskusschrift* (ed. Rost S. 16 Z. 3f.).

Es dürfte somit gegen H. feststehen, dass das Immanuel-Orakel mit Vs. 17 in einer schweren Drohung gegen Juda endet, einer Drohung, die mit dem übereinstimmt, was die Berufungsvision (vi 11) erwarten lässt, und was ein Wort aus der Frühzeit des Propheten, wie viii 5-8, tatsächlich enthält. Dem grossen, durch die

Assyrer heraufzuführenden Gericht geht aber die Bewahrung Jerusalems im Syrisch-ephraimitischen Krieg voraus, und zu beidem steht der Immanuel-Name in Beziehung. Wenn Jesaja inmitten der Belagerung diesen Heilsnamen geben lässt, so nimmt er in ihm die kommende Rettung vorweg, die er bei der Namengebung zusammen mit einer Ansage späteren Gerichtes angekündigt hat. Ist die Rettung Jerusalems wirklich geworden und damit der heilsverheissende Teil von Jesajas Worten erfüllt, so wird der Name zum Zeichen dafür, dass der noch ausstehende drohende Teil derselben ebenso wahr gemacht werde.

Es bleibt nun noch die alte Frage, wer Immanuel gewesen sei. H. hat sie sowenig wie seine Vorgänger beantwortet, ja seine These vom kultischen Hintergrund des Orakels führte ihn dazu, auf eine der unwahrscheinlichsten, weil am meisten mit Schwierigkeiten belasteten Antworten zurückzugreifen. Irgendwie hat H. das selber empfunden, weshalb er den sehr anfechtbaren Grundsatz aufstellt, die äussere Erfüllung ihrer Worte sei nie ein wesentlicher Punkt für die Propheten gewesen. Wenn wir also bei der Frage nach der Persönlichkeit des Immanuel H. wieder nicht zu folgen vermögen, so möchte es als unsere Pflicht erscheinen, der abgelehnten These, wenn auch nicht die richtige, so doch wenigstens eine bessere gegenüberzustellen. Nachdem wir jedoch früher einmal unsere Meinung in dieser Sache geäussert haben [1]), glauben wir das jetzt nicht mehr tun zu müssen. Bemerkt sei nur, dass wir nach wie vor die Identifizierung des Immanuel mit einem Sohne des Jesaja für die beste Antwort halten unter der Voraussetzung allerdings, dass alle Einzelheiten des Textes einer scharfen philologischen Analyse unterzogen werden dürfen; glaubt man indessen um des besonderen und geheimnisvollen Charakters des Orakels willen auf eine solche verzichten zu müssen, dann mag die vorwiegend vertretene messianische Deutung ihr Recht haben.

Wir stehen am Schluss. Unser Gespräch führte uns dazu, die Darlegungen von H. in den meisten Punkten abzulehnen. Das heisst jedoch nicht, dass wir deswegen den Wert seiner Arbeit verkennten; wir sehen ihn nicht zuletzt darin, dass sie zu einem Nachdenken über heute im Vordergrund stehende Probleme unserer Wissenschaft Anlass gibt.

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[1]) In dem Aufsatz: „La prophétie d'Emmanuel" (*Revue de Théologie et de Philosophie*, NS. 32, 1944, S. 97 ff.).

אֲמָלָה (EZ XVI 30 A)

VON

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Der Halbvers Ez xvi 30 a hat der Exegese von jeher viele Schwierigkeiten gemacht. Schon die alten Übersetzer haben sich mit diesem kurzen Sätzchen nur mühsam abgefunden. Unter den neueren Erklärern dürfte J. HERRMANN die meiste Resignation gezeigt haben: er verzichtet auf jede Übersetzung und bemerkt im Kommentar: „Eine befriedigende Konjektur gibt es nicht, auch nicht mit Hilfe der Versionen." [1])

Auch die Biblia Hebraica von R. KITTEL (7. Auflage) begnügt sich mit einem Fragezeichnen. Die grösste Schwierigkeit in diesem Sätzchen macht das Wort אֲמָלָה. L. KOEHLER verzichtet in seinem Wörterbuch darauf, eine Deutung zu geben [2]), und verweist einfach auf den Ezechiel-Kommentar von BERTHOLET. Dort findet sich nun statt der Erklärung eine Konjektur: "Wie soll ich meine feierliche Abmachung Dir gegenüber erfüllen?" = מה אמלא בריתי אתך. Dazu bemerkt BERTHOLET: „Der überlieferte Text ..... ist sicher falsch; schon לִבָּה wäre hap. leg." [3]) Hier steht also die Meinung im Hintergrund, ein solches ἅπαξ λεγόμενον sei ein Hinweis auf eine Textverderbnis. Dieser Auffassung muss widersprochen werden. Es müsste erklärt werden, wie es möglich war, dass das als ursprünglicher Text vorausgesetzte Wort durch ein seltenes und unverständliches, ja durch eine Missbildung ersetzt werden konnte und zwar nicht bloss in einer einzelnen Handschrift, sondern in der gesamten Überlieferung. Dazu genügt der beliebte Rückgriff auf den „unachtsamen", „gedankenlosen" Abschreiber offensichtlich nicht. Übrigens darf, wer ein ἅπαξ λεγόμενον als Anzeichen von Textverderbnis betrachtet, in seinem „Verbesserungs"-Vorschlag nicht selber ein gleiches

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[1]) *Ezechiel übersetzt und erklärt* (K.z.A.T. Leipzig 1924), p. 94.

[2]) *Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti Libros* (Leiden 1948 ff.) 60.

[3]) *Hesekiel* von A. BERTHOLET = Handbuch zum A.T. 13. (Tübingen 1936), p. 56 f.

bringen, und ein solches ist trotz 1 Rg ii 27 der Ausdruck מלא ברית, der sonst im A. T. nicht belegt ist. Inhaltlich wäre gegen BERTHOLETS Konjektur zu bemerken, dass sie vorgreift. V. 30 steht noch mitten in der Scheltrede, die Israel seine Schandtaten vorwirft, speziell sein „Huren" mit dem „Krämerland". Was Jahwe tun will, sagt er erst später (V. 35 ff.) [1]).

Was lehren uns nun die alten Übersetzungen über die Textgeschichte dieser Stelle? Die LXX liest: τί διαθῶ τὴν θυγατέρα σου. Dass τί dem מה entspricht (ebenso wie das τίνι des Symmachus, „in quo" der Vulgata, מא des Targums, מנא der Pešittha) braucht nicht erörtert zu werden. Wichtig ist τὴν θυγατέρα σου. Diese Übersetzung bezeugt eindeutig und klar den Konsonantenbestand לבתך, der nur anders vokalisiert wird. Wenn die bohairische und die arabische Übersetzung eine Form von διαθήκη vorauszusetzen scheinen, so besagt das nicht notwendig, dass dieses Wort in ihrer Vorlage gestanden hat. Es kann eine Konjektur der Übersetzer sein, denen τὴν θυγατέρα σου unverständlich war. Stand es aber wirklich in dem von ihnen übersetzten Text, so ist es eine erleichternde, durch διαθῶ nahegelegte innergriechische Lesart, die über die hebräische Vorlage der Septuaginta gar nichts aussagt [2]). Wenn wir noch einen Augenblick bei der Bezeugung von לבתך verweilen wollen, so darf gesagt werden: Die Pešittha schliesst sich mit ihrem לברתכי an τὴν θυγατέρα σου der Septuaginta an. Symmachus bietet τὴν καρδίαν σου, ihm folgend die Vulgata „cor tuum". Das Targum umschreibt מה תקיף הוה רשע ליבך. Sie alle bezeugen also לבתך [3]).

Schwieriger ist die Frage, ob dem διαθῶ der Septuaginta wirklich אמלה entspricht. Das Gleiche gilt für καθαριῶ des Symmachus, "mundabo" der Vulgata, אדון („ich will richten") der Pešittha. Sicher ist, dass diese Übersetzungen alle eine l. p. sg. impf. oder cohort. voraussetzen, also ein א am Beginn und ein ה am Schluss des Wortes. Beide sind im hebräischen Text vorhanden; es fragt sich nun, ob

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[1]) Auch dass die Einfügung von אֶתְּךָ nötig ist, empfiehlt diese Konjektur nicht!

[2]) Ich kann deshalb J. ZIEGLER nicht beistimmen, wenn er in seiner Bearbeitung des Ezechiel für die Echterbibel sich an C. H. CORNILL, *Das Buch des Propheten Ezechiel* (Leipzig 1886), p. 265 anschliesst.

[3]) Die Bedenken, die J. HERRMANN und A. BERTHOLET, *a.a.O.* gegen לִבָּה haben, teile ich nicht. לִבָּה steht neben לֵב wie חֲקָקָה neben חֹק, מַתָּנָה neben מַתָּן, נְקָמָה neben נָקָם, מִשְׁמֶרֶת neben מִשְׁמָר.

auch מל wahrscheinlich zu machen oder nachzuweisen ist. Nun hat ja noch zu Beginn der Neuzeit Martin LUTHER an den Stamm מול gedacht: „Wie soll ich dein Herz beschneiden". Ob er von sich aus zu dieser Auffassung gekommen ist, oder ob er sie aus einer mittelalterlichen Quelle, etwa Nicolaus von Lyra, entnommen hat, braucht uns hier nicht zu interessieren. Aber die Frage ist: können nicht auch schon die alten Übersetzer dasselbe Verbum in dem Komplex אמלה gesehen und es nur frei wiedergegeben haben? Diese Möglichkeit kann nicht ausgeschlossen werden. Am leichtesten ist sie bei καθαριῶ (Σ) und mundabo (Vulgata) einsichtig zu machen. Für den Juden ist ja „unbeschnitten" = „unrein", demzufolge „beschnitten" = „rein". Aber auch διαθῶ der Septuaginta kann als freie Übersetzung von מול erklärt werden: die מִילָה ist ja des Zeichen des Bundes, der διαθήκη (Gen. xvii 12). Auch das אדון der Pešittha liesse sich als freie Übersetzung von מול fassen, dessen Hiphil Ps cxviii 10 bis 12 von der Vernichtung der Feinde Israels steht, und solche Vernichtung ist Gericht über sie. Man wird also sagen müssen: der jetzige hebräische Text wird durch die alten Übersetzungen (vom Targum wird noch zu reden sein) teils direkt bezeugt, teils insofern gestützt, als diese sich als freie Wiedergaben desselben erklären lassen. Will man also daran festhalten, dass der Text korrupt sei, so muss man sich auf die Annahme einer „alten", d.h. in der Zeit vor der Septuaginta erfolgten Verderbnis zurückziehen. So wenig nun auch die Möglichkeit ausgeschlossen werden kann, dass ein Text auch schon in alter Zeit Beschädigungen erfahren kann, so steht andererseits dem Verfahren, lexikalische Schwierigkeiten durch Annahme von alten „Verderbnissen" zu eliminieren, folgendes Bedenken gegenüber: je weiter wir in die Vergangenheit zurückgehen, desto näher kommen wir an die Abfassungszeit des Textes heran; desto mehr wächst aber die Wahrscheinlichkeit, dass der Sinn von Stellen, die uns jetzt schwierig oder sogar unverständlich sind, der Tradition noch gegenwärtig war.

Es ist also methodisch an sich berechtigt, wenn etwa ROTHSTEIN [1]) oder HENNE [2]) auf jede Konjektur verzichten und den Text so gut zu übersetzen suchen, als es eben gehen will. Nun ist freilich zu sagen, dass die auch von ihnen gegebene, als herkömmlich bezeichnete

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[1]) In: E. KAUTZSCH, *Die Heilige Schrift des Alten Testamentes*, 4. Aufl. Bd. I (Tübingen 1922), p. 908.

[2]) E. HENNE, *Das Alte Testament übersetzt und erklärt*, zweit. Bd. (Paderborn 1947), p. 1061.

Übersetzung „Wie schmachtend ist dein Herz" bedenklich ist; in diesem Punkt hat die Kritik recht. Hier wird אֲמָלָה mit dem Stamm אמל (Nebenform מלל) = „welken", „schmachten" zusammengebracht [1]). Aber in dem Zusammenhang, in dem Ez xvi 30 a steht, kann „schmachten" nur in dem Sinn gemeint sein: „nach etwas mit überschwenglicher Sehnsucht, mit höchstgesteigerter Energie des Gefühls streben (die freilich dann in völlige Erschöpfung umschlagen kann)". RIESSLER [2]) hat das ganz richtig empfunden, indem er übersetzt: „Wie liebeskrank muss doch das Herz dir sein". Nur steht dem entgegen, dass der Stamm אמל (מלל) in diesem Sinn nicht gebraucht wird. Er steht vom Verwelken der Pflanzen (Jes xvi 8; xxiv 7; Jo i 12; Nah i 4), vom Eintrocknen des Öls (Jo i 10), von dem Schwinden des Mutes und der Zuversicht (Jes xix 8 u. sonst), aber nicht von einer übersteigerten und ruhelosen Sehnsucht. Es werden hier also dem hebräischen Wort alle Bedeutungen unterstellt, die das zur Übersetzung verwendete Wort entwickelt hat, anders ausgedrückt: es wird die Gleichung אמל = „schmachten" in unzulässiger Weise ausgeweitet. Beispiele für ein solches Verfahren liessen sich wohl schon im Altertum finden. Aber gerechtfertigt wird diese Methode dadurch natürlich nicht.

Ist also der Text vielleicht doch „verderbt"?. Aber mir scheint sehr zu beachten zu sein, was Fr. ZORELL zu unserem Wort zu bemerken hat: „*prob*(*abiliter*): *febri passionis exagitatus*" [3]). Begründet wird diese Angabe durch den Hinweis auf „ar. *malla* agitatione febrili correptus est". In den Zusammenhang passt das ausgezeichnet: „wie fieberheiss ist dein Herz". Im Folgenden wird ja die hemmungslose Gier gekennzeichnet, die das ehebrecherische Weib veranlasst, statt, wie üblich, „Buhlenlohn" zu fordern, solchen vielmehr zu geben, um nur ja der verbotenen Lust frönen zu können. Solchen Geisteszustand mit den unsinnigen Wunschträumen eines im Fieber phantasierenden Kranken zu vergleichen, liegt psychologisch doch nicht so ferne, dass man die Verwendung eines solchen Bildes für unmöglich halten müsste. Sprachlich betrachtet müsste אמלה ein mit א prostheticum gebildetes Nomen sein, wenn man nicht annehmen will, es habe im Hebräischen zu dem מלל = ar. *malla*

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[1]) E. KÖNIG, *Hebräisches und aramäisches Wörterbuch zum A. T., s. v.*

[2]) RIESSLER-STORR, *Die Heilige Schrift des Alten und Neuen Bundes* (Mainz 1949), p. 814.

[3]) *Lexicon Hebraicum et Aramaicum Veteris Testamenti* (Rom 1948 ff.), p. 62.

ebenfalls eine Nebenform אמל gegeben. Zu erwägen wäre auch, ob nicht dieses arabische *malla* mit hebräisch מלל = אמל letztlich identisch und uns in der arabischen Literatur (oder auch nur in der Lexikographie) zufällig bloss in abgeleiteten Bedeutungen überliefert ist. Da mit dem körperlichen „Schmachten" (deutlicher Verschmachten) nicht selten Fieberzustände verbunden sind, wäre der Bedeutungsübergang psychologisch leicht erklärlich [1]). Nun entspricht im Targum zu unserer Stelle dem אמלה „מה תקיף הוה רשע (לבך)". Das ist natürlich eine Paraphrase, keine Übersetzung. Aber dahinter steht eine Auffassung, die von der in Rede stehenden nicht wesentlich verschieden ist: für den Targumisten ist אמלה nicht Ausdruck für „Mattheit", sondern für das Gegenteil. Das ist immerhin eine Tatsache, die zugunsten der Deutung Zorells spricht.

Sie hat nun aber kürzlich eine direkte Bestätigung gefunden. In der Nummer vom 10. Juli 1953 der hebräischen Tageszeitung הָאָרֶץ veröffentlichte Dr. Menachem Zulay als Nr. 149 der Serie מאוצר השירה והפיוט. פרסומי המכון לחקר השירה העברית einen Auszug aus einem Bussgebet des R. David ben Nasi, der der Zeit des 10.-12. Jahrhunderts angehört. Der Text ist gewonnen aus dem Genizafragment Cambridge, Taylor-Schlechter H 15/136 fol. 36 und dem Siddur haq-Qārā'îm (Wien 1854) 218. Die erste Strophe dieses Liedes lautet:

אֲמוּלָה לִבָּתִי כְּמוֹ אֵשׁ מִתְלַהֶטֶת

וְנוֹכַח תּוֹעֲבוֹתַי עֵינִי מַבָּטֶת

לַעֲשׂוֹת אוֹתָם בָּאוֹר וּבַעֲלֶטֶת

מַעֲשֵׂה אִשָּׁה זוֹנָה שַׁלָּטֶת (Ez. xvi 30)

Sprecherin ist, wie aus dem Folgenden hervorgeht, die sich selbst anklagende Gemeinde Israel. Uns interessiert hier nur die erste Zeile. Deren Anfang ist einfach die Umsetzung von Ez xvi 30 a aus der zweiten in die erste Person und ihre Umwandlung aus einem Ausruf in eine Aussage. Bedeutsam ist nun, dass אֲמוּלָה durch כְּמוֹ אֵשׁ מִתְלַהֶטֶת „wie flammend Feuer" erläutert wird. Es bezeichnet also einen Zustand, der damit verglichen werden kann. Das passt gut zu der

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[1]) L. Koehler, *a.a.O.*, *s.v.* אמל und Gesenius-Buhl, S. 48 verweisen auf Schwally in *ZDMG* LIII (1899), p. 198, der freilich die Bedeutung „fieberheiss sein" für die ursprüngliche hält. Das scheint mir nicht richtig zu sein.

Auffassung ZORELLS. Die Übersetzung „Fieberheiss ist mein Herz wie Flammenfeuer" gibt einen guten Sinn.

Woher der Paitan diese lexikalische Auffassung hat, vermag ich nicht zu sagen. Der Lexikograph David ben Abraham al-Fāsī, ein Karäer des 10. Jahrhunderts, sagt in seinem hebräisch-arabischen Wörterbuch zur Bibel: וכדלך מא אֻמְלָה לבתך מא אנקץ עקלך „und hierher gehört מא אמלה לבתך: wie gering ist dein Verstand (wörtlich: wie hat er (Allah!) gering gemacht deinen Verstand) [1]). Hier wird ebenfalls אמלה mit אמל = מלל zusammengestellt, aber „welken" im bildlichen Sinn (welken = abnehmen, unansehnlicher und geringer werden) genommen und auf das Geistige übertragen. Trotzdem gelingt die Einfügung des Sätzchens in den Zusammenhang nur unvollkommen: der Ausdruck bleibt matt, während er, wenn man dem R. David b. Nasi und Fr. ZORELL folgt, bildhaft und lebendig ist. Als Quelle für unseren Vers kommt Al-fāsī offensichtlich nicht in Frage.

Jedenfalls aber wird man kaum annehmen dürfen, der Paitan habe die im Eingang seines Gedichtes stehende Deutung von אמלה selber geschaffen. Sie wird ihm aus der Tradition zugekommen sein. Nur können wir, soweit meine Kenntnisse reichen, eben nicht sagen, auf welche Gewährsmänner sie zurückgeht; mit anderen Worten: wir kennen den „Isnâd" nicht, wie man in der Islam-Wissenschaft sagen würde. Sie kann alt, sogar sehr alt sein. Dann läge der Fall vor, dass bei R. David ben Nasi eine aus Gründen, die wir nicht kennen, verschüttete Tradition wieder zu Tage tritt. Dieser Vorgang ist gewiss nicht analogielos. Eine systematische Durchforschung der Vulgata und der Kommentare des Hieronymus ergäbe gewiss eine Reihe von Fällen, wo der Kirchenvater Auffassungen vertritt, die in der rabbinischen Literatur erst viel später bezeugt sind. Wenn also wirklich R. David ben Nasi der erste Zeuge der besprochenen Auffassung von אמלה wäre, so wäre er zwar ein sehr junger Zeuge, da er dem Propheten Ezechiel gegenüber als später Epigone erscheint, aber ein Grund, sie von vornherein abzulehnen, wäre trotzdem nicht gegeben. Jedenfalls steht er den Propheten zeitlich immer noch näher als wir Menschen des 20. Jahrhunderts, und diese Tatsache

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[1]) Solomon L. SKOSS, *The Hebrew-Arabic Dictionary of the Bible known as Kitāb Jāmi al-alfāẓ (Agron) of David ben Abraham al-Fāsī the Karaite* (Tenth Century) Vol. I (New Haven 1936) 116. Dass auch im Abendland eine ähnliche Auffassung bekannt gewesen sein muss, ersieht man aus der Authorized Version: „How weak is thine heart."

sollten wir trotz aller Fortschritte der Erkenntnis, deren wir uns rühmen, doch positiv in Rechnung stellen.

So ganz „verzweifelt" wie C. H. CORNILL meinte [1]), ist das אֲמָלָה von xvi 30 a also doch nicht. Es ist eine merkwürdige Fügung, dass nicht lange nach dem Deutungsversuch ZORELLS ein Text veröffentlicht wird, der eine zum mindesten allernächst verwandte Auffassung für das jüdische Frühmittelalter bezeugt. Ist es richtig, dass es sich dort um das Auftauchen einer verschütteten Überlieferung handelte, so muss man es dankbar begrüssen, dass sie durch M. ZULAYS Veröffentlichung davor bewahrt wurde, gänzlich der Vergessenheit anheim zu fallen [2]). Es erhebt sich hier die Frage, ob nicht in den aus der Geniza von Alt-Kairo geretteten alten Piutim noch manche bisher unbekannte exegetische Überlieferung steckt [3]). In unserem Falle passt sie gut in den Zusammenhang des biblischen Textes. Mag sie uns hinsichtlich der Etymologie oder der Vokalisation noch offene Fragen bieten, so spricht das nicht gegen sie. Eine mit Fragezeichen versehene Übersetzung, die den überlieferten Text schont, ist immer noch besser als eine „glatte" Konjektur. Jedenfalls sollte auch angesichts lexikalischer Schwierigkeiten, die sich im Alten Testament finden, der Spruch „dies diem docet" praktische Geltung haben und vor vermeintlichen „Verbesserungen" bewahren.

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[1]) C. H. CORNILL, *Das Buch des Propheten Ezechiel* (Leipzig 1886), p. 265.

[2]) Es wäre zu wünschen, dass die Texte der genannten Reihe nicht nur in einer Tageszeitung veröffentlicht würden, wo sie zwar deren geistiges Niveau heben, aber für die Wissenschaft praktisch unzugänglich bleiben. Wie man hört, besteht die Absicht, diese Texte gesammelt herauszugeben. Man kann nur lebhaft wünschen, dass dieser Plan bald Wirklichkeit werde.

[3]) Ich darf hier auf meine Abhandlung „תְּכוּ = adpropinquant. Ein Beitrag zur Erklärung der Vulgata" verweisen. (*Alttestamentl. Studien, Friedrich Nötscher gewidmet* (Bonn 1950), p. 265-270).

THE CANAANITE GOD ŠĀLAḤ

BY

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The second element of the name of the patriarch *Mθūšālaḥ* [1]) is usually explained as a divine name. It also occurs alone as *Šālaḥ* in other lists of the patriarchs [2]). In the tenth century B.C. the name *Šilḥī* "Belonging to *Šālaḥ*" is recorded as a name of an individual [3]) [4]). To be sure, this explanation of *Šālaḥ* as a divine name has not generally been accepted. Even after GES.-BUHL in his 14th edition of 1905 [5]) made a very strong case for it by comparing the full name with the Amarna name *ᵢmu-ut-ba-aḫ-lum* [6]), *ᵢmu-ut-baʿlu* [7]) where *baʿlu* is obviously a divine element, some scholars remained in doubt [8]) or contested [9]) it.

Various considerations, however, make this explanation virtually sure. (a) Some Mari names among which we a priori may expect onomastic types similar to Canaanite ones show the pattern *mutu* (or *mut*) "Man, Follower, Worshipper of" + divine name: *ᵢmu-tu-ad-ki-im* [10]) or *mu-tu-ḫa-ad-ki-im* [11]), *ᵢmu-ut-aš-di-im* [12]); *mu-ut-ša₆-lim* [13]). (b) The above-mentioned Amarna name *Mutbaʿlu* "Man, Yeoman, Worshipper of Baal" is only one example of the type "Man of the

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[1]) Gen v 21 f., 25-27, 1 Ch i 3.
[2]) Gen x 24, xi 14, 1 Ch i 18.
[3]) 1 Kings xxii 42, 2 Ch xx 31.
[4]) The list of Judaic towns in Josh. xv mentions a settlement *šilḥīm* (v. 32), but the correctness of that text is questionable.
[5]) p. 429.
[6]) EA 255 : 3.
[7]) EA 256 : 2, 5.
[8]) L. KOEHLER, as recently as 1951 in *Lexicon in Vet. Test. Libros*, p. 582.
[9]) E. G. H. KRAELING, *ZAW*, 40 (1922 f.), p. 154 f.
[10]) *Archives royales de Mari*, II, 1950, 122 : 7.
[11]) II, 23 : 13, r. 6. For this divine element, a form of Adad, see K. TALLQVIST, "Akkadische Goetterepitheta", *Stud. Or.*, VII, 1938, p. 258.
[12]) II, 36 : 5. *Ašdu* is another, Elamite, form of Adad; see TALLQVIST, p. 246.
[13]) II, 32 : 9. For *Šalim* see J. LEWY, *RHR*, 110 (1934), pp. 61-64; *JBL*, 59 (1940), pp. 519-22.

God NN" on Palestinian soil. It is an older form of the Biblical *'äšba'al*, the name of one of Saul's sons [1]), where *'äš* stands for *'īš* as is shown in the corresponding form *'īšbošäθ* in the the Book of Samuel [2]). In my opinion, also *Yiššiyyå(h)* [3]) or *Yiššiyyåhū* [4]) belongs to this group of names. It is commonly derived from *√nšy* "to forget", but this is rather unsatisfactory [5]). It seems preferable to see in *yiš* another (pronunciation and?) spelling of *'īš* and to interpret the name "Man of YHWH" [6]). For the change of *yiš* and *'īš* compare the two forms *yišay* and *'īšay* [7]) in the same text or (LXX Mss. Ισεβααλ, Ισβααλ which is) **yišba'al* [8]) for **'īšba'al* [9]). (c) The existence of the short personal name *Šälaḥ* suggests that the same element in the fuller form *M'θūšälaḥ* is not an appellative noun, meaning a tangible object like "spear", but a name of a deity. Tribes or individuals sometimes bear names otherwise known as divine, but hardly, at least in the Bible, designations of an implement. Examples from the Bible may suffice: *Gåδ* [10]), *'åšer* [11]), *Na'ᵃmån* (with related names) [12]), perhaps *'ᵃnåθ* [13]) and *mīχal*. (d) Finally the Phoenician name *'bšlḥ* may be listed here [14]). Since *'b* is a theophoric element [15]), *šlḥ* must be a divine name. But the force of this argument is impaired by the partial paleographic uncertainty of the text. Who, then, is the God *Šälaḥ*? Some hints scattered over Semitic languages and religions may be put together to provide the answer.

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[1]) 1 Ch viii 33, ix 39.

[2]) 2 Sam ii-iv. Another occurrence of this name see immediately.

[3]) Various persons 1 Ch vii 3, Ezra x 31, 1 Ch xxiv 21, xxiii 20, xxiv 25.

[4]) 1 Ch xii 6.

[5]) Cf. M. Noth's discussion in his "Die israelitischen Personennamen ...", *BWANT*, 46, 1928, p. 211.

[6]) The fact that the combination **'iš yhwh* does not occur in the Biblical texts, whereas *'äβäδ yhwh* and *'īš (hå)'älohīm* are frequent, may be either incidental or have its reason in the theology of the Biblical authors which need not be shared by the popular belief as reflected in personal names.

[7]) 1 Ch ii 12 f. — No connection with *'īš* "man" is intimated by the juxtaposition of the two forms.

[8]) 1 Ch xi 11; MT *yåšå'βåm*.

[9]) I hesitate to add as a further example *yiššåχår* allegedly from **īššåχår*, as this etymology is questionable in view of the Minaic name *yšker'l* (Ges.-Buhl, 17th ed., 1921, p. 322) and the name from the time of the Hammurapi dynasty *ia-aš-ku-ur-ilum*, (*PSBA*, 33, (1911), Pl. 43, No. 19 : 12).

[10]) Noth, *l.c.*, p. 126. [11]) Noth, p. 131.

[12]) Contrary to Noth, p. 117, n. 7; p. 166, n. 2.

[13]) Noth, p. 123, n. 1.

[14]) Z. S. Harris, *A Grammar of the Phoenician Language* (AOS 8), 1936, p. 73.

[15]) Noth, *l.c.*, pp. 66-75.

1) Job xxxiii 18 reads: *yaḥśoχ naφšō minnī šâhaθ wᵉḥayyâθō meʿᵃβor baššâlaḥ* "He keepeth back his soul from the pit and his spirit from passing the *šälaḥ*". A similar expression occurs in Job xxxvi 12: *wᵉʾim lo(ʾ) yišmᵉʿū bᵉšälaḥ yaʿᵃβorū wᵉyiγwᵉʿū biβlī δâʿaθ* "But if they obey not they shall pass *šälaḥ* and shall die without knowledge". From the parallel with *šaḥaθ* in xxxiii 18 as well as from the phrase *meʿᵃβor baššaḥaθ* ten verses later it is clear that *šälaḥ* is an expression for underworld. DHORME was on the right track in combining it with *šälaḥ* "canal, conduit, torrent", and comparing *bᵉreχaθ baššälaḥ* [1]), *baššiloḥa* [2]), *šᵉlâḥayiχ* [3]), and Akk. *ši-li-iḫ-ti šá* ᵐᵃʳ*bānī-ti* "The mouth (or: branch) of the Baniti canal" [4]) [5]). But he did not grasp the full implication of these verses because he saw in *šaḥaθ* the grave and in *šälaḥ* the vertical shaft leading from the grave to the underworld. Yet it is extremely doubtful whether *šaḥaθ* ever means "grave"; in passages plainly related to the dead it means "netherworld". And as to *šälaḥ*, this word designates in the before-mentioned quotations (virtually) horizontal water currents. This philological interpretation is born out by the topographical finding of GUTHE who inspected and described what the Bible called *baššiloḥa* and *baššälaḥ* [6]). *Šälaḥ* in our verses, therefore, can mean only the infernal water current, the river of the netherworld, and the phrase *ʿâβar baššälaḥ* "to pass the River of the netherworld", i.e. "to die".

A striking Akkadian parallel to this figure is offered by the so-

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[1]) Neh iii 15.

[2]) Isa viii 6.

[3]) Cant iv 13. This word continues the parable of the spring of the preceding verse.

[4]) HARPER, *Letters*, 327: r. 8 f., 12 f.

[5]) P. DHORME, *Le livre de Job*, 1926, pp. 452 f. — Verbal forms of the same or a similar root confirm the basic meaning "to flow": *hamᵉšalleᵃḥ maʿyânīm bannᵉḥâlīm* "He who makes flow springs in the valleys" (Ps civ 10); *śdhw zlhh* "His field is flooded (or wet)" (Yer. B. Meṣ. 6 : 1 [p. 4d]); C. BEZOLD, *Babylonisch assyrisches Glossar*, 1926, p. 213 notes *s/šalāḫu* III, "fluten lassen". — The name of the river Σεραχος in Cyprus shall cautiously be noted here. Phonetically it may well correspond to *Šälaḥ*. For *l* interchanging with *r* in general see GES.-BUHL, *l.c.*, p. 370; for *l* in Semitic forms corresponding to *r* in Greek-Latin forms of the same word see Heb. *bᵉliyyaʿal* = Βελιαρ (besides Βελιαλ), Lat. *Mercurius* = middle Heb. *mrqwlys* (cf. M. JASTROW, *A Dictionary of the Targumim* . . ., 1903, p. 847), Heb. MT *tuβal* (Ez xxxix 1) = LXX Θοβελ, but the Alexandrinus Θοβερ (see J. LEWY, *HUCA* 23, I, [1950-1951] p. 395, n. 28). We also may hold Egyptian influence on Cyprus responsible for *l*>*r*. For other explanations of the same see W. W. v. BAUDISSIN, *Studien zur semitischen Religionsgeschichte*, II, 1878, p. 164, and OBERHUMMER in PAULY-WISSOWA, II, 2 (1923), col. 1663.

[6]) H. GUTHE, *ZDPV*, 5 (1882), p. 372.

called Babylonian Qoheleth: *na-a[d]-nu-ma ap-pu-nu il-la-ku ú-ru-uḫ mu-ú-te na-a-ri ḫu-bur teb-bi-ri qa-bu-ú ul-tu ul-la* "(The humans) are given up (?), definitely (?) they go the way of death. 'You shall cross the (underworld) river Ḫubur', they have been told since time immemorial." [1]) A prayer to Tammuz describes his death with similar words [2]), as does a conjuration text sending the evil spirits to hell [3]). "River" stands for "underworld" in the titles of Nergal, the god of the underworld, lugal-í d-da "King of the River" [4]) and lugal-ḫ u-bur "King of (the river) Ḫubur" [5]). In a Sumerian text the goddess of the hellish river is called nun-gal-la "Great Princess"[6]). She says of herself that she is a r a l i "the netherworld"[7]); here, too, the name of the river (-goddess) is used for the whole underworld, pars pro toto [8]). A trend towards naming, personifying, and deifying of the underworld river, as well as the widening of the concept until its name become a synonym for underworld is clearly recognizable. At the other end of the ancient Semitic world, in Ugarit, the god of the (river of the) underworld has no special name, but is simply called (*tpṭ*) *nhr* "(Judge [or: Ruler]) River", paralleled by (*zbl*) *ym* "(Prince) Sea" [9]). While the passages from Job together with comparative mythological material strongly suggest that

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[1]) Text *ZA*, 10 (1895), pp. 17 f. Transliteration and translation B. LANDSBERGER, *ZA*, 43 (1936), pp. 46 f., ll. 16 f.; introduction and literature pp. 32. Latest English translation R. H. PFEIFFER in *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the OT*, 1950, p. 439.

[2]) K. TALLQVIST, *Sumerisch Akkadische Namen der Totenwelt (Stud. Or.*, 4, 4*)*, 1934, pp. 12 f.

[3]) K. TALQVIST, p. 34.

[4]) K. TALLQVIST, p. 33, n. 3.

[5]) K. TALLQVIST, p. 33, n. 3. — *Ḫubur* is a Ḫurrian word meaning "earth" (see E. A. SPEISER, *JAOS*, 68 (1948), p. 12 with references to earlier literature), hence "underworld". It is possible that the late Assyrians were still aware of its original meaning when they called *Ḫumuṭ-tabal*, the Akkadian Charon, ^{awel}*malaḫ erṣeti(tim)* "Boatman of the netherworld" (see W. v. SODEN, *ZA*, 43 (1936), p. 16, l. 45) which looks like a translation of ^{awel}*malaḫ ḫubur* "Boatman of the Ḫubur (river)". In the Creation Epic, Ḫubur is a by-name of Tiamat (1 : 132; 2 : 19; so according to A. HEIDEL, *The Babylonian Genesis*, 2nd ed., 1951, p. 23, n. 41).

[6]) E. EBELING, *Tod und Leben nach den Vorstellungen der Babylonier*, 1931, p. 23, l. 10.

[7]) L. r. 7.

[8]) With regard to the queen, this repeats what we have seen earlier with regard to the king, Nergal, since Nungala is the consort of Birtum or Birdu (A. DEIMEL, *Pantheon Babylonicum*, 1914, No. 2352; K. TALLQVIST, *Akkadische Götterepitheta*, p. 431), a by-name of Nergal (DEIMEL, No. 400; TALLQVIST, p. 277).

[9]) C. H. GORDON, *Ugaritic Handbook*, 1947, text 68 (p. 150), ll. 14 ff.

šälaḥ "canal, torrent" is the personification and deification of the infernal river, and thus of the Inferno itself, this assumption is supported by additional material.

2) It has long been recognized that the genealogies in Gen iv 1, 17-22 and v 1-27 (ff.) are variants of one older tradition [1]). Instead of *Mᵉθūšälaḥ* of the second list [2]), the first list has *Mᵉθūšāʾel* [3]). This name is commonly explained as **mutu-ša-ili* "Man of God (or El)". But this is neither Hebrew nor Akkadian. Among the circa 2600 names in STAMM's index [4]) there is none, as far as I can see, of the type "Man (or any other noun instead) *ša ᵈNN*". Against this, my teacher, Professor J. LEWY, reads the name '*Mᵉθūšᵉʾol*' "Man of Sheol" [5]). This most natural explanation establishes the same meaning for the two corresponding names of both genealogies: "Man of the (God of the) Netherworld" [6]).

3) The Phoenician n.pr. *ʾšršlḥ* has been explained as **ʾsrślḥ* [7]), its first element (*ʾšr*) being the Egyptian god Osiris. And while it is true that Osiris is usually spelled *ʾsr* in Phoenician, it is likewise and more generally true that "*š* and *s* vary in transcriptions of foreign names" [8]). Accepting this explanation, the name means "Osiris is *Šälaḥ*". Syncretism in the making! The Phoenician believer from Cyprus accepts the foreign god and identifies him with the god of his fathers. Naturally, only gods who have at least one important feature in common are suitable for identification. And since Osiris is the Egyptian god of the underworld par excellence, it is most probable that this is also the characteristic of *Šälaḥ*.

4) In middle-Hebrew, a field which is irrigated by rain is commonly called (*śdh*) *byt hbʿl*; an artificially irrigated field (*śdh*) *byt hšlḥyn* [9]).

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[1]) For details see the commentaries.

[2]) v 21 f., 25 ff. [3]) iv 18.

[4]) J. J. STAMM, *Die akkadische Namengebung* (*MVAeG* 44), 1939, pp. 325-353.

[5]) Oral communication.

[6]) The by-name of Danel *mt rpi* (*UH*, 1 Aqht: 36 f., passim) may have the same meaning, *rpi* being the deities of the netherworld (*UH*, § 18, 1880). Yet I refrain from a definite interpretation of this name as long as we have obtained no certainty about his other by-name *mt hrnmy*. Both may provide the local or tribal background of the hero; cf. T. H. GASTER, *Thespis*, 1950, p. 272; H. L. GINSBERG in *Ancient New Eastern Texts* ..., p. 149, nn. 2, 4. (Note however, that *rpi* has no gentilic *y* while *hrmny* has it!)

[7]) A. BLOCH, *Phoenizisches Glossar*, 1890, p. 17; HARRIS, *l.c.*, p. 83 (doubting).

[8]) HARRIS, p. 22, n. 11.

[9]) See the Talmudic dictionaries s.v. and, for *śdh byt hšlḥyn*, H. J. KASSOWSKY, *Concordantiae Totius Mischnae*, vol. 1, 1927, p. 375 with many references.

The original meaning of *śdh byt hbʿl*, certainly forgotten in Talmudic times, is clear: the field which Baal, the god of the heaven and the rain, waters; cf. Assyrian *me^meš ša-a ᵃadad* "water of Adad", rain water (for irrigation) [1]). It is not unlikely that its counterpart, *śdh byt hšlḥyn*, has a corresponding mythical background: the field which *Šälaḥ*, the god of the underworld river, waters. The plural *šlḥyn* shows only, as Biblical *tᵉhōmōθ*, that the word was later understood as an appellative noun.

5) A kind of indirect proof of the existence in the Canaanite culture of a god of the *Šälaḥ*-type is found in Deut. xxi 1 ff. A murder has been committed, the murderer is unknown. The responsibility for the crime rests upon the nearest community. The elders offer a heifer as a sacrifice at a perennial torrent [2]). To whom is it offered? The usual answer is: To the spirit of the slain person in order to assuage him; the ceremony is located at the perennial torrent [3]) because valleys were places of heathen cults [4]). This interpretation is open to objections. It is hardly proper to speak of (heathen) cults indiscriminately. If the object of worship in valleys or at springs was not a particular local numen whose precise character largely escapes our knowledge, valleys [5]) and perhaps watered places [6]) were certainly dedicated to fertility cults which have nothing in common with apotropaic ceremonies against the ghost of a slain individual. These would probably have been located at the place of the murder or nearby. A provision which places the action at a

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[1]) *Middle Assyrian Laws*, KAV, No. 2, r. 6 : 21 (Tablet 2, § 18); latest translation T. J. Meek, *Ancient Near Eastern Texts*, p. 186.

[2]) That it was originally a sacrifice is brought out by comparison of v. 3 with xv 19 (K. Martin in E. Kautzsch-A. Bertholet, *Die Heilige Schrift des A.T.*, vol. 1, 1922, p. 297) and of vv. 4, 6 with Ex xiii 13, xxxiv 20, Isa lxvi 3. Further proof is given later.

[3]) *naḥal ʾēθān* (Deut. xxi 4).

[4]) A. Bertholet, *Deuteronomium*, 1899, p. 65; C. Steuernagel, *Übersetzung und Erklärung der Bücher Deuteronomium und Josua*, 1900, p. 78; Marti, *l.c.*; G. A. Smith, *The Book of Deuteronomy*, 1918, p. 252, explains the brook to be a check against the spirit of the slain man passing over to the town and doing harm. (Demons cannot cross water). But where is it said that the torrent flows between the place of the crime and the town? — S. R. Driver, *A Critical and Exegetical commentary on Deuteronomy*, 1895 (1909, 1916), p. 242 and E. Koenig, *Das Deuteronomium*, 1917, p. 150, see the reason for the location in a purification rite: the water carries away the blood and with it the guilt. Yet this is hardly in line with the character of an offering. The material of an offering is to be accepted and not to be thrown away, particularly the blood which is always handled with utmost care (cf. e.g. Lev i 5 and frequ. xvii 11).

[5]) Jer ii 23, Isa lvii 5 ff. [6]) Isa i 30.

perennial torrent would, in most cases, remove it from the endangered neighborhood where it is most needed since there are only few and widely scattered perennial torrents in Palestine [1]). Another, though less serious obstacle to that interpretation is offered by the words of the elders following the sacrifice: "Our hands have not shed this blood, neither have our eyes seen it" [2]). A spirit haunting the place is not likely to be set at peace by declarations of innocence. He has not come to establish justice on earth. He seeks his rest by getting offerings or by taking a human life, as the belief of the particular culture may require. For that purpose he would not roam throughout the country, but remain in the environment of the murder [3]).

The following interpretation of the background of the law avoids these difficulties. The sacrifice is not offered to the spirit of the slain man, but to the god of the infernal river whose earthly appearance the perennial torrent is. As late as the second century A.D. the practice of offering to the gods of the sea and the rivers was so widespread in Palestine that the Mishna prohibits even profane slaughtering by which the blood flows into lakes, rivers, and the like [4]) for fear that such an act might be interpreted as offering to the *śr' dym'* "Prince of the Sea" [5]), the Aramaic correspondent to the above-mentioned Ug. *zbl ym* who, in turn, is identical with *ṯpṭ nhr*, the god of the netherworld river. In the ceremonies of Deut. xxi he is called upon by the offering to judge in this grievous and insoluble case; *rīβ* "litigation, controversy" is the word used in the context [6]). Support from Biblical material for this concept is contained in the old names of Kadesh Barnea: *me mᵉrībā(h)* [7]) or *mē mᵉrībaθ qāδeš* [8]) and *ʿen mišpāṭ* [9]); it is a spring, the upsurge of the deep waters, where controversies are settled and judgment is executed [10]). But really

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[1]) The valleys mentioned in note 5 on p. 46 are, in all probability, in the vicinity of Jerusalem and dry all year round except for a few days of heavy rain.

[2]) Deut. xxi 7. [3]) *sᵉβîβōθ hāḥālāl* (v. 2).

[4]) Ḥullin ii 9. [5]) Bab. Ḥullin 41 b.

[6]) v. 5. — My teacher, Prof. SHELDON H. BLANK, has kindly drawn my attention to J. Z. LAUTERBACH's study on Tashlik, *HUCA*, XI (1936), pp. 207-340. There LAUTERBACH taking up Baḥya b. Asher's commentary on Deut xxi 1 (14th cent.), says, that the heifer was offered to the deity or demon of the torrent (Baḥya: *hʿnyn lśr hnḥl*) in order to pacify him (pp. 218 ff.). But he leaves unexplained why just that demon came into the picture. Why was he more offended than any other deity?

[7]) Nu xx 13. [8]) xxvii 14. [9]) Gen xiv 7.

[10]) The connection of springs and rivers with mythological figures of the abyss

revealing are parallels drawn from the abundance of Mesopotamian literature. On the one hand, Akkadian laws [1]) and incantations [2]) know the river ordeal. On the other hand, religious texts make the river of the underworld the judge of men: *i-na i-te-e ᵈnāri a-šar de-en nīšēmeš ib-bir-ru* "On the river shore where the judgment of men is manifested" [3]); *šá ina nari ub-ba-bu ki-e-nu u rag-gu* "The one (Marduk) who purifies (i.e. judges) the righteous one and the wicked one at the river" [4]), ki-[nam-]tar-ri íd-lú-šub-gú da-an-ba-súg-gi-eš zi-gen erim-gen bar-an-kìd-dè "They come to the place of destiny, to the infernal river, it will separate the righteous one from the wicked one" [5]). A synopsis of the two groups of inscriptions makes it clear: When men, unable to find the truth in an ordinary procedure of human judgment, go to the river, they approach the god of the infernal river who manifests himself in a river on earth. — For various reasons there is no room for a full-fledged ordeal in the Biblical law under discussion. What is still preserved are traces of an invocation through sacrifice and a protestation of innocence.

Once we have interpreted Deut. xxi 1-9 as an indication that Canaanite mythology knew of the god of the infernal river endowed with judicial functions, we may look again at some of the above-discussed material. Ug. *ṯpṭ nhr* gives words to the idea that the god of the river of hell is (ruler and) judge [6]). The equation "Osiris is *Šälaḥ*", stated in the Phoenician personal name *ʾšršlḥ*, is of deep concern to the ancient believer if Osiris is conceived not only as the god of the underworld, but, mainly, as the judge of the dead. Finally, it may be noted in passing, that, according to an anonymous Jewish

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is brought out in the names of *ʿēn hattanīn* "Spring of the Dragon" (Neh ii 13); *ʾäβän hazzoḥälä*θ *ʾᵃšär ʾeṣäl ʿen roγel* "Stone of the Serpent which is by the Rogel Spring" (1 Kings i 9; this is contrary to G. R. Driver, *ZAW*, 52 [1934], p. 51 f.); the by-names of the Orontes: Δρακὼν, Τυφὼν, Ὀφίτης (see Baudissin, *l.c.*, p. 163, and J. Schmidt in Pauly-Wissowa, 18 [1939], col. 1161).

[1]) Cod. Ham. §§ 2, 132; *Middle Assyrian Laws*, KAV, No. 1, 2 : 67 ff. (tablet 1, § 17), 105 ff. (§ 22); 3 : 41 ff. (§ 24), 82 ff. (§ 25); translation Meek, *l.c.*, 181 f.

[2]) KAR, No. 134, r. 6 ff. (Ebeling, *l.c.*, p. 99).

[3]) *Ludlul bēl nēmeqi* 3 : r. 20, text VR 47 : r. 30; latest translation R. H. Pfeiffer, *Ancient Near Eastern Texts*, p. 437. — An ancient commentary of the following line makes it clear the infernal river is meant: *i-te-e ᵈnār ḫur-ša-an* (VR 47 : r. 31); cf. again Tallqvist, *Namen*, pp. 23-25.

[4]) Transliteration and translation Ebeling, *l.c.*, p. 25, l. 14.

[5]) From the text referred to note 39: p. 22, ll. 6 f.

[6]) Cf. Count du Mesnil du Buisson, apud C. H. Gordon, *Ugaritic Literature*, 1949, p. 11, n. 1.

legend quoted by Maimonides [1]), the Biblical *Meθūšälaḥ* was the head of a court of justice and of an academy [2]).

To sum up: The god *Šälaḥ* is the god of the infernal river of the Canaanite population of Palestine and Phoenicia. This is shown 1) by the Phoenician name(s) *'šrślḥ* (and *'bślḥ*); 2) by the fact that "man, worshipper" in the Biblical personal name with which we have started our study is expressed by *meθū* rather than by *'īš*, and it is this change from Canaanite *mut* to Heb. *'īš* in the personal names, both meaning "Man of Baal", which corresponds to the change from the Amarna to the early Israelite age in Palestine [3]). But *Šälaḥ* is more than a mere personification of the river. He judges those who descend to the netherworld and his power reaches to the earth above. Of all this only faint traces have been left in the Bible, and it needs hardly to be pointed out that the author of Deut. xxi 1-9 did not know of the mythical background of the law any more than the sages of the Talmud knew of the original meaning of *śdh byt b'l* and *śdh byt šḥlyn*.

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[1]) *The Guide of the Perplexed*, II, 39.

[2]) LAUTERBACH explains the custom of Tashlik (in later times a prayer, recited at a river or a lake mainly around New Year's time, but in earlier days a ceremony of throwing food into the water [cf. p. 287]) as an offering to Satan in order to pacify him (pp. 260 f., 288). This explanation is incontestable. But another one discussed in the present article seems likewise possible and may be forwarded here as an alternative: The offering is brought not to Satan, in order to make him desist from his function as *accuser*, but to the *judging* deity of the underworld to obtain a more lenient verdict. For neither explanation an uninterrupted sequence of customs and beliefs, going back to ancient times, can be shown; we have to assume survival of old superstitions which the Rabbis shunned so much that they made no mention of them in their literature over the centuries. It is true, LAUTERBACH claims to have found the missing link between ancient times and the first reference of the Tashlik ceremony of the 14th century. He quotes a passage from Rashi's commentary to Šab. 81 b, who in turn cites Gaonic authorities describing what LAUTERBACH takes as a forerunner of Tashlik (pp. 277 ff.). In reality that custom has nothing to do with Tashlik, but is an almost classical description of an Αδῶνιδες κῆπος. It is, therefore, no longer possible to decide between these two motives brought as possible explanation for Tashlik; may be both contributed to its rise.

[3]) Cf. above, p. 41. — Recently the name *Ii-ši-dU* has appeared in an Akkadian written list of people in the neighborhood of Ugarit (*Syria*, 28 [1951], p. 49, l. 25). CH. VIROLLEAUD reads it: *Ii-ši-dba'alu* and compares Biblical *'äsba'al* with it (p. 52). In this case the change from *meθu* to *'īš* would have taken place very early, as the Amarna and the Ugaritic names are roughly contemporaneous; consequently the form *meθu* in names would be indicative of a high age. But VIROLLEAUD's interpretation is not sure. *'īšu* "man" is not known as a Ugaritic word. Should the name be an abbreviated Akkadian name with *i-ši* imperative or perf. of *našū* "to lift"? We would then read the divine name *Adad*.

THE CONSTRUCT-GENITIVE RELATION IN HEBREW SYNTAX

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The scope of this brief study may be indicated by reference to the following rule of Hebrew syntax, given in GESENIUS' *Hebrew Grammar* [1]): "When the genitive, following a construct state, is used periphrastically to express the idea of a material or attribute, the pronominal suffix, which properly belongs to the compound idea (represented by the *nomen regens* and genitive) is, like the article, attached to the second substantive (the genitive), e.g. הַר קָדְשִׁי prop. *the hill of my holiness*, i.e. my holy hill: עִיר קָדְשֶׁךָ *thy holy city*; אֱלִילֵי כַסְפּוֹ *his idols of silver*, etc. .....". We are not concerned here with cases where the dependence of the noun in the construct state upon the noun immediately following it (in the genitive) conveys the idea of possession, as נְשֵׁי בָנָיו 'the wives of his sons', i.e. 'his sons' wives'. Equally irrelevant to our purpose are subjective relationships of two such linked nouns, as שְׁרִירוּת לִבָּם 'the stubbornness of their heart' (i.e. the stubborness shown by them) or objective relationships, as יִרְאַת אֱלֹהֵינוּ 'the fear of our God' (meaning, the fear shown towards God). Our interest here is restricted to such cases where the noun in the genitive (with a suffix attached to it) expresses the idea of a *quality* which it gives to the noun immediately preceding it in the construct state.

GESENIUS' statement of rule calls for some amplification and clarification, for it is not adequately developed in its implications. Firstly it should be recognised that the noun in the construct state is the main idea and that the second noun (in the genitive) has a qualifying effect upon it, similar to that of an adjective upon the noun

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[1]) GESENIUS-KAUTZSCH-COWLEY, *Hebrew Grammar*, Oxford, The Clarendon Press, 1946. Section 135n.

with which it is associated. An early edition of GESENIUS' *Hebrew Grammar* in English refers to this kind of genitive as expressing the idea of an adjective [1]). This direct reference to the nature of such a genitive comes closer to the point of the Hebrew usage than the modifications made in the Clarendon press edition of reducing the adjectival effect of the genitive to terms of an attribute or material. It is, after all, due to the paucity of adjectives in the vocabulary of Biblical Hebrew that the effect of an adjective is gained by this construct-genitive arrangement [2]). Secondly, though it is held that the suffix, attached to the noun in the genitive, properly belongs to the whole compound idea, yet it is specifically associated with the main idea, that is, the noun in the construct state [3]). It follows, then, that the pattern of thought described in GESENIUS' preliminary rendering of his first example (namely, 'the hill of my holiness') is erroneous. Even on his own enunciation of the rule it should have been 'my hill-of-holiness'—a thought-process which readily resolves into the English phrasing 'my holy hill'. This kind of error seems due to the failure to recognise that the suffix, though attached to the noun in the genitive, logically is to be associated with the noun in the construct state [4]). On the other hand, his translation of his third example (namely, 'his idols of silver') is quite correct, for here is a direct association of the pronominal suffix with the noun conveying the main idea, that is, the noun in the construct state [5]).

These comments on GESENIUS' translations of his first and third examples reveal a curious phenomenon in the authorised renderings of Hebrew phrases in the construct-genitive relationship, particularly when a pronominal suffix is involved. It appears that, where an association of the suffix with the noun in the genitive (to which it was attached) produced an obviously absurd meaning [6]), the true sense

[1]) GESENIUS' *Hebrew Grammar*: Translated by BENJAMIN DAVIES, Asher & Co; London, 1869. p. 265 — „where the second noun is used to express a quality of the first and serves for an adjective to it".

[2]) This arrangement follows the general pattern of Hebrew thinking in that 'the general or main idea is first expressed and is limited in its application by a following word (or particle)'. See my *Practical Grammar for Classical Hebrew*, Oxford, (The Clarendon Press, 1939) p. 57, note (d).

[3]) In the expression 'my holy hill', for example, the possessive 'my' refers specifically to 'hill', even though the adjective is placed between them.

[4]) Since nothing can intervene between the noun in the construct state and the following one in the genitive, the suffix, obviously, is attached to the genitive.

[5]) A further reduction in English would be 'his silver idols'.

[6]) E.g. if the preliminary translation of GESENIUS' third example had been given as 'the idols of his silver'.

of the phrase was grasped. Where, however, the absurdity or awkwardness of meaning resulting from such wrong associations did not obtrude itself, mistranslations and distortions of the true sense followed. Some typical examples of such correct renderings are: מִשְׁפְּטֵי צִדְקֶךָ (psalm cxix 62) — 'thy righteous judgments' [1]), חֶלְקַת חֶמְדָתִי (Jeremiah xii 10) 'my pleasant portion' [2]) and עָרֵי מָעוּז (Isaiah xvii 9) — 'his strong cities' [3]). Yet, strangely enough, in the verse following the last cited example (namely, Isaiah xvii 10) the line וְצוּר מָעֻזֶּךָ לֹא זָכַרְתָּ is translated (taking it in the order of the Hebrew wording) 'and of the rock of thy stronghold thou wast not mindful'. The true sense of the first two words in this line is (firstly 'thy rock of stronghold', i.e.) 'thy stronghold (-like) rock' [4]). It is interesting to observe that the Targum rendering is וְדַחְלַת תַּקִּיפָא דִּי מֵימְרֵיהּ בְּסַעֲדִיךְ לָא אִידְכַּרְתָּ — 'and of the fear of the mighty one, whose word was in thy help, thou wast not mindful'. Though the Targumist, clearly, has indulged in extended interpretation, it would, nevertheless, appear that the nature of his interpretation was somewhat influenced by his failure to appreciate that the pronominal suffix 'thy' refers to the main idea 'rock' and by his consequent

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[1]) Reduced from 'thy judgments of righteousness'.

[2]) Reduced from 'my portion of pleasantness'.

[3]) Reduced from 'his cities of stronghold', i.e. 'his stronghold cities' or 'his fortified cities'.

[4]) An example of the occurrence of this expression without a suffix is found in Psalm xxxi 3 in the line הֱיֵה לִי לְצוּר מָעוֹז 'be Thou unto me as a rock of stronghold', i.e. 'a stronghold (or impregnable) rock'.

The expression אֱלֹהֵי מָעֻזִּי in Psalm xliii 2 is, from the grammatical standpoint, legitimate, for it means 'my stronghold (-like) God'. There is no grammatical compulsion for the suggested minor alteration in pointing to אֱלֹהַי to produce the meaning 'my God, my stronghold' and thus making the second noun stand in apposition to the first. It may be that the difficulty involved in the mistranslation 'the God of my stronghold', resulting from the association of the suffix with the genitive, gave rise to the need for this proposed repointing.

In 2 Samuel xxii 1 we meet the words אֱלֹהֵי צוּרִי, which cannot mean 'the God of my rock'. While the wording אֵלִי צוּרִי 'my God, my rock' in the parallel text of Psalm xviii 1 might justify a modification of the former to אֱלֹהַי or even אֵלִי, the fact that this phrase אֱלֹהֵי צוּרִי appears at all in the Samuel version, even if it were occasioned by a faulty reading, points to the grammatical usage under review, with the meaning 'my rocklike God'.

association of it with the noun to which it is attached. One might conclude from this, and from other examples which will be cited later, that the failure to understand the point in this Hebrew usage goes far back into the history of authoritative versions of the Hebrew Scriptures [1]).

As a contrast to the first of the three quoted examples of correct English translations of the Hebrew construct-genitive relationship with suffixes, we may refer to Psalm iv 2, where the opening words are: בְּקָרְאִי עֲנֵנִי אֱלֹהֵי צִדְקִי which should be translated 'when I call, answer me, O my God of righteousness (or, rather, my righteous God)'. The misunderstanding of the Hebrew usage (in the translation 'God of my righteousness') not only distorts the plain sense of the Hebrew, but necessitates the introduction of interpretation, to make the words yield some intelligible meaning. Qimḥi's comment on this phrase is שֶׁאַתָּה יוֹדֵעַ כִּי עִמִּי הַצֶּדֶק 'for Thou knowest that right is with me', while Ibn Ezra interprets לְהַרְאוֹת צִדְקִי 'to show my right(eousness)'. These are not simply homiletical notes of a free character, but seem, rather, to stem from an implied association of the suffix with the noun to which it is attached. They both did not realise that the suffix 'my' refers to the main idea 'God' and that the genitive 'righteousness' is used with adjectival force to qualify the main noun 'God'. Any modern commentator who labours under the same misapprehension would, likewise, be impelled to put such a construction on the words. Yet, when the true import of the Hebrew usage is grasped, the sense of the phrase is immediately direct and plain and interpretation becomes wholly unnecessary.

Nominal forms of the root ישע, namely יֵשַׁע, יְשׁוּעָה and תְּשׁוּעָה (meaning 'salvation, victory, triumph') occur frequently in the poetic portions of the Hebrew Scriptures in the construct-genitive relationship with suffix. The familiar phrase אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׁעִי (and variants) means (not 'the God of my salvation' but) 'my God of Salvation', i.e. 'my saving God'. To insist upon an appreciation of the correct order of Hebrew thinking is no mere pedantry for, apart from the emergence of a better and closer sympathy with the poet's mind,

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[1]) The LXX often translates verbatim, even when the sense produced is clearly absurd, e.g. מִשְׁפְּטֵי צִדְקֶךָ is rendered τὰ κρίματα τῆς δικαιοσύνης σου in Psalm cxix 62.

textual emendation might, on occasion, become redundant and unwarranted. In Psalm xviii 36 [1]) (and 2 Samuel xxii 36) the verse reads וַתִּתֶּן לִי מָגֵן יִשְׁעֶךָ which should be taken to mean 'Thou hast given me thy shield of salvation', i.e. 'thy saving shield'. On the authority of the LXX rendering σωτηρίας μου and, evidently, supported by the erroneous association of the suffix 'thy' with the word to which it is attached, namely, 'salvation', it has been suggested that יִשְׁעֶךָ [2]) (which, when taken by itself, would mean) 'thy salvation' should be emended to יִשְׁעִי 'my salvation' [3]). The new construction placed on the line 'the shield of my salvation' is not only grammatically incorrect, but is inferior to the Massoretic reading. The poet is speaking of God's protecting power and his reference to 'thy saving shield' is in perfect keeping with the following sentiment וִימִינְךָ תִסְעָדֵנִי 'and thy right hand supporteth me'. It has been pointed out that this latter phrase might be an explanatory gloss, for it does not occur in the parallel text of 2 Samuel. If this contention has validity, and it is not to our purpose to enter into a discussion on the point here, then we may at least conclude that the glossator correctly understood the Massoretic reading, for he explains מָגֵן יִשְׁעֶךָ ('thy saving shield') as having the significance of יְמִינְךָ ('thy right hand'). The glossator's note, then, confirms the true meaning of the phrase and attests to the superiority of the Massoretic reading. Turning to the enigmatic phrase אֹהֲבֵי תְשׁוּעָתֶךָ (Psalm xl 17), one wonders what thought could be conveyed by the rendering 'the lovers of thy salvation'. If, however, we recognise that the suffix 'thy' must refer to the main noun 'lovers', then we have, firstly, a reference to 'thy lovers'. Since the genitive has the force of an adjective, the sense of the phrase would appear to be 'thy saved lovers'. This rendering has the merit of providing a harmonious balance with מְבַקְשֶׁיךָ (lit. 'thy seekers', i.e.) 'those who seek thee' in the first half of the verse and thus of preserving the rule of poetic parallelism.

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[1]) The verse enumeration follows the Hebrew.

[2]) Qimḥi is consistent in adhering to the notion that the suffix belongs to the noun to which it is attached, for he comments יִשְׁעֲךָ הָיָה לִי מָגֵן 'thy salvation was a shield for me'.

[3]) W. O. E. Oesterley, *The Psalms*. Translated with text-critical and exegetical notes: London, S.P.C.K., 1939, p. 164.

Another example of a type similar to the one treated above is תְּפִלָּה לְאֵל חַיָּי in Psalm xlii 9. If this line is taken to mean 'A Prayer to the God of my life', then interpretation if inevitably introduced to explain the implications of the phrase 'God of my life'. The Targum, as we would expect, felt the need for such an auxiliary interpretation and rendered the line as לְאֵל דִּי נָטֵיר חַיַּי 'to God, *who preserveth* my life'. By realising that the suffix refers to the main idea, namely 'God', we see that the correct meaning is 'my God of life', that is 'my living God' [1]). Some critics [2]) would eliminate the second Yôd of חַיָּי, as being due to dittography and read the adjective חָי 'living', thus making it conform to the phrase לְאֵל חָי 'to (a) living God' in verse 3 of this psalm. Apart from the fact that the LXX has in verse (8, corresponding to the Hebrew verse) 9 τῷ θεῷ τῆς ζωῆς μου and thus supporting the Massoretic reading, on our exposition of the syntax usage involved there is no justification for even so slight an alteration. On the contrary, if there is any reason to expect uniformity of expression in verses 3 and 9, then we might just as easily adjust חָי in verse 3 to חַיָּי. The context of that verse would, at least, be improved to 'My soul thirsteth for God, for my living God'. A parallel idea may be found in Psalm xxvii 1 *b* in the line יהוה מָעוֹז חַיַּי which we take to mean 'YHWH is (not 'the stronghold of my life' but) my living stronghold'—a pleasing parallel in thought to יהוה אוֹרִי וְיִשְׁעִי 'YHWH is my light and my salvation' in the first half of the verse.

Some further familiar phrases involving, in the Hebrew the construct-genitive relationship and suffix and which require corrected renderings may now be listed. אֱלֹהֵי חַסְדִּי in Psalm lix 11 and 18 means 'my God of kindness', i.e. 'my kind God' [3]). אֱלֹהֵי תְהִלָּתִי in

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[1]) A colleague, with whom the present writer discussed the point under consideration, asked: 'But how would you express in Hebrew the phrase 'God of my life'? The answer would appear to be that such an expression would never have been formulated in the mind of an ancient Hebrew. The familiar ring it has in English may be due to its occurrence in the English Authorised Version of the Old Testament.

[2]) Oesterley, *op. cit.*, p. 242.

[3]) There is some difficulty in the phrase in verse 11. The parallel verse 18 would suggest that it should belong to verse 10. The Kᵉtîb is חַסְדּוֹ ('his kindness') which

Psalm cix 1 means 'my God of praise', i.e. 'my praiseworthy, or praised, God'. חֶרֶב גַּאֲוָתֶךָ in Deuteronomy xxxiii 29 means 'thy sword of pride', i.e. 'thy proud sword'. הֲדַר מַלְכוּתוֹ in Psalm cxlv 12 means 'his splendour of kingship', i.e. 'his kingly, or royal, splendour' [1]). צֹאן מַרְעִיתוֹ in Psalm c 3 means 'his flock of pasture', i.e. 'his pastured flock' or 'his tended flock' [2]). אֶרֶץ יְרֻשַּׁתְכֶם in Joshua i 15 means 'your land of possession (or inheritance)', i.e. 'your possessed, or inherited, land', meaning 'your won territory'.

There are some cases of construct-genitive relationships of nouns in which, though uncomplicated by the presence of a suffix, the failure to recognise the adjectival force of the second noun has led to difficulty in understanding the sense. One may cite Job vii 8 where we find Job's wish for annihilation expressed in the following words לֹא תְשׁוּרֵנִי עֵין רֹאִי which yields no sense if translated as 'The eye of him who seeth me shall *no longer* behold me' [3]). The extension, italicised, though not warranted by the Hebrew text, was felt to be necessary, as a paraphrase or interpretation, if some intelligible meaning was to be extracted from these words. This fact is, in itself,

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the LXX reads, as well as אֱלֹהַי 'my God') in both verses (LXX 10 and 17), for C. A. Briggs (I.C.C., *The Book of Psalms* Vol. II, Edinburgh, T. & T. Clark, 1907, pages 49, 50, 53, 56) follows the LXX reading of the earlier verse and translates it 'May my God come to meet me with His kindness' and omits the phrase in question in verse 18. Ibn Ezra associated the suffix with the genitive and took the expression to mean 'God of my kindness', for he comments הוא סִבַּת חַסְדִּי 'He is the source of my kindness'. However, the traditional vocalisation, sustained by the Qᵉre in verse 11 points to the currency of this phrase which conveyed the reference to 'my kind God'. Oesterley, *op cit.* p. 294, has „my loving God".

[1]) מַלְכוּת may here be taken to have the sense of sovereignty, as implied in the following verse of the Psalm where it is used as a parallel to מֶמְשָׁלָה ('dominion', rule').

[2]) עַמּוֹ 'his people' occurring immediately before compels us to see in this phrase a reference to 'his flock'. Similarly in Psalm xcv 7 עַם מַרְעִיתוֹ means his tended i.e. cared-for, people'.

[3]) Though it may be conceded that the irrelevancy of the entire verse, in relation to the context, poses the question of its originality as Job's words, our concern here is mainly linguistic and the occurrence of this phrase, quite independently of its relevance, obliges us to try to understand what it conveys.

W. B. Stevenson, *The Poem of Job*: *Schweich lectures* (1947), translates: — 'No visitor's eye can see me'.

an indication that the true meaning had eluded the translators. However, if the word רֹאִי, accented Mil'êl (on the penultimate syllabe) is taken as a nominal form of the Lāmed Yôd root ראה ('saw') on the analogy of יֹפִי ('beauty') and עֹנִי ('affliction') and to have the meaning of 'sight' in the sense of 'the power of seeing' [1]), then we have an occurrence of the construct-genitive arrangement. Since the genitive may be regarded here as having an adjectival effect, the sense of the phrase may be taken as 'No seeing eye shall behold me'.

The word אֱלֹהִים, when following immediately upon a noun in the construct state cannot, in some instances, have the meaning 'God'. If the primary meaning of this word can be established and, in such construct-genitive arrangements, its adjectival force noted, then some expressions, regarded hitherto as difficult and consequently subjected to interpretation, become endowed with articulate sense. In the dramatic scene at the cave of the witch of En-Dor, when Samuel's ghost appears and the witch cries out in alarm, Saul asks her what she has seen and she replies (1 Samuel xxviii 13) אֱלֹהִים רָאִיתִי עֹלִים מִן הָאָרֶץ. The context would suggest her words to imply 'Something unearthly, or supernatural [2]), I have seen coming up out of the earth!' Similarly, in Judges xiii 6 and 8 the expression אִישׁ אֱלֹהִים

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[1]) This word occurs in the phrase וטוֹב רֹאִי in 1 Samuel xvi 12 where it would seem to be the same as מַרְאֶה 'sight' in the sense of 'appearance'. Curiously, however, this description of David's handsomeness reinforces the preceding reference to his יְפֵה עֵינַיִם 'beauty of eyes'. Qimḥi here quotes our Job text as another case where this noun occurs. In Genesis xvi 13 Onkelos translates, or interprets, the words אֵל רֳאִי as אֱלָהָא דְּחָזֵי כֹּלָא 'God, who sees everything'. Is it not likely that רֹאִי means 'sight' in both senses of 'seeing' and 'something seen'. In Nahum iii 6 Rashi takes this word to mean 'excrement', while the AV translates it as 'gazingstock'. One is almost tempted to see in this AV rendering an extension of the meaning of 'sight' to 'spectacle' or 'exhibition', as used in English.

[2]) The Targum here has מַלְאַכָא דַיי 'an angel of the Lord'. In Genesis iii 5 the serpent, in enticing Eve to eat of the tree of knowledge is represented as saying וְהֲוֵיתֶם כֵּאלֹהִים 'ye shall be like elohim', Onkelos renders this כְּרַבְרְבִין 'as superior beings', while Targum J further elaborates with כְּמַלְאָכִין רַבְרְבִין 'as superior angels'. In Psalm viii 6 וַתְּחַסְּרֵהוּ מְעַט מֵאֱלֹהִים 'thou hast made him little less than 'elōhîm' the latter is taken by the Targum to be מַלְאָכַיָא 'angels'. Ibn Ezra, in support of the Targum rendering, quotes Daniel ii 11 אֱלָהִין דִּי מְדָרְהוֹן עִם בִּשְׂרָא

cannot mean 'a man of God' in the sense of a prophet, but would rather seem to describe a supernatural being [1]), just as אֱלֹהִים רָאִינוּ in verse 22 cannot mean 'God have we seen', but 'something supernatural have we seen'. If, then, אֱלֹהִים can be taken to have this primitive meaning of something unearthly or supernatural which inspires terror, it is worthwhile applying this meaning to cases where the more usual meaning 'God' would not give satisfactory sense. As our first example we may quote Ezekiel's reference to his uncanny vision (Chapter i 1) as מַרְאוֹת אֱלֹהִים. The usual rendering 'visions of God', implying visions sent by God, is quite inane and lacking in dramatic effect. This, however, is immediately produced if we take the phrase to mean 'unearthly sights'. Such a forceful introductory phrase would be the right kind of prelude to the detailed and graphic description of the weird creatures which appeared in his vision.

We may, on this basis, examine the expression קֹלוֹת אֱלֹהִים attributed to Pharaoh in the narrative of Exodus ix 28. During the havoc caused by the plague of hail Pharaoh is seized with terror and is ready to comply with Moses' demands. He is represented as saying that there has been enough of 'unearthly, or unnatural, thunderings and hail'. Neither the rendering 'thundering by God' nor even 'mighty thundering' can convey the atmosphere of panic which the context implies, whereas the translation suggested here gives a very forceful reason for it.

Finally, the class of beings referred to as בְּנֵי אֱלֹהִים in Genesis vi 2, 4 should be considered in the light of this discussion. If we regard the word אֱלֹהִים following immediately upon the construct בְּנֵי as having, in this instance, a qualifying effect and that its earlier meaning of unearthliness or supernatural status is applicable here, then we have a simple account of the myth. The story is told that, in dim antiquity, some supernatural male beings — בְּנֵי הָאֱלֹהִים — cast their

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לָא אִיתוֹהִי 'elohîm, whose habitation is not with flesh'. Though the Targumists were influenced by late theological scruples, is it not possible that, because of this deterrent, something of the primitive concept 'unearthly or supernatural' was preserved in their developed interpretation of אֱלֹהִים as 'angels' in these instances?

[1]) G. F. Moore, *Judges*, (I.C.C.) Edinburgh, 1895, remarks (p. 324) that "The word Elohim is used for any superhuman being".

eyes upon some female human beings — בְּנוֹת הָאָדָם — and took them as wives. The union of the superhuman males with the human females produced a race of formidable people of ancient renown [1]). The contrast between the superhuman and the human is brought out clearly in Psalm lxxxii 6, 7 אֲנִי אָמַרְתִּי אֱלֹהִים אַתֶּם וּבְנֵי עֶלְיוֹן כֻּלְּכֶם׃ אָכֵן כְּאָדָם תְּמוּתוּן which contains the following taunt: 'I thought you were superhuman and that ye were superior beings, but ye shall die like ordinary human beings'.

It is not within the scope of this article to attempt to follow further the implications of the treatment of the word אֱלֹהִים as given in the texts cited above. The validity of the thesis laid down here must be tested, not only linguistically, but also from the point of view of Comparative Religion and the development of the idea of God in ancient Israel. It has been offered here as a concomitant of the general study, which is concerned with the adjectival effect of the genitive upon the noun in the construct state immediately preceding it and the consequent restudy of passages in which this grammatical feature appears. If the soundness of this treatment can be maintained, then we will have been given another warning against the tendency of interpreting Semitic modes of thought in terms of our Western logic. Furthermore, we should take note of the fact that if, on the one hand, a phrase in a Hebrew text cannot be understood without interpretation, there is a pointer to a likely defect in our knowledge. On the other hand, if the sense is plain and direct, we have reason to hope that we have clearly understood the meaning of the phrase. The Talmudic Rabbis believed that דִּבְּרָה תוֹרָה כִּלְשׁוֹן בְּנֵי אָדָם — Scripture employed plain language' (Talmud Babli Bᵉrakhot 31 b).

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[1]) J. Skinner, *Genesis* I.C.C. Edinburgh, 1910, makes this comment (p. 142) 'These superhuman beings, attracted by the beauty of the daughters of men (i.e. mortal women)'.

THE TERM SEVENTY YEARS CAPTIVITY

BY

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References to seventy years captivity appear in more than one place in the Old Testament. Yet, this term cannot be an accurate reference to the period between the main deportation by Nebuchadnezzar in 586 B.C. [1]); and the decree issued by Cyrus in 538, a period of 48 years [2]); nor to the period which elapsed between 586 and the return of the prophets Haggai and Zechariah in the second year of Darius (Hag. i 1; Zech. i 1) in the year 520. Accepting the references to be applicable to this latter period scholars, accordingly, speak of the seventy years as 'a round number' [3]). An examination of the relevant-biblical passages however, would seem to shew that the seventy years of our biblical texts is not a round number, but that it is, rather, an exact figure referring to some definite and important event in the history of the Jews.

We shall begin our discussion with the references in the book of Zechariah, although we shall not with DUHM [4]), necessarily regard

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[1]) Jeremiah (lii 28-30) mentions two other deportations: a small number in 597, and another in 582.

[2]) A fact to which C. C. TORREY, with some irony, draws attention in his *Second Isaiah*, p. 21 (Edin. 1928).

[3]) Eg. D. B. DUHM: 'Sacharja meint allerdings die Zeit von der Zerstörung des Temples bis auf das 2 Jahr des Darius Hystapis, die beinahe 70 Jahr ausmacht', *Das Buch Jeremia* (Leipzig 1901), p. 202. So, with reference to Jer. xxix 10, HEINRICH CORNILL said: 'Sie kann nur als rund angesehen werden, durch welche der Prop. eine nicht kurze, aber absehbare Zeit ausdrücken will', *Das Buch Jeremia* (Leipzig 1905), p. 290. Also G. A. SMITH, *The Book of the Twelve Prophets*, vol. II, p. 254; A. F. KIRKPATRICK, *The Doctrine of the Prophets* (Lond. 1897), p. 414. Cf. also *Commentary on Zechariah* (I.C.C.) by MITCHELL, POWIS SMITH, and BEWER, p. 124-5. Similarly, W. F. LOFTHOUSE, in *After The Exile*, speaks of 'roughly two generations after the exile' p. 136; so in his *Jeremiah*, *S.C.M.* (1925), p. 136: 'Jeremiah uses the round number of seventy years'. Other examples will appear below.

[4]) Commenting on Jer. xxv 12, he said: 'Es ist wahrscheinlich, dass der Verf. zunächst von Sach. i 12 auf die 70 Jahr gebracht worden ist', *Das Buch Jeremia*, p. 202. CORNILL however attributed Zechariah's use of the term to Jeremiah: 'So beweist also schon ZA. 1, 12 für die siebzig Jahre als Jeremianisch und nicht erst Jes. 23, 15 f.', *Das Buch Jer.*, p. 291.

these passages as the origin of the term seventy years. In what is reported as the first vision [1]) in Zech. i 12, we read: 'Then the angel of Jahweh answered and said, Oh Yahweh of hosts, how long wilt thou not have mercy on Jerusalem and on the cities of Judah, against which thou hast had indignation these three score and ten years?' Then the angel gave the prophet an answer saying: 'I am jealous for Jerusalem and for Zion with a great jealousy ... therefore, I am returned to Jerusalem with mercies; my house shall be built in it saith the Lord of hosts'. We notice at once that the emphasis of this Divine oracle is on the assurance of the restoration of the temple. This was in the year 520 (Zech. i 7) [2]), and indeed, the one concern of the Jews at this time was the rebuilding of their house of worship. For, although a party of the Jews returned to Jerusalem, on the issue of the decree of Cyrus, with the express purpose of rebuilding 'the house of the Lord' (Ezra i 1-3), the work did not, however, proceed with any success. It is true that on the second year of their return (Ezra iii 8f.) an actual start was made on the temple ruins; but when a Samaritan offer of help was refused by the Jews, the Samaritans [3]) retaliated by 'frustrating' the work of reconstruction 'all the days of Cyrus king of Persia, even until the reign of Darius king of Persia' (Ezra iv 5). Verse 24 [4]) (Ezra iv) endorses this statement: 'then ceased the work of the house of God which is at Jerusalem', and further adds, 'it ceased until the second year of Darius king of Persia'. Darius can only have been the first king of that name, as Darius II did not reign till a century later (423-404). The work on the restoration of the temple was, therefore, forcibly abandoned from 536 to 520. The narrative in Ezra v now proceeds to

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[1]) For the order of the visions and for the historical circumstances underlying them see, KURT GALLING, 'Die Exilswende in der Sicht des Propheten Sacharja', in *VT*, Jan. 1952, pp. 18-36.

[2]) Some scholars regard this date as being more precisely Feb. 519; eg. R. H. PFEIFFER, *Introd. to the Old Test.*, p. 604.

[3]) 'The adversaries of Benjamin and Judah', Ezra iv 1.

[4]) Verse 6-23 of Ezra chap. iv deal with the building of the city and the city walls in the reigns of Ahasuerus (Xerxes) and Artaxerxes I, that is in the years 485-424. The task of building the walls was however probably supervised by Nehemiah (Neh i 3) at a much later date: cf. also Neh. iii 4-19 for a description of the work in process: See here, OESTERLEY and ROBINSON, *Introd. to the Books of the Old Test.*, p. 122. It should be remembered that the compilation of the books of Ezra and Nehemiah took place after 300 B.C., and are not therefore reliable documents for the events they purport to relate. Thus the compiler of Ezra v confused the building of the wall and the temple: cf. G. A. SMITH, *The Book of the Twelve Prophets*, pp. 192-203.

mention the appearance of Haggai and Zechariah prophesying to the Jews in Judah and Jerusalem. But, as we have seen, the contemporary evidence of the writings of these prophets declare that this was the second year of Darius, precisely the same year in which a fresh start was made on the reconstruction of the temple as reported in Ezra iv 5, 24. Hence, under the stimulus and direction of these two prophets the work which was begun some 16 years earlier was now resumed (Ezra v 2, vi 14). But even now opposition was forthcoming from the officials Tattenai and Shethar-bozenai who demanded the authority on which the temple was being rebuilt [1]). However, consultation with the Persian authorities in Babylon confirmed that Cyrus had issued a writ authorising the repair of the temple; and so the work was undertaken with determination, the prophets acting as supervisors until its completion in the year 516 (Ezra vi 15) [2]). And this coincides with what we know of the visits of the prophets from their own writings. Haggai's visit was solely made to arouse the people of Jerusalem into rebuilding the temple (Hag. i 2, 4; ii 3), and he, further, predicted that there would be no prosperity in the land while the temple lay in ruins (ii 15-19). Likewise, the reconstruction of the house of God is the chief concern of Zechariah: and it is a task which requires the special services of him whose name is the branch—who 'shall build the temple of Jahweh . . . and shall bear the glory and sit and rule upon the throne' (Zech. vi 12-13). To this end the prophet reported his vision in which an angel was the medium of the oracle saying, that Jahweh was returned to Jerusalem with mercies, and that his house would be built (Zech. i 16). Jahweh will therefore be merciful to Jerusalem from that time onwards; that is, from 520 the year of Zechariah's call. Hence God has had indignation against Jerusalem only 66 or 67 years, although the city is said to have suffered already 70 years in i 12. When we look at the Massoretic text however, we see that it reads: . . . אֶת־יְרוּשָׁלִַם וְאֶת עָרֵי־יְהוּדָה אֲשֶׁר זָעַמְתָּה זֶה שִׁבְעִים שָׁנָה The word זָעַמְתָּה is suspect: as it refers to the combined antecedents, Jerusalem and Judah, we would expect זְעַמְתָּם; and the LXX, re-

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[1]) Ezra v 3: the words 'and to finish this wall' being another example of the compiler's confusion of the restoration of the temple and the walls.

[2]) The last words of Ezra vi 14, viz. 'and Darius and Artaxerxes king of Persia' are similarly due to the compiler's confusion of his periods and sources, and are not relevant here.

cognising the necessity for this actually reads the plural ἃς ὑπερεῖδες. The phrase אֲשֶׁר זָעַמְתָּה זֶה שִׁבְעִים שָׁנָה seems unnecessary to the sentence, as the point of the question which the angel asks is, 'how long more wilt thou not spare Jerusalem?' His interest is in the future, not in the past; and the answer of Jahweh is likewise concerned with the present and the future, making no reference to the past. The phrase 'which thou hast despised seventy years' was, therefore, probably inserted by a later editor who had in mind a definite event in the life of the Jews as the *terminus ad quem* for the humiliation of Jerusalem. And the tradition which thus became established seems to be reflected by the LXX translator, who represented the Massoretic text זֶה שִׁבְעִים שָׁנָה by τοῦτο ἑβδομήκοστον ἔτος—this seventieth year—implying that the punishment had ended at a definite date.

In Zechariah vii 5 there is a similar reference to 70 years fasting and mourning which the Jews are said to have observed while Jerusalem and its environs lay desolate: 'When ye fasted and mourned in the fifth and in the seventh (month) even these seventy years, did ye at all fast unto me, even to me?' It is obviously a reference to the fast which was observed on every anniversary of the fall of Jerusalem and the destruction of the temple in the year 586 [1]) (2 Kgs xxv 8, Jer. lii 12). And, although there were minor deportations (Jer. lii 28-30) at an earlier and later date, the year 586 was the occasion on which the temple was destroyed, and, was, therefore, for the Jews of a subsequent age, the memorable year of destruction. We notice that the phrase 'even these seventy years' is represented as being part of the oracle of Jahweh; but the messengers of Bethel who came to inquire of the prophets speak of the mourning and fasting in the past as 'these so many years' (Zech. vii 3). An examination of the Massoretic text here leads us, again, to question its authenticity. The text of the oracle of Jahweh 'to all the people of the land and to the priests' is: כִּי צַמְתֶּם וְסָפוֹד בַּחֲמִישִׁי וּבַשְּׁבִיעִי וְזֶה שִׁבְעִים שָׁנָה הֲצוֹם צַמְתֻּנִי

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[1]) The seventh month has probably a reference to the death of Gedaliah in 2 Kgs xxv 25. It seems however from Zech viii 18 that there were at least four fasts observed in memory of the afflictions of the past. Jer. lii 12 differs from 2 Kgs xxv 8 f. as to the date of the destruction of the temple; the reference in Jer. attributing it to the 10th and that of Kings to the 7th of the month. The discrepancy is however explained in the Bab. Talmud by declaring that the temple was entered on the 7th, profaned until the 9th, when it was set on fire, and allowed to burn until the 10th-Taanith 86.

אָנִי. There is no indication here as to what 'in the fifth' or 'in the seventh' refers. In verse 3 we are told that the fast was observed בַּחֹדֶשׁ הַחֲמִשִׁי in the fifth month—and it is probably months which are indicated in the text here quoted. Or, indeed, it could be a corruption of the original narration of the event to which the fast relates; namely, the destruction of Jerusalem as reported in 2 Kgs xxv 8: וּבַחֹדֶשׁ הַחֲמִישִׁי בְּשִׁבְעָה לַחֹדֶשׁ 'And in the fifth month in the seventh of the month' came Nebuchadnezzar etc. Further, the phrase הֲצוֹם צִמְתָּנִי אָנִי is also awkward. The usual translation is, 'have ye fasted at all unto me, even me'; but, while the form צַמְתָּנִי as combining the second per. pl. (m. or f.) with the suffix נִי is possible with an ordinary transitive verb, its use with an intransitive verb like √צוּם 'to fast' is questionable. At any rate the LXX reads μὴ νηστείαν νενηστεύκατε μοί presupposing a Hebrew text הֲצוֹם צִמְתֶּם אֵלַי. The above quoted Hebrew text has therefore every appearance of being doubtful [1]); but in its original form it probably conveyed the meaning: 'Though ye have been fasting and mourning in the fifth and in the seventh month, have ye indeed been fasting unto me?' And when we recall that there is no reference to the definite number of seventy years in the question of the messengers [2]), we are tempted to conclude that the words זֶה שִׁבְעִים שָׁנָה are an interpretation by a later editor, who, hoping to derive for his contemporaries some comfort from the ancient prophets, inserted a number of years, so significant for his age, in an otherwise vague and uninspiring text. This number was the seventy years which had elapsed between the destruction of the temple in 586 and its completion in the year 516, the most significant event for the Jews of the post exilic times. That the walls were not completed then we have already seen, and therefore cannot be reckoned as part of the restoration to which the seventy years refer. From this argument, supported by the nature of the text [3]), it follows

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[1]) W. H. Lowe, *Commentary on Zechariah* (Lond. 1888), p. 68, defended the present M.T., but the parallels he cites in his favour are not convincing and the LXX readings do not support him.

[2]) On the identity of these persons and the difficulty of the text underlying verse 2, see I.C.C. on Zechariah (*op. cit.*): 'It is doubtful if the present text can be rendered so as to avoid objections', p. 195.

[3]) For expansions and additions to the original text of Zechariah (i-viii) see Mitchell, Smith, Bewer, *Zechariah*, I.C.C., pp. 84-97.

that this figure could not be inserted in the book of Zechariah till after the year 516, but, as is now widely accepted, the process of compiling and editing the prophetic books extended as late as 200 B.C. [1]). And as it is maintained that the references to 70 years in Zechariah were inserted after the completion of the temple, so it will be argued that other references to 70 years humiliation of Jerusalem are also *vaticinia post eventum.*

In Jeremiah xxix 10 we read: 'After seventy years will be accomplished for Babylon I will visit you'. Then, there follows a prophecy of restoration and of the return to Jerusalem, all of which will materialise within 70 years. But this message of restoration comprising verses 10 to 14 is quite inconsistent with the context. In this chapter Jeremiah outlines his policy for the exiles in Babylon, advising them to build houses, and plant gardens and settle in the land; and moreover, he expresses his disapproval of the false prophets who led the people to expect an early return: 'but I have not sent them saith the Lord' (v. 9). There follows immediately (vs 10-14) this prophecy of the restoration and of the return from captivity. If Jeremiah had been advising the Jews to arrange for the marriage of their children and to 'multiply' in Babylon, it is obvious that he intended that they should settle there indefinitely, and would not, therefore, encourage them to return in the comparatively short period of seventy years. Indeed, so insistent was Jeremiah on the necessity of the exile that it is doubtful if he ever actively prophesied a message of the return, or, that he believed in anything more than an eventual rehabilitation of the Jews in Jerusalem, symbolised by his obtaining the deeds of purchase of his ancestral field at Anatoth (Jer. xxxii 6-44). CORNILL however was of the opinion 'dass die siebzig Jahre in 29, 10 ursprünglich sind, ergiebt sich aus dem ganzen Inhalte des Cap. dem mit V. 10 geradezu der Lebensnerv durchsnitten würde, und je weniger diese Zahl mit der geschichtlichen Wirklichkeit übereinstimmt, diesto sicherer ist sie kein literarisches Kunstprodukt' [2]); but CORNILL apparently believed that Jeremiah had a doctrine of the Messianic Hope, and that Zechariah was indebted to him for his conception of the Branch—צמח—out of the root of David (p. 291), having obviously in mind Jer. xxiii 5-6, a passage

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[1]) Cf. R. H. PFEIFFER, *Introd. to the Old Test.*, p. 61; OESTERLEY and ROBINSON, *Introd. to the books of the Old Test.*, p. 6 f.; AAGE BENTZEN, *Introd. to the Old Test.*, p. 25.

[2]) *Das Buch Jeremia*, p. 291.

which is itself discredited. He also seems to take the 70 years as being fulfilled with the restoration under Haggai and Zechariah; but the term appears with such persistency in writings of the post exilic age, that it is likely that it was applied in the light of historical accuracy rather than as 'literarisches Kunstprodukt'. Indeed, from the point of view of unity of subject DUHM with some persuasiveness shews that 'schliesst sich 11 sehr gut an V. 5-7 an' [1]); and on textual grounds he says: 'Nicht besser steht es mit 10, der wie V. 8 und 9 mit כִּי beginnt (vier Verse hintereinander!)', *ibid.* Also, it seems that those addressed in the Massoretic text will experience the fulfilment of the promise of the Return: לְהָשִׁיב אֶתְכֶם. But it is unlikely that anyone could hope to live and wait through seventy years before entering into the promise of good things in this life! And although it may be argued that the Hebrews had a strong sense of the solidarity of the race, yet, the LXX [2]) has not only a different rendering of verses 10-11, but in order to make an alleged prophecy of Jeremiah intelligible, reads ἀποστρέψαι τὸν λαὸν ὑμῶν εἰς τον τόπον τοῦτον. Moreover, the thought of another age is evident in the characteristically later Deuteronomic phrase: לָתֵת לָכֶם אַחֲרִית וְתִקְוָה—to give you a blissful end and hope [3]); and the whole tenor of verses 11 to 13 is further reminiscent of the thought and theology of Isaiah lii 6-12. Also, the LXX, apart from the opening words, καί ἐπιφανοῦμαι ὑμὶν, omits verse 14 of the Massoretic text: and the words 'I will turn again your captivity and I will gather you from all the nations and from all the places whither I have driven you, saith Jahweh, and I will bring you again into the place whence I caused you to be carried away in captivity' are rightly regarded by most scholars as a reference to the return from the Diaspora at a much later time [4]).

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[1]) *Das Buch Jeremia*, p. 230.

[2]) Cf. DUHM, *op. cit.*, ibid.

[3]) The LXX reads here: τοῦ δοῦναι ὑμιν ταῦτα.

[4]) Eg. S. R. DRIVER, *The Book of the Prophet Jeremiah* (1908), p. 171; A. C. WELCH, *Jeremiah His Time and his Work* (1950 ed.), pp. 172-4, regards these verses as dubious, but thinks that all such interpolations were made 'on the part of men who construed the prophecies of the past in the light of that great event' (the Return). So also J. SKINNER, *Prophecy and Religion* (1948 ed.), p. 287. In the light of LXX variations DUHM said: 'Demnach lautet der ursprüngliche Text von V. 12-14, wie es scheint, folgendermassen: Und betet ihr zu mir, so werde ich euch hören; wenn ihr mich von ganzem Herzen sucht, so werde ich mich finden lassen für euch', *op. cit.*, p. 230-1. In common with other writers however, ELLIOT BINNS in his *Com. on Jer.* (West. Com. 1919), p. 216-7, accepts vv. 10-14

The expression seventy years with the same application is found again in the book of Jeremiah, chapter xxv 11-12: 'And this whole land (Judah) shall be a desolation and an astonishment; and these nations shall serve the king of Babylon seventy years. And it shall come to pass, when seventy years are accomplished, that I will punish the king of Babylon and that nation saith Jahweh for their iniquity and the land of the Chaldeans, and I will make it desolate for ever'. We again notice that this prophecy of restoration follows immediately on an oracle of doom which speaks of 'an astonishment and a hissing and a perpetual desolation' (v. 9) a characteristically Jeremianic phrase (cf. xviii 6, xxv 18). We further observe that, whereas Nebuchadnezzar, the king of Babylon, is spoken of as a 'servant' in verse 9, in verse 12 the king of Babylon and the land of the Chaldeans will be severely punished. But this change of emphasis from doom to bliss is not a feature of Jeremiah's prophecies; and, as we have seen, the only hope and peace he sees for Israel is the hope and peace which springs from seeking the peace of the land of Babylon in submission to the will of Jahweh (Jer. xxix 7). Also, verse 11a speaks of 'this land', thereby indicating that the author was concerned only with the land of Judah; but 11b says: 'and these nations shall serve the king of Babylon seventy years'. The LXX with a view to presenting a consistent text reads: 'And they shall serve among the nations seventy years'. But this was a departure from the Hebrew text already edited by some one who wished to bring the Gentile nations of the world under the same doom as Judah. And the fact that the LXX has a shorter text for verses 12 and 13 shews that the translator was suspicious of the Hebrew text of his day; while it entirely omits verse 14, continuing with prophecies against Elam and other foreign nations, which appear in chapters xlvi-li of the Massoretic text [1]). The mention of Jeremiah in verse 13 as having made certain prophecies 'against all the nations', and the fact that these nations are the subject of verse 14 indicate that these verses are post Jeremianic [2]). But although the LXX has a

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as genuine, and considers the 70 years a 'round number': So B. M. PICKERING in *A New Com. on Holy Scrip.* (ed. GORE), *Jeremiah*, ad. loc.

[1]) It is generally acknowledged that the prophecies against foreign nations stood originally after V. 13. So J. SKINNER, *Prophecy and Religion*, p. 241; A. S. PEAKE, *Jeremiah* (Cen. Bible), vol. II, pp. 13-14. Cf. also G. C. WORKMAN, *The Text of Jeremiah* (Edin. 1889), pp. 95-124, for a detailed argument in favour of the superior text of the LXX in this context.

[2]) So, PEAKE, SKINNER, DRIVER, *opera citata*, ad loc.; G. A. SMITH, *Jeremiah*

considerably different text from that of the Massoretic, it still has a reference to 70 years, the source of which, is, of course the Hebrew text of the time of the translation. And so we ask whence then is the origin of the term 70 years in the book of Jeremiah? It purports to apply to the time during which Judah will serve the king of Babylon, at the end of which Babylon itself will suffer. But the Jews were not subject to a Chaldean power for 70 years; neither was the king of Babylon punished in the way here predicted, for as DUHM remarked 'im Gegenteil Cyrus mit den Babyloniern sehr glimpflich verfuhr' [1]). DUHM further says: 'Es scheint, dass der Verf. die wirkliche Zeitdauer des Exils nicht genau kennt; er lebt eben lange nach dem Exil', *ibid.* So much for the post exilic origin of these verses, and thus far we agree with DUHM; but it is our further contention that the author had not merely the conquest of Babylon or the Return under Cyrus in mind for the fulfilment of his 70 years from the fall of Jerusalem in 586, but, in common with other biblical references to the same period, he had in mind a definite, historical, and chronologically accurate event, namely, the completion of the temple in 516. But it is probable that the promise made here in Jer. xxv 11-12 regarding the ultimate rehabilitation of the Jews is dependent on the promise of the return inserted in verses 10-14 of chapter xxix, it being more tempting to the Jews of a later date to insert, in the first instance, a promise of the Return in Jeremiah's letter to the exiles.

In 2 Chronicles xxxvi 21 there is a reference to the fulfilment of these alleged prophecies of Jeremiah. For the Chronicler, the purpose of the desolation of Jerusalem was that 'as long as she lay desolate, she kept Sabbath, to fulfil three score and ten years'; that is, he believed that from the conquest of Canaan until the destruction of Jerusalem this custom had not been observed. But it is obvious that the Chronicler is thinking of the injunctions laid down in Leviticus xxvi 34f., part of the P document, the post exilic date of which is readily evident [2]). This desolation is to last 'until the reign of the

(Lond. 1923), p. 179. A. C. WELCH, *op. cit.*, p. 114, said: 'Again we find ourselves in the period of the exile or of the early return when men were searching their prophetic records for confirmation of their hopes'.

[1]) *Das Buch Jeremia*, p. 202. As we have already seen (page 60) DUHM attributed the idea of 70 years to Zech i 12.

[2]) So E. L. CURTIS, *Chronicles* I.C.C., p. 524. R. H. PFEIFFER, *Introd. to the Old Test.*, pp. 241 and 250, places the compilation of P in the first half of the fifth century. A. BENTZEN places P between Zerubbabel and Malachi, *Introd. to the Old Test.*, vol. II, p. 70, while OESTERLEY and ROBINSON, *Introd. to the Bks of the Old Test.*, p. 63, 'assign its final compilation to a date not later than 300 B.C.'.

kingdom of Persia', more precisely stated in the next verse (2 Chron. xxxvi 22, and repeated in Ezra i 1) as 'the first year of Cyrus king of Persia'. But, Cyrus conquered Babylon in 538, forty-eight years after the destruction of Jerusalem. The 70 years of the passages in Jeremiah cannot then refer to this event; although it was the year of the cessation of the Chaldean dynasty, and the heralding of the Deliverer Cyrus (Is. xli 5, xliv 28, xlv 1-3, Ezra i 1), when the Jews were free to return to their native land. In fact only for the mention of seventy years we might say that everything to which the prophecies in Jeremiah refer took place in 538. And it cannot be acceded that the prophet was speaking in 'round numbers' [1]), for an error of 22 years is too great a margin in a matter of 48 years. Moreover, the well known number of 40 years would not only be a nearer approximation, but would be suggestive of a close parallel to the-onerous circumstances of 40 years wandering in the wilderness, so often mentioned by Old Testament writers [2]). It is significant that Ezekiel prophesying in about 592 (cf. Ez. i 2) could speak of 40 years as the period of 'the iniquity of the house of Judah' (Ez. iv 6), although over forty years had to elapse before the decree of Cyrus sanctioned the Return to Jerusalem. And this same figure is again used in Ezekiel in the oracles against the Egyptians as the time in the future when Jahweh 'will bring again the captivity of Egypt' (Ez. xxix 14). It then seems that the 70 years mentioned in Chronicles, professing to be based on the prophecies of Jeremiah, must, unconsciously, refer to a more precise date than the Return under Cyrus, or indeed to the period of restoration which continued for some years after that date. It must be remembered that Chronicles and Ezra were not compiled until about the third century B.C. [3]). The compiler was therefore, writing considerably later than the issue of the decree of Cyrus, and of the rebuilding of the temple, and was, doubtless, quoting from the interpolations which by his time had become part of the text of Jeremiah.

In Isaiah xxiii 15 we find another reference to a restoration which is

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[1]) E. L. Curtis, *op. cit.*, p. 524 said: 'The number seventy in the prophecy of Jeremiah was doubtless meant to be taken symbolically'.

[2]) The number even appears in the Moabite Stone, line 8, apart from the many references in the Old Testament; eg., Num. xiv 23, Jos. v 6, Dt. ii 7, Jud. xiii 1; cf. Amos ii 10, v 15, Ps. xcv 10.

[3]) Some scholars would even assign its present form to a later date; cf. eg. Aage Bentzen, *Introd. to the Old Testament*, vol. II, p. 215 f.

to be effected after 70 years. This time it refers to Tyre, and appears in the well known oracle against that city: 'And it shall come to pass that after the end of seventy years, according to the days of one king; after the end of seventy years it shall be unto Tyre as the song of the harlot'. Although appearing in the first part of the book of Isaiah, scholars since the days of EWALD have ceased to regard this verse as Isaianic. The siege in itself could be that undertaken by Sennacherib in 702 [1]), that by Nebuchadnezzar between the years 586 and 573 [2]) (cf. Ez. xxvi-xxviii), or that effected by Alexander the Great in 332 [3]). Whatever siege was in the mind of the writer, a clear division of style and thought is noticeable in this chapter. Verses 1 to 14 are in poetry, and in words of scorn and derision describe the waning powers and fading glory of a city that was once 'the mart of the nations'; while verses 15 to 18, apart from the song of the harlot in V. 16, are in prose, and describe a time in the future when Tyre shall again hold a prominent place in the world of merchandise. The language of this latter section, and the editorial repetition of the 70 years in verse 17 betray signs of post exilic composition. Moreover, the influence of late passages such as Is. xlv, lv 5, lxi 6, lxvi 11, is discernible in the concept that the future wealth of Tyre would be dedicated to the God of Israel [4]): 'And her merchandise and her hire shall be dedicated to the Lord ... her merchandise shall be for them that dwell before the Lord' ((V. 18); an uttererance reminiscent of, 'And I will shake all nations, and the desirable things of all nations shall come, and I will fill this house with glory saith the Lord of hosts' (Hag. ii 7). It then seems that while the writer could have recalled all the historic sieges of Tyre, the most recent devastation of the city by Alexander was particularly in his mind. Nor indeed does the author of the latter part of the chapter survey with indifference the destruction of the wealth and art of that ancient city which had contributed so much to the building of the first temple (1 Kgs v). For, as he now conceived of Tyre as making a contribution to the Second temple, he spoke of her humiliation as

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[1]) Eg. G. A. SMITH, *The Book of Isaiah*, vol. I, pp. 289 ff. Of course Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal also subdued Tyre, see R. W. ROGERS, *Cuneiform Parallels to the Old Testament*, pp. 350-359.

[2]) With G. H. BOX, *The Book of Isaiah*, pp. 106-110.

[3]) So DUHM, *Das Buch Jesaia* (3rd ed. 1914), p. 146; R. H. PFEIFFER, *op. cit.*, p. 419. So G. W. WADE, *The Prophet Isaiah* (West. Com. 1929), p. 150 also favours a date of the Persian period.

[4]) Cf. G. H. BOX, *ibid.*, and G. W. WADE, *ibid.*

but temporary, and in terms which had been previously used of Judah's captivity. He is, therefore, drawing from such phraseology as had already in the post exilic age found its way into the text of Jeremiah [1]).

There is yet another reference to 70 years, claiming to be based on the prophecies of Jeremiah as the period of the desolation of Jerusalem, which claims our attention. In Daniel ix 2 we read: 'In the first year of his reign I Daniel understood by the books the number of the years whereof the word of the Lord came to Jeremiah the prophet, for the accomplishing of the desolations of Jerusalem, even seventy years'. Daniel is here represented in this first year of 'Darius ... the Mede' [2]), to expect, in view of the prophetic promises in the text of Jeremiah, deliverance for the Jews and the restoration of Jerusalem. Yet, the writer of Daniel was conscious that, although living some centuries later than the fall of Babylon and the completion of the temple, these prophecies had not been entirely fulfilled for the Jews, and so he is compelled to have recourse to a new interpretation of the seventy years [3]). Thus, in verses 24-27 the seventy years are changed to seventy weeks—שָׁבֻעִים שִׁבְעִים—to a seventh multiple of 70, a week of years; and so the number of 490 is reached [4]), thereby bringing the fulfilment of the prophetic promise well into the time of the Maccabean Priest Kings [5]). But Daniel's appeal to scripture ('the books') for the seventy years of Jeremiah's prophecies only means that at the time of writing, that

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[1]) G. H. Box, *ibid.*; G. W. Wade, *ibid.*; J. Skinner, *Isaiah*, vol. I (Cam. 1900), p. 178; Elliot Binns, in *A New Com. on Holy Scrip.* (ed. Gore), *Isaiah*, p. 450, all trace the dependence of this passage to Jeremiah: but as we have seen they do not all question the genuineness of the passages in Jeremiah. T. K. Cheyne regarded the 'seventy years' as 'a conventional expression for a long period', *The Prophecies of Isaiah*, vol. I (Lond. 1886), p. 143.

[2]) For a discussion on the identification of this king, see J. A. Montgomery, *The Book of Daniel*, I.C.C., pp. 63-65: also R. H. Charles, *Com. on Daniel* (Oxford 1929), pp. 138-146, especially p. 145 (g) where he says: 'The mythical Darius is derived from the blending together of historical facts associated with three (?) distinct persons-Darius son of Hystapis, Gobryas, and Cambyses (?)': also H. H. Rowley, *Darius the Mede and the Four World Empires in the Book of Danial* (Cardiff 1935), pp. 54-60. It is clear that the writer of the Book of Daniel had a confused knowledge of the period about which he purports to write.

[3]) Cf. R. H. Charles, *op. cit.*, pp. 224 and 240.

[4]) J. A. Montgomery, *Daniel*, I.C.C., pp. 359-360; S. R. Driver, *Daniel* (Camb. 1912), pp. 126-7. Events are so dated in the Book of Jubilees.

[5]) It so happens that this calculation brings the restoration within the rulership of Alexander Janneus, whose territory was a extensive as that of David's.

is about 165 B.C., the tradition had been fixed and established that Jeremiah was the author of such passages (Jer. xxv 11-12, xxix 10) in the book which bears his name.

To draw this survey to a conclusion then: it is our contention that the term seventy years as applied to Judah's captivity in the Old Testament, is not a 'round number', either, for the period in which the Jews were exiled in Babylon from the fall of Jerusalem to the decree of Cyrus, or, for the period from 586 to the restoration inaugurated by Haggai and Zechariah in 520. The destruction of the temple was the chief complaint of the exiles (Ps. cxxxvii, Lam. i 10, ii 6, 7, 20); and the motive for the Return in both the historical (Ezra i 1-3) and prophetic (Hag. i 2-3, Zech. i 16) records was the rebuilding of the 'House of God'. Hence, the desecration of this 'House' was regarded as being so calamitous by later Judaism that the desolation of Jerusalem and the afflictions of the exile were thought of as continuing until its complete restoration in 516. From the destruction of the first temple in 586 until the completion of the second in 516 was however a period of precisely seventy years. Later generations looked back on this date as the time when the punishments of Jerusalem were accomplished, and when God had actually visited his people; and in order to inspire hope during the difficult post exilic years prophecies were inserted to this effect wherever the contexts of the prophetic records seemed suitable.

And the prominence of the Second Temple in the lives of the Jews of a subsequent age is reflected in such words as: 'they shall come up with acceptance upon mine altar, and I will beautify the House of my Glory' (Is. lx 7); and also: 'the glory of Lebanon shall come unto thee . . . to beautify the place of my sanctuary' (Is. lx 13). So the annual pilgrimage to the temple on the part of the Jews scattered throughout the countries of the Dispersion testify to the place and sanctity of the temple in the life of the Jewish nation [1]). In the time of the Maccabees the temple was so much the emblem and embodiment of the faith of the pious Jews that its desecration by Antiochus Epiphanes impelled them to open revolt. And at a later date still the Talmud (Yoma 54b) spoke of the temple as the foundation stone upon which the world was based.

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[1]) Cf. C. A. Briggs, *Psalms*, I.C.C. (1907), p. lxxix; R. H. Pfeiffer, *op. cit.*, p. 620.

SHORT NOTES

GENESIS

xlix 10 לא־יסור שבט מיהודה ומחקק מבין רגליו

For מיהודה I suggest מִיָּדָה.

xlix 26 תהיין לראש יוסף ולקדקד נזיר אחיו

'Read תהוין, from rt. הוה, 'fall'; cp. תבואתה in the parallel passage, Dt xxxiii 16. נזיר means 'he that was accursed, rejected'; cp. Akkadian *nazāru*. There is thus a pointed contrast between this word and ברכת.

PSALMS

xxiv 6 זה דור דרשיו מבקשי פניו יעקב[1].

The usual explanation of יעקב is that it stands for אלהי יעקב which is decidedly odd and forced, or that it is epexegetical of זה דור דרשיו, which makes no sense in the context. I suggest that it be read וְעֵקֶב and that it belongs at the beginning of the second half of the verse:

זה דור דרשיו וְעֵקֶב מבקשי פניו

דור is to be taken in the sense of Ar. *dâira*, 'turn of fate or fortune' (from rt. דור), on which see G. Jacob, *Studien in arabischen Dichtern*, I (Berlin 1893), 48. The same sense may be recognized also in Isaiah liii 8: ואת־דורו מי ישוחח[2]).

xxxv 11 יקומון עדי חמס אשר לא־ידעתי ישאלוני

שאל has here the technical sense of questioning a witness in a court of law. For this sense, cp. Akkadian *ša'ālu* in Sn. 1371: *dâna-ta-ma ki-ma ili ta-bar-*[*ri*], *ta-az-za-az ina irṣitim*, *ta-gam-mar di-*[*na*], *di-in-ka ul in-nên-ni*, *ul im-meš a-*[*mat-ka*,] *ta-šal ta-ḫa-ṭi ta-da-ni*. (The passage is cited, in another connection, by Frd. Delitzsch, *The Hebrew Language in the Light of Assyrian Research* [1883], 49).

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[1]) MT פניך; see BH³.

[2]) Semasiologically parallel are Ar. دَوْر, 'turn of fate,' and Greek *katastrophē*.

xli 9 דְּבַר־בליעל יצוק בו ואשר שכב לא־יוסיף לקום

The emendation דֶּבֶר is untenable, because דֶּבֶר really means "reverse, catastrophe' (from rt. דבר II) and therefore cannot be said to be *poured*! The true interpretation is suggested by the fact that the preceding verse alludes specifically to magical incantations: יחד עלי יתלחשו [1]). This in turn suggests comparison with Enuma Eliš I 61 ff., where Ea bewitches certain waters which he pours over Apsu in order to induce a sleep from which the latter never rises: *ib-šim-šum-ma, uṣ-rat ka-li u-kin-šu, u-nak-kil-šu šu-tu-ru ta-a-šu el-lum, im-ni-šum-ma, ina mê u-šab-ši, šit-tam ir-te-ḫi-šu ṣa-lil ṭu-ub-qit-tum, u-ša-aṣ-lil-ma Apsam ri-ḫi šit-tam.*

lxviii 12 אדני יתן אמר המבשרות צבא רב

All commentators have felt the difficulty of this verse. Might it not be removed by assuming that a few words have dropped out, i.e. אדני יתן <תשועה> ? אָמְרֶ המבשרות <צְבא אלהים> צָבא רב [2]) The word אלהים is taken from the end of the preceding verse, where it is hypermetrical. Having been left out accidentally, it was inserted supralineally and then got into the wrong position [3]).

lxviii 15-17

בפרש שדי מלכים בה תשלג בצלמון
הר־אלהים הר־בשן הר גבנים הר בשן
למה תרצדון הרים גבנים ההר חמד אלהים לשבתו
אף־יהוה ישכן לנצח

The point of these lines, it may be suggested, lies in a contrast between the sacred mountains of the pagan gods and that selected by Yahweh. In that case, שדי in v. 15 would here denote a *pagan* god [4]); הר־אלהים in v. 16 would mean simply 'a divine mountain,' *i.e.* one associated with a god or assumed to be a meeting-place of the gods in general [5]); and אלהים in v. 17 would denote 'a (i.e. any) god'. Thus, as the text now stands, the general sense would be:

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[1]) On the magical implications of the term לחש, see the writer's remarks in *Orientalia*, N.S., XI (1942), 64. With v. 8: יחשבו רעה לי יחד עלי .... ∴ יתלחשו, cp. *Kari* II 80.6-7: *awlêu šu'ātu adi amât pišu isaḫḫarûšu, kipdê limnutê ikpudûšu.*

[2]) Cf. Ps. cxliv 10.

[3]) Note the similar alternation of יהוה and אלהים in vv. 27, 33.

[4]) Note in this connection that שַׁדַּי (אֵל) actually means '*Mountaineer* god' (*ilu šadu'a*).

[5]) Cp. Ez. xxviii 14, 16.

When Shaddai scattered(?) kings,
. . . . there was whiteness of snow on the Dark Hill (Ṣalmôn) [1]).
Mount Bashan is (likewise) a divine mountain,
A many-peaked mountain is Mount Bashan.
Why (then) should ye look with envy, ye many-peaked [mountains,
On the mountain which a god happens to have fancied as [His dwelling ?
(Surely,) Yahweh too can take up a permanent residence!

I would suggest, however, that v. 15 is defective and that in its original form it described the singular events which attended the theophanies of the pagan gods when *they* took up residence on *their* sacred hills, the structure being:

When Shaddai <did thus and thus,
such and such happened;>
When <'Elyon(?) did thus and thus,>
the proverbial Dark Hill (Ṣalmôn) seemed to turn [snow white!

Since the pi'el of פרש nowhere else occurs in the sense of 'scatter, disperse, rout,' M's בְּפָרֵשׁ שדי מלכים is at least suspicious. Moreover, what we require is a reference to Shaddai's having taken up residence on *his* holy mountain and to what happened in consequence. Hence, it seems plausible that two stichs have been run together [2]) and that מלכים is really the subject of the second. This would have described how the earthly kings at once acknowledged the dominion of the eternal king, now ensconced in his palace; and it would pave the way for v. 30 where a similar acknowledgment is said to await Yahweh on Zion.

The words בה תשלג בצלמון would again represent a fusion of two separate stichs, the first of which described the action of the god at his theophany, and the second the earthly reaction to it. The former

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[1]) Ṣalmôn is a mountain near Shechem (Judges v 16), but it is here specified because the name suggests 'Dark Hill' (rt. צלם). This hill seemed to become white as snow when the god established himself upon it! Note that in the Ugaritic Poem of Baal, when that god takes up his residence on *ṣrrt Ṣpn* (probably Mt. Casius), he reveals his presence by a wondrous display of lightning or by an electric storm; see the writer's *Thespis*, p. 213.

[2]) Briggs, *ICC* in loc. likewise assumes that the verse is conflate, but restores it on a different basis. Albright (*HUCA*, XXIII [1950-51], I ff.) regards many of the verses of the psalm as mere fragments.

evidently began with an hithpa'el infinitive, פְּהִתְ], parallel to בפרש [1]).
Thus, the whole may be restored, *e.g.*:

בִּפְרֹשׂ שדי סֻכָּתוֹ [2])

השתחוו לו
כִּבְּדוּהוּ כָּל־ } מלכים

בְּהִתְ } יצב עליו
נשא } עליון [3])

ירד שֶׁלֶג בצלמון

lxxvi 11 כי חמת אדם תודך שארית חמת תחגר

LXX's תְּחַגֵּךְ is commonly accepted, but this still leaves חמת אדם and שארית חמת obscure. By simple redivision of the words, I propose the emendation:

כי חוֹמַת אֲדָמוֹת [4]) יָדֶךָ שארית חוֹמוֹת תַּחְגֹּר

For Thy hand is (as) the protective wall of territories; (like) [protective walls it engirds what is now but a remnant [5]).

The sentiment would be peculiarly appropriate to a psalm which so clearly celebrates a military victory.

Note that the subject of תחגר is ידך, and that שארית (which is *not* in the construct state) is the object.

lxxxv 14 צדק לפניו יהלך וישם לדרך פעמיו

Standard emendations of וישם are וישע or ושלום (see BH³). I would suggest that the right reading is וְיֶשֶׁר, for in that case we recover a poetic allusion to the mythological figures of 'Zydyk' and 'Misor', mentioned by Sanchuniathon = the Kettu and Mêšaru of Mesopotamian mythology.

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[1]) For another solution of the crux, see Iwry, *JBL*, LXXI (1952), 164.

[2]) The expression פרשׂ סֻכָּה, common enough in later Hebrew, does not occur in OT. However, it is implied by such phrases as פרשׂ ענן למסך (Ps. cv 39) and ותפרשׂ את־המסך (2 Sam. xvii 19), and by the virtually synonymous זיפרשׂ את־האהל of Ex. xl 10. (Actually, אהלו would suit here just as well.)

[3]) For שדי עליון ‖, cf. Ps. xci 1.

[4]) For אדמות in the sense of 'territories, plots of land,' cf. Ps. xlix 12: קראו בשמותם עלי אדמות.

[5]) For the sentiment, cf. Is. xxvi 1.

An analogous poetic figure, employing virtually the same language, occurs in Habakkuk iii 5, where Deber and Rešef are said to attend upon Yahweh: צדק לפניו יהלך וישם לדרך פעמיו

Moreover, this emendation is supported by the fact that in Ancient Near Eastern belief, the attendants of a god were often thought to go *in pairs*. Thus, in the Babylonian Flood Story (Gilgameš XI 100), Nabu and Šarru [1]) are said to go before (*il-la-ku ina maḫ-ri*) Adad. Similarly, in the Ugaritic Poem of Baal, that god has *two* couriers, Gpn and Ugr. So too in the Iliad (IV 44; XV 119), Deimos and Phobos escort Phoebus and Ares. In my *Thespis*, p. 139, I have suggested that this reflects actual earthly practise. "In the Egyptian 'Poem of Pentaur', *two* Shasu come from the Shabtuna district to speak with Ramses II, and *two* scouts are despatched by the vanquished Hittite king (cf. BREASTED, *AR*, III, 144-45, 319, 321, 322). Cf. also Iliad I 320-21. One alone might meet with an accident."

PROVERBS

viii 30 ואהיה אצלו אָמוֹן שעשועים יום יום
משחקת לפניו בכל־עת

What Wisdom may really be saying in this passage is not that she was God's 'nursling' or 'handyman', but that, even before the dawn of creation, she served Him in the capacity of one of those court 'experts' (Bab. *ummanu*) whose function it was at once to advise and to entertain Oriental monarchs. In SMITH, *Sancherib* 33, such an official is described as *mummamir ṭêm rabutišu* and in BUDGE-KING, *Annals of the Kings of Assyria* 388,4, a scribe is *mu-ṭi-ib lib-bi bêli-šu*. Moreover, as OPPENHEIM has pointed out (*Orientalia*, N.S., XVI [1947], 212), in Enuma Eliš, Mummu plays precisely this role, being described by Apsu (I 31) as *mu-ṭib-ba ka-bit-ti-ia*, 'he who brings me into good mood'. [2]) It is noteworthy that in one of its senses *mummu* indeed means 'wisdom, science, scholarship'.

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[1]) The names are also read in other ways; cf. GELB, *Archiv Orientální*.

[2]) OPPENHEIM also suggests that Mummu may have been conceived as a dwarf and thus be a mythological projection of the dwarfs who acted as court jesters and confidants of kings. On such dwarfs, I would refer to MAYOR on Juvenal viii 32, and to H. WOLFF, „Die kultische Rolle des Zwerges im alten Aegypten," in *Anthropos*, XXXIII (1938), 445-514. G. PARRINDER, *West Africa Religion*, ch. XVI, observes that among the Ashanti, dwarfs, hunchbacks and deformed persons are often chosen as heralds and appointed to sing the praises of kings.

The succeeding verse, משחקת בתבל ארצו ושעשועי אֶת־בני אדם is not just a palliative gloss. What the writer wishes to emphasize is that Wisdom precede the creation of the world and was able to make it the very subject of her jests and gossip [1]).

JOB

xix 26 ואחר עורי נקפו זאת

Many commentators read ואחר עֲדֵי נזקף אִתִּי, taking נזקף as a mere synonym of יקום in the preceding verse [2]). It may be noted, however, that both in the Mari documents (e.g. Dossin, *ARM* I 76.23) and in the Old Babylonian text, *PBS* I 2, 3.23 the word *zaqāpu* has the technical meaning of 'vindicate a claim'. [3]) This would admirably suit our passage.

HOSEA

vii 3-6

Proposed reading	*MT*
ברעתם יִמְשְׁחוּ מלך	ברעתם יְשַׂמְּחוּ מלך
ובכחשיהם שרים	ובכחשיהם שׂרים
כלם אֹנְפִים כמו תנור בּעֵר הֵם	כלם מְנָאֲפִים כמו תנור בּעֵרָה
מַאֲפֶה ישבות מעיר	מֵ אֹפֶה ישבות מעיר מלוש
בצק עד־חמצתו	בצק עד־חמצתו
יֵחַם מלכנו החלו שרים חֲמַת	יוֹם מלכנו החלו שרים חֲמַת מְיָיִן
משך ידו את־לצצים	משך ידו את־לצצים
כי־קִרְבוֹ כתנור לבם כַּאֲרָבָה	כי־קֵרְבוּ כתנור לבם בְּאָרְבָם
כל־הלילה יָשֵׁן אַפְהֶם	כל־הלילה יָשֵׁן אֹפֵהֶם
בִּקר הוא כאש להבה	בקר הוא בער כאש להבה,

In v. 3, ימשחו for MT's ישמחו is, of course, a standard emendation; standard also are אנפים and בער הם in v. 4. The correction of מֵאֹפֶה (!) to מַאֲפֶה seems obvious, and מלוש is simply an hypermetrical gloss on מעיר. In v. 5 יֵחַם (for MT יום) is suggested by the context and by כלם

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[1]) See GB[17] on the etymology of שעשועים, which is instructive in this connection.

[2]) However, it is by no means certain that יקום there has the sense of *deposing as a witness*. The clause ואחרון על־עפר יקום may be concessive and mean simply, "even if he were/be the last person to exist on earth."

[3]) See Oppenheim, *JNES*, XI (1952), 136.

יחמו כתנור in v. 7; this in turn suggests חֵמֹת for חמת מיין (where מיין is in any case hypermetrical). In v. 6 קִרְבוֹ is suggested by the parallel לִבָּם; it refers to the king. כַּאֲרֻבָּה means "like a *chimney*", as again in xiii 3 and as often in Neo-Hebrew. The correction יְעַשֵּׁן אַפְּהֶם is due to C. D. GINSBURG. בער, which is hypermetrical, is a gloss or incorrect variant to בקר.

It remains to add only that לוצצים in v. 5 does not mean 'scoffers'. The word derives from לוץ = Ar. لاص, 'divert'. This sense may be recognized also in (*a*) Psalm cxix 51: זדים הליצוני עד־מאד מתורתך לא נטיתי, "Arrogant men have sought much to divert me; from Thy direction (cf. ירה דרך) have I not swerved"; (*b*) Prov. xiv 9: אוילים ילין אשם, "Guilt diverteth fools" [1]); and (*c*) Prov. xix 28: עד בליעל יליץ משפט ופי רשעים יבלע אָוֶן (rd. דִּין), "A froward witness diverteth judgment, and the mouth of the wicked confuseth justice" [2]).

vii 8-9 אפרים היה עגה בלי הפוכה

. . . . . .

גַּם־שִׂיבָה זָרְקָה [3]) בּוֹ

The words גם־שיבה זרקה בו do not introduce a new image, but continue the metaphor of the mouldering cake, for cp. Gilgameš XII 227, 239, where of the fifth cake baked by Utnapištim's wife it is said: *ši-ba it-ta-di*.

> Note that *it-ta-di*, from rt. *nadu*, answers exactly to זרק and shows that this is not here the equivalent of Ar. زرق, 'be greyish,' as has been supposed.

New York THEODOR H. GASTER

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[1]) LXX's *oikiai paranomōn opheilēsousin katharmon* scarcely implies a different text, as supposed in BH³; it is simply a paraphrase, taking ילין as = יאלץ. At the most, LXX may have read ילין.

[2]) BH registers the emendation יַבִּיעַ for יבלע, based on xv 28. But surely the more probable correction is דִּין for אָוֶן, the corruption being very simple in archaic script and orthography.

[3]) MT זָרְקָה.

NEW CORRECTIONS TO THE VARIAE LECTIONES OF O. EISSFELDT [1])

I

The additional list of Dr M. H. GOTTSTEIN [2]) in *Biblica* (Vol. 34, 1953, 212-221) is, because of the nature of the material, not complete. We wish to present here two series of variants based on a new revision of the transcription given by MILLAR BURROWS [3]).

Words preceded by an asteric differ from the transcription of BURROWS. The parallels found in other Hebrew MSS [4]) and in the old translations, placed after the words in parentheses, strengthen the position of these variants.

The first series is enumeration of the real variants omitted by EISSFELDT-GOTTSTEIN. Only a part, however, is given of orthographical and dialectical variants: many typical examples of them.

The second series is enumeration of the places where the copyist or a later hand made corrections. The non-corrected text indicates that the copyist spoke a Hebrew dialect which is closely related to the Aramaic and the postbiblical Hebrew. E.g. if the copyist writes twice ויואמ [5]) (xxxix 8, lxiii 8) instead of ויואמר or לרד [6]) (xxx 2) instead of לרדת, this cannot be an accidental phenomen.

The omission of א-ע or other letters at the end or in the middle of words, perhaps indicates too, that we find here remnants of a forgotten Hebrew dialect. Of special importance in this respect are also here those words which appear twice in this form: ביקוב (ix 7), יקוב (xvii 4) למלה (xxiii 13; xxv 2) instead of: ביעקוב, יעקוב, למפלה.

The second series contains many original readings which are found in the Dead-Sea scroll of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem [7]).

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[1]) Stuttgart, 1951. This list, with a few corrections, is printed in the new edition (1951-1952) of the *Biblia Hebraica.*

[2]) *Bemerkungen zu Eissfeldts Variae lectiones der Jesaiah-Rolle.*

[3]) New Haven, 1950 (= DSI I.); the scroll of the Hebrew University (=DSI II).

[4]) Listed by KENNICOTT (= Ken.), DE ROSSI (= DR.) and GINZBURG (= G.); Ms Leningrad differs from the internal text of GINZBURG (= L.).

[5]) In the Aramaic: אמא = אמר (אימא, תימא, לימא).

[6]) See also in the first series: וטמיתם xxx 22, ומציתי, והוציתי (LXV, 1. 9).

[7]) For instance: DSI II reads אל instead of ואל of the MT. in liv 4 and וקדש instead of ולקדוש in lv 5.

*לסוגים (1)	i	22
משריך (2)	iii	12
(Ken. 150 + LXX, Vulg., Peš =)		
וה[טבע]ות		21
ואתה	v	5
אודיע		
ואשיתחו		6
*וכבודי (3)		13
השו		18
(1) ידיו (Ken. 4 =)		25
*[ל]אחד (4)	vi	2
ועל . . . ועל		9
הוה	vii	14
עמנואל (Ken. DR. =)		
השולח (5)	viii	6
עמנואל (Ken. =)		8
מערצכם (Ken. G. L. =)		13
ולצר		14
אנה		18
*מעיף (Ken. 3 =)		22
ידיו	ix	11
על (Ken. 100 =)		12
(Ken. 168, 224 =)		
נשא		14
*אסור	x	4
מת		9
*ורבצו	xi	7
פלשתיים		14
ידיו		15
בעיים (Ken. =)		
[ל]שבעת		
אודו (Trg. =)	xii	4
אוקר	xiii	12
ממלכת (Ken. =)		19
שב	xiv	4
לקרת		9
המרגיז (LXX =)		16
ומלו		21
*יערו (6)	xv	5
אילים (Ken. G. L. =)		8

כרמשל (7)	xvi	1
מסלה		
והיא		2
מעברת (Ken. G. L. =)		
הביו		3
תשגשגשי	xvii	11
*וכאוב		
*ושאון (8) (2)		12
(Ken. 226., LXX,	xviii	6
Peš., Vulg. =) *ועזבו		
*יבושו	xix	9
שותתיה		10
*יזכור		17
*יעבדו		21
ומפת	xx	3
והקשב	xxi	7
גי (Ken. =)	xxii	1
בגי (Ken. G. =)		5
לבצור		10
מהלך		16
*יעוטך		17
*כדוד		18
וקרתי		20
*ובליה	xxiii	7
כעוללת (Ken. G. L. =)	xxiv	13
*אצית	xxv	1
עלכן		3
ונדש		10
כחדוש		
צדק	xxvi	7
*תאית		8
(Ken. DR. G. L. =)		
אויתיך		9
*יעיל (Ken. 168 =)		10
*נזכור		13
*חבו		20
*כדם	xxvii	2
והשתחו (Ken. 145 =)		13
כברים	xxviii	2
*בכפי		4
ונבי		7

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1) In the 25-th vers: סיגיך.

2) Perhaps from the root: שרה = חנה Ibn Esra in his comm.: אל״ף מאשריך תחת יו״ד כי אותיות יהו״א מתחלפין

3) Trg.: ונכבדיהם מתו ברעב = ויקיריהון מיתו בכפנא.

4) Burrows reads: אחד.

5) Ken.: השילוח.

6) See the comm. of David Qimḥi: פירוש יעוערו, כמו יעירו; Burrows reads: שברי. ערו, we are reading שבריערו.

7) LXX: כרמש לארץ.

8) ישאון (= ושאון לאמים כשאון מים רבים) ושאון לאמים כשאון מים כבירים; see also the Peš. and Ken.

*קצרו	xxxvii	27
בתה		29
*ומר	xxxviii	10
כלי		17
*השחון		21
עלה		22
מרודך (Ken. Trg. =)	xxxix	1
גי	xl	4
פיא		5
לוא		10
במזונים		12
מזנים		15
ותהוו		17
ובשקלו		20
מרוש		21
וייבשו		24
*נודף	xli	2
אולם		7
פי פיות		15
שפאים (Ken. G. =)		18
תקראון		22
יזעק (Ken. =)	xlii	2
*אסור		7
אחשיתי		14
עשיתים (Ken. G. =)		16
*ובושו		17
עואר (2)		19
ועואר		
*יצמחו	xliv	4
*משימו		7
*ועמודו (LXX, Peš. =)		11
ופחדו (Peš. =)		
*ועשהו		13
ובמחגה		
ושריתו		17
מהשכל		18
פשעכה (Trg. =)		22
*[תח]ולין	xlv	10
(Ken. G. =)		
העירותיהו		13
ישתחווה		14
ישתחו	xlvi	6
ותשוי		5
*אחרות		10
*וקראו	xlvii	5

אבו (Ken. DR. G. =)	xxviii	12
ואתה [1]		22
*כדוד [2] (Ken. LXX =)	xxix	3
כבדתי		13
כחם		16
*לוץ		20
יקדשו		23
לכמה	xxx	3
*תסירו		11
*מנו (Ken. =)		
ולחסוף (Ken. 93 =)		14
*בשיבה		15
*ירים [3]		18
וטמיתם [4]		22
חמץ		24
לנפה		28
מאדה	xxxi	1
*רקם		2
*[יענה]		4
*וסלעי		9
*מנוס		
תשענה	xxxii	3
וכילי (Ken. =)		7
והוא (Ken. Peš. =)		
בו [5] (Ken. DR. G. =)	xxxiii	1
מדממתך		3
הנשא		10
וכול	xxxiv	4
כלאיות		6
וירשוהה		11
*דוות		15
ורוחהו		16
*היאה		
חלקת		17
ירשוה (Ken. =)		
*יביא [6]	xxxv	4
*יביא [6]		
כאיאל		6
מסולל		8
חזקיה	xxxvi	1
אשו		2
רב שקה (Ken. G. =)		
ההצילו		19
ישייכה	xxxvii	10
ותומר		24
*קצי		

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[1]) LXX: ואתם.
[2]) The distinction between ד and ר is not so evidently as that of ו and י.
[3]) Perhaps: ידים; Ken. 82, 149 (?): ידום.
[4]) See also: lxv 1, 9.
[5]) In other MSS: בך.
[6]) This is proposed in *Biblia Hebraica*, ed. Kittel.

רוקחיך	lvii	9
(Ken. G. =) וירש		13
לשמיע	lviii	4
(Ken. Trg. Peš.) =		
(1) מטה [4]		6
בצצחות		11
בומתי		14
עוונותיכמה	lix	2
שו		4
בצי [5] (=) (Ken.		5
יירגו		
אסע		
נקיא		7
הגוא		11
ועוונותינו (=) (Ken. 96		12
לוא		16
סמכתו		
בוה		19
(LXX, Vulg. =)		
ותהלת	lx	6
ואהלכו		14
ירשו (=) (Ken. G.		21
תקרוא	lxi	6
*גזול		8
א[ם] (=) (Ken.	lxii	8
בתומות	lxiii	13
בססו (=) (Ken. G.		18
לאחזיק	lxiv	6
עוונו		
הבטנה		8
נמציתי	lxv	1
עוונותיכמה		7
פועלתמה		
והוציתי		9
וממלאים		11
*מכאוב		14
זב		25
עניא	lxvi	2
*בורכים		12
ונודע		14
אפו [6] אפו		15
כ[ו]ל [6] כול		20

הכבדתי (=) (Ken. 115	xlvii	6
זכרתי		7
ובאה [1]		11
מודעים (=) (Ken.		13
ומס [2] ומסלתי	xlix	11
שפאים (=) (Ken. G.		9
ועניו (=) (Ken. G. L.		13
סאי		18
*הרוסתך (=) (Ken.		19
וסרה (=) (Ken.		21
איפו		
וידעתי		23
בעוונותיכמה	l	1
נסגותי		5
*חשוכים		10
קרתיהו	li	2
אקשיבו		4
מחללת (=) (Ken. G.		9
רואשיהמה		11
עולפו		20
כתו		
שכורת (=) (Ken. 196		21
צורך	lii	2
מואדה		13
*יחדל	liii	3
וכמסתיר (=) (Ken.		
מעוונותינו (=) (Ken. 96		5
*עבדו		11
יפגע		12
ארחיבי	liv	2
(Ken. DR. G. Trg.		
Vulg. Peš.) = כימי [3]		9
ימחוא	lv	12
אדס		13
[מ]חללה	lvi	2
ידין		
מחללה		6
לנואם		10
ונסבה		12
הלוך	lvii	2
שעפי		5
*ותעלו		8

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[1]) See the comm. of David Qimḥi: ובא לשון זכר ורעה לשון נקבה ,על כן נאמר כי הוא חסר יום או דבר.

[2]) The end of the line.

[3]) See also Theodothion, Aquilas and Symachos.

[4]) See also DSI II.

[5]) See also DSI II.

[6]) The end of the line.

1	i	ע ישיהו
		ח חזקיה
2		מ ורומת[י]
7		א כמפכת
12		א זות
21		ו לזנה (לזנה :Ken. 107)
24		ה *מאיבו
4	ii	[לעמים]
6		י כא
9	iii	ו הגיד
18	v	ה עוון
20		ו לטוב
21		ע ביניהם
29		א ויזח
16	vii	ב טרם
		ו ובחר (ובחר .Ken)
		ז תעזב
19		ו הנהלילים
20		ה רגלים
1	viii	ב חרט (חרט .Trg) [1]
9		ה ואזינו
17		את פניו
19	viii	ו האבות
22		ו חשוכה
7	ix	ע ביקוב
11		ו *זות (or זית)
14		ו הראש
16		ו יחמל
17		ו תאכל
13	x	ו ואסר
28		ת *עיה
31		ה גבים [2]
33		ה קומה
4	xi	ב בשט [3]
		פיו יְוֻמְתְּ רִשְׁעָ
11		את שאר
4	xii	ש נגב
22	xiii	י אם
		ה :Ken. 96, 173)
16	xiv	ארץ (ארץ
19		אבני בור
20		ה שחת (שחתה :Ken. 242, 687)
26		ו הנטיה
28		המל ך

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[1]) Trg.: כתב מפרש.

[2]) Ken. 1: העיזו גבים.

[3]) The original text is perhaps: בְּשׁוֹט = בְּשׁט.

2	xv	הבמות (א)
4		*ירעו (י) [1]
10	xvi	ונסף (א)
12		מקדשו (י)
14		מצער (ז)
4	xvii	יקוב (ע)
6		בראש (ו)
10		ת..ו. (י)
1	xix	ברבו (ק)
2		וססכתי (כ)
3		האבות (ו)
6		וחבו (ר)
		יאר (ו)
13		*נשאי (י)
14		קיאו (ב)
2	xx	ופתחת (השק)
6		האיי (יושב)
4	xxi	בעתני (ת)
15		רבות (ה)
		נשה (טו)
17		קדר (בני) [2] (Ken.30: קדר)
18	xxii	*צנף (י) (Ken. צנף)
21		והלבשיו (ת)
24		הצצאים (א)
2	xxiii	ישבי (ו) (Ken. יושבי)
5	xxiii	מצרים (ל)
6		תשישה (ר)
8		שרים (סוחריה)
13		למלה (פ)
4	xxiv	הארץ (עם) (Ken.72: הארץ)
20		נע (ו)
		תסיף (ו) (Ken. תסיף)
2	xxv	למלה (פ)
12		השה (ה) (Ken.158: ?השה)
4	xxvi	עד (י)
11	xxvii	מאירות (באות)
24	xxviii	ושדד (י)
28		ידק (ו)
		עגלתו (גלגל)
15	xxix	ראנו (ו) (Ken. רואנו)
24		תעי (ו) (Ken. תועי)
2	xxx	לרד (ת)
8		כתבהא (ו)
13		הע..ן (וו)
17		ראש (ו)
23		אדמה (ה) (1)
25		בים (ו)
29		היה (י)
3	xxxi	יכלון (יכלון) (Ken. 96, 89: יכלון)
4		אריה (ה)
		רעים (ו) (Ken. רועים)

[1]) In the *Biblia Hebraica* is proposed: ירעו.
[2]) Theodoretus: קדר (ZIEGLER).

8	xxxi	לוֹאדם (א)
9	xxxii	שנוֹת (א)
15	xxxiii	הלך (הוֹלך (Ken. (ה)
18		מגדלים (ה)
13	xxxiv	ארמנוֹתיה (ו)
10	xxxv	ישיגוּבה
4	xxxvi	חזקיה מלך יהוּדה
7		תשתחוו בירוּשלים
4	xxxvii	ונשאת (ה)
5		המלך
14		*חוזקיה לפני
27		קדם (י)
29		ושנוכה (א)
31		פליטת בית יהודה ואספה
3	xxxviii	הלכתי (תה)
10		ימי (ו)
15		הואה (הוא :Ken. 93) (ה)
2	xxxix	*יחזקיה (ו)
3		מלך (מלך :Ken. 96) (ה)
8		ויואמר
7	xl	כי רוח וְדִבְרִ
		אלוהיוֹ
		נשבה בוא יקום לעולם
13		איש ועצתו
24		עשף (נ)
6	xli	רעהו (י)
11	xli	יבושו (הן)
23		אחור (ל)
10	xlii	ומלאו (ומלואו (Ken. (ו)
1	xliii	בוראכה (בוראיך (Ken. 129 (י)
		ויצרכה (י)
		לי (א)
25	xliv	אותות בדים
		משיב חכמים
16	xlv	כלמה (כולם :Ken. 96) (ו)
5	xlvii	ובאי (ו)
11	xlviii	איכה כיא
1	l	שלחה (שולחה :Ken. 112) (ו)
4	li	ולאמי (ו)
7		ומגדפותם (מ)
19		וחרב (ה)
20		*מכמר (ו)
1	lii	עוז ציון
4	liii	חולינו (חליינו (Ken. (י)
8		מעוצ (ר)
4	liv	אל (אל :DSI II; Ken. 91) (ו)
5		עושך (י)
8		גאלכי (ו)
10		וגבעות (ה)
16		ברתי (א)
		מוציא (ו)
5	lv	וקדוש (וקדוש :DSI II) (ל)
12	lvi	יתר גדול

3	lviii	וכו׳ל		13	lxiii	במ.בר׳ד
6		ח[פ]שים׳		1	lxiv	פניכה׳מ
11		ועצמותיכ׳ה		10		קדשנו׳
19	lix	נסה׳ (נוסה	(Ken.	10	lxv	והיה׳א חפצתי
12	lx	הגואים׳		12		לוא
15		ושנאה׳		13		יאכלו׳
17		עצים׳ה		25		קדשי׳
19		ולנה׳ (ולנוגה	(Ken.	1	lxvi	וארץ׳ה
1	lxi	עגוים שלחני		3		שור׳ה
7	lxii	ירושלם׳ (ירושלים	(Ken. 96, 136:	9		אני׳ה
9		קדשי׳		18		באו׳
8	lxiii	ויואמ׳ר		20		והביא׳ו
11		צאונו׳				מכל הגואים

Jerusalem (Isr.) SAMUEL LOEWINGER

JAHWÄH MALAK

Unter dieser Überschrift behandelt L. KOEHLER in *VT* III 2 (April 1953) S. 188 die Anfangsworte von Ps. xciii 1.

Er bemerkt dabei, dass in neuerer Zeit diese Worte übersetzt werden: „Jahwäh ist König geworden", und damit zu einer der Grundlagen für MOWINCKELS „Thronbesteigungsfest Jahwäs" gemacht werden.

KOEHLER fragt nun, ob diese Übersetzung richtig sei. Er weist dann auf die Tatsache, dass das Subjekt in der Wortstellung voransteht. Dies nun, so sagt er, ist nicht gleichgültig, sondern deutet an, dass hier das Subjekt betont ist: „Es ist Jahwäh, der König (geworden) ist". Diese Betonung erklärt er dann aus dem Gegensatz zu anderen Göttern (Jahwäh und nicht Baal, Marduk u.s.w.).

Wenn KOEHLER es auch nicht ausspricht, meine ich aus seiner Darlegung schliessen zu müssen, dass in dieser Formel die Folge Subjekt-Prädikat keinen Aufschluss für die Beantwortung der Frage gibt, ob die Übersetzung „ist König geworden" dem Sinne entspricht

oder nicht. Besonders wegen der daraus entstehenden wichtigen Folgerungen möchte ich mein Bedenken gegen seine Auffassung nicht ungeäussert lassen.

Wir haben es hier mit einem Verbalsatz zu tun, bei dem nicht, wie es sonst üblich ist, das Prädikat, sondern das Subjekt voransteht. Die Grammatik lehrt (hierfür sei nach GESENIUS-KAUTZSCH[28] § 142 a verwiesen), dass dies eine Sache des besonderen Nachdrucks sein *kann*, aber „weitaus in den meisten Fällen" eine andere Ursache hat, näml. diese, dass nicht ein „(neues) Faktum berichtet, sondern vielmehr etwas Zuständliches beschrieben werden soll" (Gen. xiii 12). „Verbalsätze dieser Art nähern sich stark dem Charakter von Nominalsätzen" (und haben darum die dort gangbare Folge Subjekt-Prädikat). Dadurch wird es meines Erachtens *wahrscheinlich*, dass die Anfangsworte von Ps. xciii 1 nicht zu übersetzen sind als „J. ist König geworden", sondern „J. ist König" und dass der Psalm ein allgemeiner Hymnus auf Jahwähs Königsherrschaft ist.

Natürlich bleibt dann nach der Grammatik noch die andere *Möglichkeit* bestehen, dass das Subjekt wegen des Nachdrucks voransteht. Einen Vergleich hierzu liefert Hab. iii 3: *'ᵉlôᵃh mittêmān jabô* (Gott kommt von Teman) [1]). Aber hier kann der Prophet sich dieser Wortfolge bedienen, weil *jabô*, wenn es auch am Schluss steht, deutlich eine Tätigkeit ausdrückt. Mit *malak* ist es jedoch ganz anders bestellt. Will man im Hebräischen den Gedanken: J. ist König geworden, deutlich ausdrücken, so kann dies m.E. nur geschehen, in dem *malak* voransteht.

So finden wir es auch in der Tat in dem (von GUNKEL u.a. zur Verdeutlichung angeführten) Königsruf: Absalom, Jehu ist König geworden, 2 Sam xv 10; 2 Kön. ix 13 (vergl. auch 1 Kön. i 11, 13). *Hier also eine andere Wortstellung als in Ps.* xciii 1! Und diese andere Ausdrucksweise ist auch nicht auf Menschen beschränkt. Auch in Jes. lii 7 (von so vielen von grösster Wichtigkeit erachtet für die „Psalmen der Thronbesteigung") steht das Verbum voran! Nach dem oben Gesagten hat das seinen ganz bestimmten Grund. Hier ist der Sinn: Jahwäh ist König geworden, d.h. hat (im prägnanten Sinn) die Königsherrschaft angetreten. Den gleichen Gedanken findet man auch in Ps. xlvii 9.

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[1]) Gleichfalls kann man hieraus ersehen, dass nicht jeder Nachdruck einen Gegensatz zum Ausdruck zu bringen braucht. Vielleicht kann man hier von einem „Nachdruck der Anbetung" sprechen.

Dieser Text ist also m. E. nicht mit Ps. xciii 1 gleichzustellen. Hier, in Ps. xciii 1, steht Jahwäh voran, nicht wegen des Nachdrucks, sondern weil hier nicht von einem „neuen Faktum" gesprochen ist und also die (von den meisten neueren, aber auch von vielen älteren Exegeten gegebene) Übersetzung: „Jahwäh ist König geworden" nicht sinnentsprechend ist.

M. E. ist dies auch aus dem Inhalt der desbetreffenden Psalmen (wozu ich jedoch nicht Ps. xlvii rechne) anzuzeigen. Hierfür sei nur auf Ps. xciii 2 gewiesen: „Dein Thron steht fest vom Anbeginn her". KITTELS Erklärung, dass der Thron bisher leer gestanden habe und jetzt von Jahwäh erstiegen sei, ist wenig einleuchtend: der Dichter hat kein Interesse daran, von einem leeren Thron zu erzählen, sondern vermeldet den uralten Thron als Symbol der von ihm besungenen uralten Herrschaft Jahwähs.

Kampen J. RIDDERBOS

TEXTKRITISCHES ZUM ESTHERBUCH

i 15: כדת ist am Anfang von Vers 15 ebenso überflüssig wie am Ende von Vers 14, das Wort ist Dittographie der drei vorausgehenden Konsonanten.

ii 19. Vers 19a hat noch keine einleuchtende Erklärung gefunden, seine Streichung hilft ebensowenig wie die vorgeschlagenen Konjekturen. Auch Vers 19b ist im Zusammenhang sinnlos, da es sich um einen Zustandssatz handelt (gegen HALLER in *Die fünf Megilloth*, 1940, 122 f.). Meines Erachtens ist der ganze Vers Randglosse zu Vers 20, der seinerseits (siehe GUNKEL, *Esther*, 1916, 14) wegen Vers 22b im Zusammenhang notwendig ist. Da Vers 20 den Vers 10 wiederholt, schrieb jemand an den Rand: שנית „zum zweiten Male", und dieselbe oder eine andere Hand fügte hinzu: „(die Aussage Vers 20 erscheint zum zweiten Mal): sowohl bei der Versammlung der Jungfrauen (d.h. in Vers 10, vgl. Vers 8) als auch während Mordechai im Tor des Königs sass (d.h. bei Vers 21)". Da es noch keine Verszahlen gab, konnten die Stellen nicht anders zitiert werden. Als die Glosse in den Text kam, geriet שנית an falsche Stelle.

v 1. Vor מלכות fehlt ein Wort für „Kleidung", man wählt trotz vi 8 und viii 15 am besten מַלְבּוּשׁ, weil sich so der Ausfall am besten erklärt und weil der Verfasser die Alliteration liebt (STRIEDL, *ZAW* 1937, 90).

vii 8. Eine Änderung von חפו in Vers 8b erscheint unnötig; will man aber ändern, so ist dem vorgeschlagenen חָפְרוּ („sein Gesicht wurde schamrot") חִוְרוּ („sein Gesicht wurde weiss" Jes. xxix 22) vorzuziehen.

ix 16. נוח „Ruhe haben" kommt zu früh und ist, wie man mit Recht annimmt, im Blick auf Vers 17 (22) verschrieben. Der gewöhnliche Vorschlag וְנִקּוֹם „sich rächen" ist sachlich richtig, aber graphisch näher liegt וְנֻחוֹם, Inf. abs. Ni. von נחם (vgl. Jes. i 24): es liegt nur Haplographie von מ vor.

ix 29. Das sachlich schwierige und durch seine Stellung hinter הזאת auffallende (König § 334 η) השׁנית ist verdorbene Dittographie des folgenden וישׁלח; dieses selbst ist in den im Estherbuch so häufigen Inf. abs. וְשָׁלֹחַ zu verwandeln, von dem וישׁלח eine falsche Auflösung (statt ותשׁלח) ist.

Münster i. W. W. Rudolph

THE X-SIGN IN THE ISAIAH SCROLL

To the regret of the learned world, the discussion on the Dead Sea Scrolls degenerated, in certain circles, into an ill-tempered feud of personal prestige in which reasonable argumentation is of little account. As if that would not be enough to discourage people who do not particularly cherish a fight from entering the arena of the contest, recently a new deterring element has been injected into the debate, namely a note of fanaticism reminiscent of the religious disputations of the Middle Ages.

Dr Teicher embraces with considerable variations and combinations, the Margoliouth-Eisler theory of the Christian origin of the Damascus Document as well as of the Dead Sea Scrolls. Like the Church Fathers of old, he is untiring in collecting testimonies, "material evidence", of Jesus in the Dead Sea Scrolls. Not that Teicher himself needs them; he sensed Jesus at first glance at the Scrolls. Rather to "convince the most obdurate sceptics", and "to make the conviction easier" [1]).

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[1]) J. L. Teicher, „Material Evidence of the Christian Origin of the Dead Sea Scrolls", *The Journal of Jewish Studies*, 1952, pp. 128 f. This is one of half a dozen articles and notes Dr Teicher has published on the Dead Sea Scrolls in his *Journal*.

As an "obdurate" infidel in the Christian theory of the Dead Sea Scrolls, I feel compelled to comment upon the new "indubitable" testimony.

This new revelation of Jesus consists of marginal signs in the Isaiah Scroll which, according to TEICHER, "beautifully exemplify the Christian custom, mentioned by Epiphanius, of marking christological passages of the prophets with special signs". The gem of these "beautiful" samples of christological signs forms the X-sign, eleven times scratched between the columns. "This sign", TEICHER exclaims triumphantly, "is, clearly, the Greek letter *chi*, an abbreviation for *Christos*, the sign which refers to passages concerning the Messiah".

In this last sentence no less than three statements, two explicit and one implicit, are introduced as self-evident: 1) The X-sign can be nothing but the Greek letter *chi*; 2) *Chi* stands necessarily for *Christos*; 3) *Christos* means Jesus. Since all of them appear to me far from being self-evident, if true at all, let us examine them one by one.

1. Regarding the identification of the sign with the Greek letter *chi*, one can not help wondering why the Ebionites, Judaeo-Christians who continued to use Hebrew in their writings, should have adopted a system of signs based on Greek letters and terms, and not one based on equivalent Hebrew letters and expressions. But, is it not "clearly" the Greek letter *chi*?

Yes; however it so happens that there is also a Hebrew letter which has exactly the same form, namely the letter *Taw* in the ancient Hebrew script. Now, there is unmistakable evidence that the writers of the Scrolls were well acquainted with the ancient Hebrew script; they used it sometimes in the transliteration of the Tetragrammaton. This seems to indicate that the writers of the Scrolls relegated the ancient Hebrew letters to the realm of symbols which made them appropriate to the use of signs.

What is now the symbolic meaning of the Hebrew *Taw*? By a curious coincidence, it corresponds precisely to one of the many symbolic meanings of the Greek *chi*. Among the "*notariaca*", signs, collected by Sixtus SENENSIS in his *Bibliotheca Santa* from the writings of the Church Fathers[1]), we find under No. 13: "X-Charakter", meaning mark, figure, serving to single out passages containing

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[1]) Sixtus SENENSIS, *Bibliotheca Santa*, Venice 1566, p. 255 f.: De expositione notariaca . . . pauca quaedam exempli gratia collegimus ex Epiphanio etc.

doctrines peculiar to a certain philosophical or theological school. Now, *Taw* in Hebrew means practically the same as *charakter*, namely mark[1]). As sign, therefore, the Hebrew *Taw* could be the exact equivalent of the Greek *chi* in the meaning *charakter*. In our Isaiah Scroll it might indicate passages which appealed particularly to the members of the sect, either for their eschatalogical perspective or for their religious tenets or practices.

2. But, assuming with Dr. TEICHER that the writer, or annotator, of the Isaiah Scroll chose, for some mysterious reason, the Greek *chi* as sign, is it necessarily "an abbreviation for *Christos*"? Now, we have already mentioned the possibility of reading the sign as an abbreviation of *charakter*, equivalent to the Hebrew sign of *Taw*. Moreover, it seems to me that if it should be the Greek letter *chi* then an ordinary Greek dictionary might be of more help to decipher its meaning than Epiphanius. There, in fact, we find that among the many functions of the letter *chi* it was also used to mark fine, useful passages in a book, in which case it stood for *chreston*, good, useful, important. In our Isaiah Scroll again X would simply mark certain passages, not necessarily of christological nature, as having particular significance for the members of the sect. So, indeed, it was understood by the editors of the Isaiah Scroll: "Apparently marking particular passages" (Introduction, p. XVI).

Among the many advantages of this common sense reading, we may point to the following two. First, we would not be forced to impose christological meaning upon passages dealing with the observance of the Sabbath (Pl. XLVI). Second, we would not be compelled to refer one X-sign on Pl. XLVI to the passage at the right of it, while in all the other places the sign is referred to the passages at the left of the sign. In the case under consideration, all TEICHER's skill in homiletical interpretation seems to have been of no avail to discover any "christological" allusion in the passage at the left (Is. lvi: 10: "His watchmen-better; Seers- are all blind ..."), and there remained nothing for him but to decree that in this single case the sign refers to the passage at the right[2]).

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[1]) This by no means exhausts the symbolic function of the *Taw* which has been extensively discussed by various scholars in connection with Ez. ix 4, 6. About the symbolic meaning of the *Taw* and its relation to the Greek *chi* in rabbinic sources, cf. the illuminating remarks of Prof. Saul LIEBERMAN, *Greek in Jewish Palestine*, 1942, Appendix, X and TH, pp. 185-191.

[2]) TEICHER's assertion: "All signs in the Isaiah Scroll are on the right margin

All this *tour de force* is unnecessary if we assume that the sign stands for *chreston* or *charakter*, useful, significant, remarkable. All three X-signs on Pl. XLVI may then refer to their respective passages at the left. The first two refer to the observation of the Sabbath with which the sect, as is well known, was very much concerned for its own sake and not for any christological consideration. The third sign would refer to the plague of false prophets, "blind seers", heretics, rivals of the head of our sect. This theme was of particular interest to the leaders of the sect as can be seen from the fact that it has been made the subject of a special hymn in the Scroll of Hymns.

3. Finally, even if we follow TEICHER all the way and read *Christos*, it still does not bear witness to Jesus. *Christos* means "The Anointed", "The Messiah", as TEICHER himself correctly indicated. For Christians it means, of course, Jesus. But surely not for Jews even in the post-Christian era, and still less in the pre-Christian era. Now, assuming that the sign has to be read *Christos*, all it would testify would be that "Messianic" claims or expectations played an important role among the adherents of the sect. But there is no controversy about that. The scholars who reject the Jesus theory do not by any means deny the "messianic" character of the sect. On the contrary, most of them assume that members of the sect expected two Messiahs, one of Aaronic (Zadokite) descent, the other of Davidic descent [1]), with special emphasis on the former. It would therefore be perfectly in order for members of any "messianic" sect, whether of the pre-Christian period or of the second century C. E. to mark the "christological", messianic, passages in Isaiah referring them to their respective Messiah.

As a matter of fact, the most outspoken christological passages provided with the X-sign are undoubtedly those in chap. xlii (Pl. XXXV, XXXVI) concerning the "Servant of Yahweh". Now, the writer of this, long ago, in a comment on a hymn of the Scrolls [2]) surmised "that the head of the sect might have considered himself

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and refer to the passages on the left, *except on column XLV (better: XLVI) where the sign chi is placed in the left margin* (p. 129, note 2)", is entirely gratuitous.

[1]) TEICHER's assertion notwithstanding, this is still the most plausible interpretation of "The Messiah from Aaron and from Israel" in the Damascus Document (ed. SCHECHTER, 12/13; 20 : 1). Cf. MILLAR BURROWS, "The Messiahs of Aaron and Israel", *Anglican Theological Review*, Oct. 1952, pp. 203-206.

[2]) I. SONNE, "A Hymn against Heretics" etc., *HUCA*, vol. XXIII/I, (1950/51), p. 293.

as the 'Ebed Adonai' "[1]). This, however, did not prevent him from believing that there are also traces of anti-Christian polemics in the same hymn.

Likewise the scholars who maintain the pre-Maccabean origin of the Scrolls would have no difficulty in assuming that the head of the sect shaped his Messiah along the lines of the "Servant of Yahweh." In fact, recently Dr H. L. GINSBERG [2]) endeavored to show that the oldest interpretation of the Suffering Servant referring to contemporary history can be found in Dan. xi 30 ff.; which means that "messianic" circles already in the pre-Maccabean period identified their Messiah with the Suffering Servant in Isaiah, and could therefore have marked the "christological" passages in Is. chap. xlii as referring to their expected or proclaimed Messiah.

In brief, even a "clear" *Christos* sign could at best bear witness to the "messianic" tendency of the sect. But it would remain mute as to the question whether the marked passages were referred to the "Messiah, the Prince" of the pre-Maccabean age, or to Jesus, or to any of the pretended Messiahs of the first two centuries C. E. among the Jews [3]).

We therefore conclude that as long as Dr TEICHER does not prove "beyond any doubt" that: First, X is *chi* and not *Taw*; second, *chi* stands for *Christos* and not for *chreston* or *charakter*; third, *Christos* means Jesus and not any other proclaimed or expected Messiah, the testimony of the X-sign will hardly convince any serious scholar, to say nothing of "obdurate sceptics".

Cincinnati ISAIAH SONNE

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[1]) *Ibid.*, p. 298.

[2]) *V.T.* iii 4, pp. 400—404.

[3]) One might argue that the fact that Epiphanius related expressly of the Christian custom to mark such places may lend some support, though not decisive evidence, to TEICHER's identification. This might have been so, if the signs were identical; but they are not. Secondly, there is a negative instance which TEICHER failed to mention and to account for. I refer to the absence of the X-sign at the chapters 11, 53, 61. If Christians put the sign in order to mark the Isaiah prophecies referred to Jesus, they could hardly have skipped these chapters which form the oldest standard testimonies. No "Collection of Testimonies", the Gospels included, have, to my knowledge, ever omitted them.

THE CONSTRUCTION OF NOAH'S ARK

In Gen. vi 13 the announcement is made of the impending "end of all flesh". Vv. 14-16 give a description of the Ark in which Noah, his family, and two of each species of all other living things are to be saved. This description of the building of the ark is divided into two parts: 1) general instructions about the form and material of the ark (v. 14), and 2) details of the size and interior arrangements of this structure (vv. 15, 16). The detailed description in vv. 15, 16 is introduced, appropriately enough, by the words וזה אשר תעשה אתה "and this is how thou shalt make it". The general instructions in v. 14 ("Make thee an ark of gopher (cypress?) wood; compartments (lit. nests) shalt thou make in the ark; and shalt pitch it within and without with pitch") appear, however, to include one element of detail which one would expect to find much rather in v. 16 which deals with the construction of doors, storeys, etc. 14 *a* specifies the material to be used, and 14 *c* explains how the ship is to be made water-tight by the use of bitumen [1]). 14 b, on the other hand, is apparently concerned with the interior structure of the ark, the division into compartments, in anticipation of its proper place in v. 16. The difficulty is not, however, one of arrangement and sequence only, but also of language: קִנִּים means "nests", and the semantic equation: *nests* = *compartments* [2]) seems to me to involve a somewhat excessive leap. Moreover, in all the twelve places where *qen* occurs in the O.T. it clearly refers to the nests of birds [3]), and more often than not the word 'bird' actually appears. It might also be noted that Gen. vi 14 is the only passage in the O.T. where the plural of *qen* occurs (or is alleged to occur). The syntactical difficulty, i.e. the absence of the distributive repetition, was already noticed by Philo (*Quaest. in Gen.* ii 3) who proposed the "emendation" קנים קנים. The LXX has

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[1]) In the Babylonian flood narrative there are no instructions about the kind of wood to be used, but *kupru* „bitumen" is liberally poured on the interior and exterior of the hull (cf. WINCKLER, *Keilinschriftliches Textbuch*, pp. 70 *seqq.*).

[2]) The translation 'compartment' in the Babylonian narrative (line 63) is, of course, merely a deduction from the context (cf. DRIVER, *Genesis*, Westminster Commentaries, p. 104). The text itself mentions neither storeys nor compartments expressly: *kir-bi-is-su ap-ta-ra-as a-na IX-šu* 'its interior I divided into nine'.

[3]) The same is true of postbiblical Hebrew literature-except in a very few instances where the traditional interpretation of the present passage caused the shift to 'cell', 'compartment' (e.g. עשויה קנין קנין (distributive!) *Wayyiqrā Rabbah*, xiv 3).

νοσσιας 'nests', and this was followed by most other translations [1]). The Targum offers מדורין 'dwellings', and similarly the mediaeval Hebrew commentators: מדורים מדורים לכל בהמה וחיה (Rashi); להיות כל חיה ועוף....לבדו (Ibn Ezra).

All the difficulties enumerated in the foregoing can be removed by pointing the consonantal skeleton as קָנִים [2]), i.e. the well attested plural of קָנֶה 'reed'. This minor change involving the pointing of the word only would restore to v. 14 its original character of giving building instructions in the most general terms and leaving all details to the following two verses: "Make thee an ark of gopher wood; with papyrus reeds shalt thou make the ark ....." And the hull is then to be covered with bitumen. Reeds were the most essential material to give cohesion to the wood; they were used in ancient shipbuilding for filling the gaps and crevices and for tying together the trunks as well as for the purpose of giving the whole structure greater buoyancy. That is true to this day of the papyrus boats of the Nile and the *tankwas* of Lake Tana [3]). Job ix 26 speaks of אניות אבה (cf. أَبَاء *harundo*) 'ships of reed' and Isaiah xviii 2 of כלי גמא 'vessels of bulrushes'. It would have seemed almost inconceivable that no mention should have been made in the flood narrative of the reeds which were needed to hold the hollowed trunks together, and the simple change from קִנִּים to קָנִים provides that missing element and improves the text in its logical sequence as well as in its language [4]).

St. Andrews University, May 1953 EDWARD ULLENDORFF
Scotland

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[1]) The Ethiopic version could make little of this verse and gives a widely differing rendering.

[2]) KOEHLER, *Lexicon*, p. 842, erroneously puts Ugaritic *qn*(*m*) 'huts of reed?' with Hebrew *qen* 'nest', while it is, of course, a cognate of *qāneh* 'reed'; cf. 2 Aqht vi 23.

[3]) An excellent description of such papyrus craft will be found in R. E. CHEESMAN's *Lake Tana and the Blue Nile*, pp. 90 *seqq*. Herodotus (II, 96) explains how the planks of Nile vessels were fastened with papyrus reeds.

[4]) On page 38, footnote 31, of C. H. GORDON's excellent *Introduction to Old Testament Times* (which reached me only several weeks after submission of the manuscript to the editor) I am happy to find independent confirmation of my emendation which I first discussed with Professor A. M. HONEYMAN in 1951.

REVIEWS

HADAS, M., *The Third and Fourth Books of Maccabees* edited and translated by MOSES HADAS. 1953. Pp. vii + 248. (Harper & Bros., New York. Price 4 dollars.)

With this volume Professor HADAS has made a valuable addition to the valuable Dropsie College Edition of Jewish Apocryphal Literature, comparable to his own work on *Aristeas to Philocrates* (1951) in the same series. The two books, III and IV Maccabees, are printed in Greek after the text of RAHLFS' Septuaginta, and are provided severally with introduction, notes, and English translation. A more convenient arrangement could hardly be found. If, at times, the English translation is not unnaturally a little puzzling to readers on this side of the Atlantic, reference to the Greek on the opposite page will quickly solve the problem. The two introductions are excellent and exhibit a masterful compression. HADAS finds that III Maccabees is a tract for the times, and that although the essential narrative of events in the reign of Ptolemy Philopator after the battle of Raphia is by no means incredible, the times for which III Maccabees is a tract are the early years of the Roman occupation of Egypt when the status of the Jews in Alexandria and Egypt was again an urgent political problem. The book was written in Greek, and in Alexandria. HADAS places IV Maccabees in the reign of Caligula. He follows Cardinal RAMPOLLA DE TINDARO, and others, in regarding Antioch as the city in which the book was written, and argues the case afresh with convincing force. The book is a treatise, be it diatribe or panegyric, composed to be read before a congregation of Hellenised Jews assembled at Antioch near the actual site of the Maccabaean martyrdoms on a day of commemoration. The obtuse policy of Caligula towards Jerusalem would lend a special cogency to the commemoration. HADAS provides us with generous bibliographical references, and his wide knowledge of Greek, as well as of Jewish, literature combine to make his book the best edition of III and IV Maccabees that we have.

H. ST. J. HART

MIRIAM SELIGSON, *The Meaning of* נפש מת *in the Old Testament.* Studia Orientalia XVI: 2, Helsinki 1951, 100 pp. and list of *errata.*

The author of this monograph — as the title indicates — wants to establish the meaning primarily of *næfæš* and secondarily of *næfæš mēṯ.* She raises objections to the general explanation of *næfæš* and its cognates in the other Semitic languages, viz. that the basic meaning would seem to be "breath", and argues that the sense in the O.T. "is only a 'mysterious potency' ". She further contends that the corresponding word for this

potency nowadays is "soul", but that this term "must not be taken in its modern sense." Unfortunately she does not offer any definition of what the "modern sense" of the word *soul* is. Such a definition would certainly have been very welcome in view of the fact that there are lots of definitions of the notion of the soul. May we ask the author what special definition she has in mind? One of the chief ideas of the author is developed in her third chapter where she asserts that *næfæš* never meant a part of the (human) body. Accordingly she very strongly censures such prominent scholars as DHORME and HOLMA who have taken the Accadian *napištu* as meaning "throat", corresponding to Hebrew *næfæš*, and JOHNSON who has accepted this sense for the Hebrew term.

The reviewer has collected instances to test the reliability of the author's work, the outcome of which will be briefly presented in the following.

P. 21 Syriac *nafšā* is given as *nefšā* without any correction in the list of errata. P. 25 we meet with the transliteration *lēqir* instead of *līqir* (written *li-qir*). The latest publication of K 163 + 218 (IV R 57) is not KING, *BMS*, No 12, but HEHN, *Hymnen und Gebete an Marduk*, No. XIV. P. 27 *šakānu napišta* after BEZOLD, *Glossar*, p. 272 a is given as "give up the *ghost*, die", but it is not noted that the goddess Aruru as the provider of life is called *šakittu napšati* ib. p. 273 a, and that *šiknat* or *šikin napišti* means a living creature, WEIR, *Lexicon*, p. 345. P. 35 *šegī napištiṇa* (so!) does not primarily mean "the *anger* of my soul" but "the *rage* of my soul". P. 49 the author says that "*napšāti* cannot stand for 'throat'. One person cannot have many throats." Nor can he have many heads, but nevertheless we read *KAR* 58 Rev. 31: *ilat Nin-lil mu-la-at rēšēmeš-ka*. It is not quite clear how the author would explain the plural in this case. Cf. further *rēšēmeš-ia šu-uk-ki*, *JRAS* 1929, p. 764 : 2, and also KING, *BMS*, p. 61 : 13, and EBELING, *Quellen* I, p. 44 : 26. In all these passages *rēšē* is the plural of *rēš*, head. Accordingly *napšāti* might well designate the plural of *napištu* in the meaning of throat. P. 54 ff. the author tries to demonstrate that *kunuk napišti* cannot mean "seal of the neck". But clearly *aban kišādi*, stone of the neck, *kunuk kišādi*, seal of the neck, and *kunuk napišti* are synonymous expressions. Moreover, in spite of repeated readings, I have been unable to understand the author's argument; for I cannot find any demonstration, only a contention that her opinion is the only correct one.

P. 57 a well-known passage in Ugaritic literature is quoted and translated as follows:

Verily thou shalt go down to the mercy of the God Mōt. I* AB I 6-7.

If we, contrary to the author's method, also quote the second half of the distich we shall find a synonym of *npš* used, namely *mhmrt*, and will have no difficulty in accepting GORDON's translation, *Ugaritic Literature*, p. 38:

Thou shalt go down into the throat of the God Mot,
Yea into the *gullet* of El's Beloved, the Hero.

The word *mhmrt* (which GORDON in his translation marks as uncertain and in his Glossary No. 609 does not translate) cannot cause any difficulties as to its real meaning. It signifies a place where something is poured down, *hmr*, cf. KÖHLER, *Lexicon*, p. 500 a, for in Hebrew *mhmrwt* in Ps. cxl 11 signifies pits filled with rain, i.e. places where the rain is poured down, the verb

hmr properly meaning "to pour down", cf. Arabic [illegible]. Such a meaning of *mhmrt* as "gulf, gap, opening, gullet" is accordingly easy to explain. But how "mercy" should be put in parallelism with such a term remains completely inexplicable. It seems significant then that the author has left out this very half of the distich that definitely settles the meaning of *npš* in the context. That indeed Ba'al descends into the gullet of Mōt cannot be doubted, because it is explicitly stated col. II 4: *bph yrd*!

P. 59 the passage Hab. ii 5 is to be understood like Is. v 14 in the light of the Ugaritic text, just quoted as CASSUTO has already demonstrated. The same situation as in Ugaritic literature is alluded to. The distich in the Krt legend at the end (127 : 11-12 in GORDON's enumeration) reads:

npšh llḥm tptḥ
brlth ltrm

This is translated by GORDON, *op. cit.*, p. 81:

His appetite she opens to eat,
His desire to dine.

GINSBERG, *Anet*, p. 149 a prefers the following translation:

His desire for bread she opens,
His appetite for food.

SELIGSON has in this passage accepted GORDON's translation. Now admittedly the passage in question is difficult, for we meet with some obscure terms. Thus except *npš*, the general meaning of which is clear but the *exact* sense of which is uncertain in this context, we find the word *lḥm*, the term *brlt*, and the word *trm*, leaving only the verb *ptḥ* as one out of five as the really certain word. Now in my opinion the situation is nevertheless not so desperate as it might appear, for as can be seen from the translations quoted the general trend of the passage is quite clear. As to the words *lḥm* and *trm* they obviously are synonymous expressions as is clear from their parallelism. I would suggest that *trm* might be taken as a verb, as GORDON takes it, and connected with Accad. *šarāmu*, cut off, and Arabic [illegible], which evidently is the same verb, though the meaning has got more specialized. On the whole thus GORDON's translation seems preferable to that given by GINSBERG. But it is difficult to understand why he in this instance renders *npš* with "appetite" and not with "throat" as in the previously quoted passage, for one does not open the appetite of a person but one can open his gullet. Moreover we must try to visualize the situation. Krt has been "dead" but is revived by the rite of this opening of the *npš*. If we take *npš* as gullet or throat the Ugaritic rite here alluded to would correspond to the Mesopotamian ceremonies of the "opening of the mouth", cf. EBELING, *Tod und Leben*, texts no. 26-29 and ZIMMERN, *Orientalische Studien*, TH. NOELDEKE *gewidmet*, pp. 959 ff. It is to be observed that without the performance of this rite the god does not eat or drink, as it is said in the texts. This agrees actually with the Krt text, for there Krt after the washing orders a lamb to be slaughtered that he may eat. The ceremony of washing itself is not quite clear, the text running as follows:

ḫṭm tʿmt ʿṯrptm
zbln ʿl rišh
wwṯṯb trḥṣ nn bdʿt (No. 127 8-10)

GORDON, *op. cit.*, p. 81 translates this in the following manner:

With a wand she strikes *the malady*,
the illness on its head.
And she returns to wash him of sweat.

GINSBERG in his turn offers a rather incomplete translation:

The *invalid* she ...,
The suffering one upon his head,
And proceeds to wash him clean of sweat (*Anet*, p. 148 b).

Now we ought to remember that the Mesopotamian incantation and purification priest is equipped both with rod or sceptre and a vessel for drawing water or a vessel of purification. This being the case I risk the following translation:

With the rod she strikes the sick,
The suffering one on his head,
And proceeds to wash him with knowledge.

The word *dʿt* elsewhere in the Ugaritic texts means knowledge (from *ydʿ*) or acquaintance and it is difficult to see any reason to hazard the guess that this word here should mean "sweat". This interpretation is based on Anat iii 31 where we meet the expression *pnh tdʿ*, translated "his/her face sweats". Rather uncertain, for the meaning is based on the equivalence of Ugaritic *dʿ* and Hebrew *zʿḥ*. From a phonetic point of view this equivalence does not meet with any difficulties but it is as yet not sufficiently established from a semasiological point of view.

Concluding this digression we may accordingly say that in the above passage of the Krt epic there is quite strong evidence for the meaning "throat" as applicable to *npš* in this case as in the other passages in Ugaritic literature, where we may even say that this meaning would seem to be perfectly well established.

P. 60 SELIGSON denies that in Job xli 12-13 נפשו in a clear parallelism to נחיריו, nostrils, means breath, in spite of the most natural translation offering itself, if this sense is accepted:

His breath setteth coals ablaze,
and a flame cometh out of his mouth.

In this case we should compare also the Epic of Gilgameš iii 111 *napissu mūtum*, "Whose breath is death". Of course the author who argues for a translation "soul" does not know the corresponding passage in the "Epic of Gilgameš".

My last illustration is from p. 60 ff. where Prov. xxiii 7 is quoted:

כי כמו שער בנפשו כן הוא

Several scholars have compared the corresponding passage in the

"Teaching of Amenemope", translated by WILSON in *Anet*, p. 423 a in the following manner:

ir nkt nyt šwʾw	As for the property of a poor man,
sw šnʿ r iḥdy	it is a blocking to the throat,
sw ir sẖy r ʿšʿš	it makes a *vomiting* to the gullet.

The word translated here "blocking" is *šnʿ*, as a verb "hinder, block", *Wörterbuch* 4, p. 504 f. It can possibly mean a disease, *ib.* p. 507. The word tentatively translated "vomiting" is *sẖy*. The author (of course) disputes the validity of the Egyptian pattern. Proceeding from an unhappy earlier German translation "ein Unwetter für die Kehle" — admittedly without any first-hand knowledge of the Egyptian text — she translates the Hebrew passage in the following way:

For as (with) a storm in his נפש, so is he.

The author admitting her unfamiliarity with the Egyptian language nevertheless denies that the Egyptian word *iḥyd* constitutes a "reason for translating נפש by 'throat' ". She takes further שער as meaning "storm", שַׁעַר, this on account of the Egyptian parallel. Curiously enough she thus accepts the validity of the Egyptian pattern in one case, but rejects it in the other. Moreover she is unhappy enough to accept the validity in the case where the translation of Egyptian is incorrect, *rejecting the other case where it is correct*! If we retain the meaning "throat" for *næfæš* in this context and take שער as from שער III, meaning "something disgusting", comparing the Accadian *šērtu*, a term for sin belonging to this very root (cf. VAN SELMS, *De Babylonische Termini voor Zonde*, p. 53 [1])), I venture to suggest the following translation which at least provides a satisfactory meaning:

For like something disgusting in the throat, so it is.

Let us add that the author when arguing that Arabic *nafs*, "soul", cannot be explained from *nafas*, "breath", has completely forgotten (of course) to adduce Syriac *nᵉfeš*, *eṯnᵉfeš*, "to breathe", as compared with *nafšā*. We should indeed also compare Accad. *napāšu*, "be wide", "breathe freely", and *nappašu*, *nanpašu*, "airhole", as well as *nipšu* and the already mentioned *napišu*, both "breath", with *napištu*, "soul". Of special interest is the fact that we find a word *napuštu* (evidently meaning "breath"), a form constructed like *napištu*. Accordingly *napuštu*, "breath", is the counterpart of *napištu*, "soul", and their close relation would seem impossible to deny. Thus we think it rather obvious that *napištu* from the outset had the meaning of "breath-soul". For the meaning of *napāšu*, "to be wide", we should not forget to think of Mandaic *npyš*, used in the sense of "prolonged", "wide". In this connection we are also interested in such a proper name as *Muneppiš-*

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[1]) But VAN SELMS' contention that the root *šʿr* in Accadian could not have developed on one hand to *šẖr*, or on the other hand have preserved its original form is presumably not acceptable. It is well known that biconsonantal bases may develop into triconsonantal roots by various expansions, cf. DRIVER, *Hebrew Verbal System*, pp. 4-8. Thus a root *šr* could develop into *šrr*, *šẖr*, *šʾr* or *šʿr*. The equivalence of *šoʾār šērtu* is accordingly to be adhered to (*cum* HEHN, *Sünde und Erlösung*, p. 10).

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ilu, "God gives breath", TALLQVIST, *Assyrian Personal Names*, p. 139 b which reminds us of the fact that Syriac *nappeš* (the paʿel of *npš*) means "to refresh", "to give life", properly "to cause to breathe freely". Actually we would seem to be entitled to translate *Muneppiš-ilu* by "God refreshes", "God gives life" as in the paʿel of Syriac *npš*.

Of course we should in this connection draw attention to the well-known name of a demon, *nakās napišti*, "cutter of of life", where the original meaning of "cutting of of the throat" may be said to be still transparent.

The soul may certainly be called a "mysterious potency", but I am afraid that the treatment given it in this monograph has rendered it *so* mysterious as to be nearly incomprehensible.

Space does not allow more illustrations of the manner in which the author has solved her task but perhaps what has been said will be sufficient. The reader who wants some reliable information as to the Hebrew *næfæš* is referred to PEDERSEN, *Israel*, and to JOHNSON, *The Vitality of the Individual*.

Uppsala GEO WIDENGREN

ROBERT GORDIS, *Koheleth — The Man and his World*, New York, The Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 5711-1951. Pp. x + 396.

Depuis le grand commentaire de PODECHARD sur l'Ecclésiaste (Paris 1912, XVII + 496 pp.) un ouvrage sur Qohéleth de l'envergure et de l'importance de celui de M. GORDIS n'avait pas vu la lumière. L'auteur, qui avait déjà plusieurs fois écrit sur des questions de Qohéleth, nous donne dans le grand ouvrage qu'il vient d'éditer une traduction nouvelle et un commentaire intégral du vieux et curieux écrit, précédés d'une introduction de 133 pages, dans lesquelles il synthétise ses points de vue sur le livre, sa date, sa langue, son auteur, son style, ses idées, ses textes, etc. La traduction est accompagnée d'un texte hébreu en face, imprimé sans voyelles et divisé en petites sections.

Selon GORDIS le livre qui s'appelle en hébreu Qohéleth n'est pas un écrit composé exprès, mais un cahier de notes publié par un éditeur qui se trahit dans les derniers versets (xii 9 ss.; pp. 110, 118; voir aussi i 1 et vii 27). Les notes sont en prose; quelques morceaux de forme poétique (des proverbes) s'y trouvent parsemés. Lorsque Qohéleth devient passionné, son style développe un rythme intérieur subtile (p. 111), comme dans les premières paroles du chap. i. GORDIS ne veut rien savoir de la théorie proposée par SIEGFRIED, puis modifiée et simplifiée par PODECHARD et d'autres, et encore reçue dans le commentaire de D. BUZY (Paris 1946), selon laquelle l'écrit fondamental (la *Grundschrift*) du pessimiste Qohéleth, „homme déprimé et incapable de se passionner même pour la beauté littéraire" (PODECHARD, *o.c.*, p. 163) aurait reçu plusieurs séries de corrections qui lui ont donné sa forme actuelle. Selon l'hypothèse de PODECHARD, la moins compliquée, ces insertions seraient dues à la plume d'un pieux, d'un sage et d'un disciple qui auraient été scandalisés soit de la négation par Qohéleth de la vieille doctrine de la rétribution des bonnes oeuvres, soit de sa négation de la valeur de la sagesse.

SIEGFRIED et PODECHARD n'ont point formulé leurs hypothèses à la légère, puisque le petit livre de Qohéleth présente des textes comme ii 26, iii 17, viii 5, 12b-13 et quelques autres qui semblent contredire leur contexte immédiat en présentant une solution générale des problèmes de cette vie, rejetée par Qohéleth. L'hypothèse de l'interpolation semble donc de prime abord raisonnable et on ne peut pas l'écarter sans avoir trouvé un solution meilleure. Cette solution GORDIS pense l'avoir trouvée à l'aide de deux principes qui lui semblent fondamentaux dans l'interprétation de Qohéleth et qui n'auraient pas encore été mis en lumière par d'autres d'une facon adéquate et satisfaisante. Qohéleth, en effet, se serait parfois servi du vocabulaire religieux et sapiential de son temps en lui donnant un autre sens, et son écrit contiendrait un certain nombre de citations implicites qui n'expriment point l'opinion personnelle de l'auteur (p. 87 ss.; 95 ss.). Qohéleth, tout comme l'auteur de Job et peut-être aussi Agour ben Yakeh (Prov. xxx 1 ss.), aurait été un auteur essentiellement (*basically*) hétérodoxe (p. 28), sceptique et non-traditionnel, en ce sens que ses idées ne furent point celles de la société et du milieu dans lesquels il avait grandi et dans lesquels il vivait. Etant un sage et ayant à instruire les gens, il devait bien se servir de la terminologie courante de son temps (car il n'y en avait pas d'autre), mais il donnait souvent un nouveau sens au vocabulaire apparemment traditionnel qu'il employait (p. 87 ss.); p. 94: „An understanding of Koheleth's unique vocabulary is an essential key to the book and its message". Une autre caractéristique importante du style de Qohéleth, qui n'aurait pas encore reçu l'attention qu'elle mérite, avec des résultats désastreux pour l'intelligence du livre (p. 95), serait l'usage de citations implicites que l'auteur ne prend point pour son compte, usage qui aurait été universel dans les littératures orientales anciennes, surtout dans les livres de sagesse [1]). En admettant ces citations l'auteur rejoint d'une certaine façon la théorie d'exégètes anciens et modernes qui reconnaissent plusieurs „voix" dans le livre.

A l'aide des deux principes fondamentaux mentionnés ci-dessus GORDIS n'a pas de difficulté à admettre l'intégrité presque totale du livre; il n'en excepte que xii 9-14 et, peut-être, i 2, vii 27 et xii 8 (p. 73; 369). Comme spécimens de son interprétation de textes difficiles, citons son exégèse de ii 26 et de viii 12-13, versets qui se comprennent difficilement dans leur contexte.

En expliquant ii 26 (p. 217 ss.) GORDIS commence par remarquer que le verset ne mentionne pas de צדיק et de רשע, mais le אדם שטוב לפניו et le חוטא, comme dans vii 26. Les premiers deux termes sont employés par Q. dans leur sens conventionnel de „juste" et de „méchant" (cf. vii 15 ss., etc.) tandis que le חוטא ne serait point le pécheur au sens habituel et normal du mot, mais l'homme qui manque le but („purpose", p. 217) que Dieu lui a proposé, à savoir de jouir, bénéficier de la vie. D'après le moraliste ancien

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[1]) Voir les deux articles de l'auteur: „Quotations in Wisdom Literature", *JQR* XXX, 1939, pp. 123-147 et „Quotations as a Literary usage in Biblical, Oriental and Rabbinic Literature", *HUCA* XXII, 1949, pp. 157-219; voir aussi o.c., pp. 373-374; GORDIS va jusqu'à distinguer dix espèces de citations implicites.

style c'est le pécheur qui doit souffrir ou qui souffre, d'après Qohéleth celui qui souffre est, par le fait même, un pécheur (p. 93: „... man's failure to enjoy life's blessings is a sin in the eyes of God"); selon la sagesse conventionnelle le pécheur est un insensé, selon Qohéleth l'insensé est pécheur.

Eccles viii 12 est traduit par G.: „Because judgment on an evil deed is not executed speedily, men's hearts are encouraged to do wrong, for a sinner commits a hundred crimes and God is patient with him, *though I know the answer* [1]) that 'it will be well in the end with those who revere God ...'" Les mots entre petits guillemets seraient une citation ou une formulation d'une opinion que Qohéleth n'accepte pas.

Quant au premier exemple donné force m'est d'avouer que je ne vois pas que l'argumentation soit vraiment concluante, bien que je concède à Gordis que Q. emploie quelquefois des termes dans un sens différent de l'usage normal. Je crois en avoir trouvé un exemple dans iii 21, où Q. se demande si l'esprit (*ru'aḥ*) des bêtes s'en va, après la mort, dans une autre direction que celui des hommes, tandis qu'il est dit dans xii 7, sans hésitation, que l'esprit de l'homme retourne à Dieu, qui l'a créé. Dans le premier texte Q. me semble *toucher* le problème de la survivance ailleurs que dans le shéol, lieu des ombres, de ce qu'on a plus tard appelé l'âme de l'homme, tandis que le second texte exprime une idée commune et bien connue, cf. Ps. civ 29, etc. Mais si l'on peut admettre que pour exprimer une idée ou un problème pour lesquels l'hébreu ne possédait pas encore de terminologie propre, Q. se soit servi de de la terminologie commune et courante tout en lui attribuant un nouveau sens, il n'est pas facile à voir que cela vaut aussi pour le terme חוטא. Dans viii 11, en effet, il est dit que le coeur de l'homme est plein de méchanceté, ce qui est suivi immédiatement par la constatation que le חוטא peut commettre cent péchés et rester en vie. Comment dire que ce חוטא n'est pas le pécheur au sens traditionnel et normal du mot? Il me semble difficile à admettre que Q. ait donné à ce mot le sens subtil et difficile à comprendre que Gordis lui prête. Comment croire, d'ailleurs, que dans la pensée de Q. „la défaillance de l'homme de jouir des bénédictions de la vie est un péché aux yeux de Dieu" (p. 93)? Ceci n'est pas seulement en contradiction avec des textes tels que vi 2 (certainement de Q.) mais va aussi à l'encontre de toute expérience, à moins qu'on vide le mot „péché" de son sens moral; une défaillance, en effet, peut être coupable ou non, suivant les cas.

Il est plus difficile d'apprécier la valeur du second exemple. Le fait que le traducteur rend les mots hébreux כי גם יודע אני par „though I know the answer" fait déjà une impression un peu étonnante. Mais le fait des citations implicites ne saurait être nié; iv 8c „Pour qui donc est-ce que je travaille et me prive de bonheur" en est un bon exemple. Cependant, s'il n'est pas clair qu'il y a citation, il faut être circonspect. Les maximes des sages ont été l'objet d'un enseignement oral, souvent répété; le vrai sens de leurs dictons a dû être clair à leurs disciples, qui en transmettaient oralement l'exégèse. Le texte écrit des maximes sapientiaux ne saurait être détaché

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[1]) Nous soulignons.

de cette tradition orale qui en était pour ainsi dire le complément exégétique nécessaire. Pour nous la chaîne de la tradition orale et vivante a été rompue, nous ne la tenons plus, et en interprétant des textes comme viii 12 on le sent douloureusement.

Pour pouvoir discerner si GORDIS et d'autres ont raison en considérant viii 12b - 13 comme une citation implicite, formulée par Qohéleth mais non approuvée par lui, il faut avoir recours à des textes parallèles et du même genre. Or il y en a plusieurs, on le sait (ii 26; iii 17; viii 12b - 13; xi 9b; xii 1a. 13. 14). Dans le cas de ii 26, la sentence fait suite au verset précédent qu'elle continue à sa façon; comme citation la phrase ne se comprend pas. Dans iii 17 il est dit que Q. „dit dans son coeur" les paroles qui suivent et qui sont en désaccord avec le contexte et avec d'autres sentences de lui (cf. iv 1; v 7; viii 10). Eccles xi 9c et xii 1a n'auraient pas de sens comme citations, et de xii 13-14 GORDIS admet qu'ils sont de la plume d'un éditeur. Il semble donc plus raisonnable d'admettre avec des auteurs modérés, qui acceptent l'intégrité substantielle du livre, que des textes comme ceux qui viennent d'être cités, sont ou bien des insertions provenant de l'éditeur des notes et des sentences de Qohéleth (cf. A. DUBARLE, *Les Sages d'Israël*, Paris 1946, p. 96ss.; O. EISSFELDT, *Einleitung*, pp. 558/9), ou bien, peut-être, des paroles de Q. prononcées en d'autres circonstances et dans un autre temps que ceux du contexte actuel dans lequel ils ont été placés par l'éditeur.

Je me demande également en quel sens on pourrait appeler la doctrine de Qohéleth „hétérodoxe". Au temp de Jésus les Pharisiens tenaient des doctrines très opposées à celles de Sadducéens, sans être appelés pour cela hétérodoxes. Si Qohéleth avait été un hérétique on ne conçoit pas que son livre puisse avoir trouvé place parmi les écrits canoniques, malgré la solution donné par G. de ce problème (il renvoie à l'origine salomonienne et au style unique de Q. p. 121). Q. avait-il vraiment perdu la foi des prophètes en le triomphe final de la justice (p. 80)? Dieu était-il pour lui *seulement* un Dieu créateur, souverain et tout-puissant, qui a commandé à l'homme de chercher la joie (p. 113)? N'oublions jamais que la foi ne raisonne pas.

Pour tout Israélite Dieu était essentiellement un Dieu juste, qui punit le mal et récompense le bien et qui ne pourrait pas ne pas faire ceci; il est également un Dieu qui donne sa *ḥesed* et qui tient ses promesses. Pour l'Israélite un Jahvé qui n'est pas juste ne serait pas un Jahvé mais tout au plus un de ces multiples faux-dieux dont se vantaient les païens. Mais au cours des siècles on s'en est rendu compte de plus en plus que la justice de Dieu est aussi inscrutable que ses autres qualités, et si les anciens sages ont prétendu la connaître dans tous ses effets, ils se sont trompés; la justice, en effet, telle que l'homme la conçoit, est souvent absente sur terre. C'est le point de vue de l'auteur de Job et c'est aussi celui de Qohéleth. L'auteur du Ps. lxxxix ne doute point de la *emet* de Jahvé, bien que, humainement parlant, Dieu semble avoir manqué à sa promesse faite solennellement à David et sa dynastie. Les auteurs bibliques cités ont découvert et éprouvé les paradoxes de la foi, paradoxes qui les ont mis dans l'épouvante mais qui ne les ont pas fait douter des vérités qui furent pour eux comme l'épine dorsale de leur foi. On n'est pas hétérodoxe lorsque, dans le domaine de la foi, on découvre de nouvelles vérités qui ne détruisent pas l'essentiel

de l'ancienne foi, bien qu'elles en contredisent certaines conclusions tirées trop rapidement.

Pour Qohéleth non seulement le monde, oeuvre de Dieu, était mystérieux et inscrutable, mais aussi la justice divine en tant qu'elle s'exerce sur terre; en homme religieux il s'incline pourtant devant le paradoxe qu'il a découvert et constaté. A cause de ce paradoxe il ne semble pas exclu que dans son enseignement Q. ait mis l'accent tantôt sur le caractère inscrutable de la justice de Dieu, tantôt sur l'existence véritable de cette justice, exprimée par lui peut-être en les termes des anciens sages. Ainsi compris l'authenticité de sentences comme ii 27 ne semble pas totalement exclue, bien qu'elle reste douteuse.

Je crois aussi que, parlant du style de Q., Gordis aurait pu insister davantage sur le caractère à la fois hyperbolique et volontairement paradoxal qui est une des caractéristiques du style oriental de Qohéleth. Dans un article peu remarqué mais important, écrit par un Arabe étudiant aux Etats Unis, E. Shouby a attiré l'attention sur le caractère vague, émotionnel, emphatique, souvent exagéré dans ses expressions, de la langue arabe [1]). Tout ce que l'auteur y dit s'applique presque mot à mot à l'hébreu de la Bible, surtout à celui de Qohéleth. On ne peut comprendre totalement ce dernier qu'en le plaçant contre l'arrière-plan des idées et de la psychologie de son milieu et de son temps, en ne l'isolant que là où c'est nécessaire.

En décrivant le caractère et même le cours de vie de la personne de Qohéleth (sic, voir surtout p. 84 ss.) G. dit certainement plus qu'il ne peut documenter, en donnant libre cours à sa phantaisie. Pourquoi dire que Q. était vieux, qu'il n'était pas marié, que sa maison n'a jamais résonné de cris joyeux d'enfants, que ses disciples le visitaient de temps en temps, etc., alors que le texte ne dit rien de tout cela? Quant au célibat de Q., supposé par plusieurs auteurs, je ne suis pas enclin à l'admettre, puisque les Juifs n'étaient pas volontiers célébataires, et puisque Q. commande de jouir de la vie avec la femme qu'on aime (ix 9). Qohéleth a toujours enjoint de chercher la joie et il est gratuit de penser qu'il a manqué lui-même à son premier commandement, en dépit de vii 26 qui parle de la femme en termes hyperboliques et recherchés, pour mettre les disciples des sages en garde contre les séductions féminines, ce que les sages ont toujours fait (cf. Prov. ii 16, etc.).

J'ai cru devoir faire ces remarques, tout en étant conscient que dans des matières si difficiles on peut être d'avis différents. Il s'agit avant tout d'une question de méthode: faut-il considérer et interpréter le livre plus ou moins isolément, ou faut-il tâcher de le comprendre fonctionnellement, c.-à-d. dans la fonction qu'il a dû remplir dans la société juive à laquelle l'auteur appartient et qui a canonisé son livre, et dont il a donc dû participer les idées religieuses fondamentales? Malgré les remarques que j'ai faites je suis heureux de dire que j'ai trouvé dans le livre de Gordis beaucoup avec quoi je suis parfaitement d'accord. Avec G. je crois qu'on peut diffi-

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[1]) E. Shouby, „The Influence of the Arabic Language on the Psychology of the Arabs" *The Middle East Journal*, V, 1951, pp. 284-302..

cilement prouver que Q. savait le grec; il a dû connaître cependant certaines idées vaguement délimitées qui en son temps flottaient dans l'atmosphère et qui faisaient la ronde (p. 56). Q. inculque deux vérités principales: le caractère essentiellement inconnaissable du monde, oeuvre de Dieu, et le divin impératif de la joie (p. 58); la „vanité" de toutes choses, qui est encore autre chose que leur caractère inscrutable, y devrait être ajoutée. Le livre est écrit en prose, sans plan ni schéma, dans lequel des proverbes se sont glissés (p. 109 ss.). Sa langue a probablement été l'hébreu, non l'araméen, malgré les observations pénétrantes et fines de F. BURKITT, F. ZIMMERMANN et surtout de H. L. GINSBERG. J'ai aussi l'impression que les arguments de ces derniers ne portent pas, à l'exception d'un seul qu'on trouve chez GINSBERG [1]) et que GORDIS ne me semble pas avoir réfuté adéquatement.

Il s'agit du *crux* bien connu: אני פי־מלך שמור, etc. (viii 2); selon GORDIS ce verset, à partir du deuxième mot, serait une citation, ou plutôt une déclaration introduite par le seul pronom personnel de la 1re personne, traduit par „je dis" ou „je déclare" (p. 278). Cette omission du verbe aurait ses parallèles dans Os. xii 9, Jér. 1 7 et dans le Talmud, b. Kid 44a, fin. [2])

Avec G. je crois que le texte hébreu de viii 2, tel qu'il est maintenant, peut ou doit être traduit par „Je dis ..." etc., mais il me semble que l'origine de l'anormalité s'explique au mieux en supposant que le texte remonte à un original araméen. Les deux textes bibliques, en effet, cités par GORDIS, ne peuvent servir de parallèles que si l'on accepte l'exégèse peu commune que G. en donne tandis que le texte talmudique est par sa longueur même et par le fait qu'il cite plusieurs personnes au cours d'une discussion, claire et inambigu. Au reste, il y a une distance de plusieurs siècles entre le texte biblique et celui de la *gemara* et le rapprochement doit donc être éclatant pour constituer un argument fort. Personnellement je suis incliné à croire que le caractère anormal du texte biblique s'explique au mieux lorsqu'on suppose que אני פי־מלך vient d'un original araméen אנפי מלך = la face du roi. Dans le Pap. Aḥiqar, v 101 (cf. COWLEY, *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century* ..., p. 215) on trouve la même expression, dans un contexte qui rappelle la sentence de Qohéleth: „Eh bien, si la face du roi a une expression dure, ne reste pas (אל תקום), sa colère est plus légère (= vite) que l'éclair; toi, prends garde à toi". On peut voir aussi le Targum de Ps. lxxxiv 10, où il y a אנפי משיחך. De là il ne s'ensuit pas, à mon avis, que tout le livre a été traduit de l'araméen, car viii 2 se rencontre dans une série de maximes divers et il est bien possible que Qohéleth (ou faut-il penser à son élève?) qui „a pesé, examiné et rectifié beaucoup de proverbes" (xii 9) l'ait trouvé quelque part déjà traduit et estropié et qu'il l'a reporté tel quel. Car il ne faut pas penser que la revision d'anciens proverbes par Qohéleth ait été faite par lui d'une façon scientifique; en ce temps on respectait plutôt la tradition.

Quant aux autres arguments avancés par H. L. GINSBERG en faveur

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[1]) H. L. GINSBERG, *Studies in Koheleth*, New York 5711-1950, p. 34 ss.

[2]) Voir GORDIS, dans *JBL* lxxi, 1952, pp. 104-105 et dans *HUCA* xxii, 1949, p. 175 ss.

d'un texte originel araméen, je crois, avec GORDIS, qu'ils ne portent pas. Ils semblent résoudre quelques-unes des multiples difficultés que présente le texte masorétique actuel, ce qui leur donne en grande partie leur caractère séduisant, mais ils laissent ouvertes plus d'autres. Dernièrement le père M. J. DAHOOD a publié deux articles importants dans lesquels il tâche de prouver que l'hébreu de Qohéleth, qu'il considère comme originel, est mêlé d'expressions et de particularités grammaticales phéniciennes [1]). Pour le prouver il ne se sert pas seulement du phénicien des inscriptions et de ses dialectes, mais aussi de la langue d'Ugarit. DAHOOD suppose que le Qohéleth du livre a vécu dans une ville phénicienne où son hébreu avait été entaché de phénicien. DAHOOD a certainement fait d'excellentes remarques, mais je ne crois pas que son hypothèse d'un séjour prolongé de Qohéleth dans une ville de Phénicie soit nécessaire. On a bien trouvé un „phénicisme" dans un texte de Murabba'at, cf. *RB* 1953, pp. 277, 284, sans qu'il soit nécessairer pour cela de supposer que l'auteur du texte ait vécu en Afrique du Nord. Je me demande s'il n'y a pas lieu de croire que les différents parlers sémitiques de l'époque, surtout les dialectes apparentés à l'hébreu, aient exercé leur influence sur le dernier. Ceci expliquerait les attaches „phéniciennes" du langage d'un Qohéleth vivant et travaillant à Jérusalem.

La traduction du texte par GORDIS est d'une allure élégante, moderne, libre. Quelquefois elle est trop libre à mon goût personnel, et me fait penser au fameux *tradottore traditore* lorsqu'elle trahit les idées du traducteur sur le style etc. de son auteur. Ainsi ii 13 est traduit par: „I have heard it said: 'Wisdom excels folly as the light is better than darkness'; 'the wise man has his eyes in his head, but the fool walks in darkness'. But *I* know that one fate overtakes them both" (p. 140). J'ai discuté d'autres endroits dans mon propre commentaire (*Prediker*, Roermond 1953, 71 pp.). Pour finir j'en cite encore un seul. Malgré l'accord d'un bon nombre d'exégètes qui expliquent le יצא את־כלם de vii 18 d'après un usage rabbinique de יצא (GORDIS: will do his duty by both"; cf. Ber. ii 1, etc.), je crois qu'il faut traduire autrement. Dans l'usage rabbinique auquel on fait appel יצא a חובתו (ידי) comme complément, ou est employé seul, de façon elliptique. Je crois que cet usage est différent de celui de Qohéleth, ou יצא a את־כלם comme complément; le verbe est donc employé transitivement, comme dans Sir vi 34, et j'ai traduit: „celui qui craint évite tout cela" (c.-à-d. les attitudes condamnées dans les vv. 16, 17).

S'il m'est impossible de partager toutes les idées de GORDIS, il m'est un devoir de dire que j'ai trouvé beaucoup de profit à lire son livre qui sera longtemps indispensable à tous ceux qui veulent étudier sérieusement l'écrit de Qohéleth pour tâcher d'en résoudre les énigmes.

Nijmegen J. VAN DER PLOEG

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[1]) M. J. DAHOOD „Canaanite-Phoenician Influence in Qoheleth", *Biblica* 1952, pp. 30-52; 191-221.

The Jerusalem Bible.

Professor KAHLE's article *The New Hebrew Bible, Jerusalem 1953*, which appeared in *V.T.* iii 4, pp. 416-420, is likely to give an erroneous impression as to the extent to which this Bible is in fact the work of the late Professor CASSUTO. I wish to state briefly the actual facts, which are within my personal knowledge, as I was Chairman of the Magnes Press of the Hebrew University from December, 1950 to November, 1953, and throughout that period, and for some time before it, I was in close contact with all aspects of the work in connexion with the Jerusalem Bible.

The original plan of the Jerusalem Bible—which was intended primarily for use in the Jewish home and school, not for experts interested in variant readings—contemplated the printing of the Masoretic text as revised by Professor CASSUTO in a Hebrew type which was specially designed for the purpose by Mr. E. KORNGOLD, a well-known Jerusalem typographer. The specimen fascicule of the Book of Jonah, to which Professor KAHLE refers, was printed in this type, but by the aid of photography, the type not having then been cut in metal.

Actually the cutting of the special type in metal was not taken in hand until after the second world war, and it then proved to be a matter of great difficulty to get the work carried out. Only in 1949 were matrices of the type produced by the Lanston Monotype Company of the United States of America. Then further difficulties were encountered in arranging for the printing of the Bible, and its appearance seemed likely to be delayed indefinitely.

In the autumn of 1951—some months after the date of the latest of Professor CASSUTO's letters from which Professor KAHLE quotes—Professor CASSUTO suggested to the Magnes Press that the idea of printing the Bible in the special type should be abandoned *for the time being*, and that his textual alterations, which he had entered in the margin of a copy of the Letteris edition, should be carried by hand into an existing printed Bible, the pages of which, with invisible alterations carried out by skilled craftsmen, should then be photographed. From these photographs plates would be made, from which the new Bible would be printed. Thus CASSUTO's revision of the Bible text would be produced without type-setting, and the threatened indefinite delay in its publication would be avoided. *This was Professor* CASSUTO'*s own suggestion, and it was he himself who selected the Ginsburg edition of 1912-1926 as the one into which his alterations were to be carried.* I was myself present when he made this choice, and when it was decided that endeavours should be made to obtain several copies of the Ginsburg edition and to have the work of alteration put in hand without delay. This took place at the Jerusalem flat of Mr. A. IBN-SAHAV, who was one of the originators of the project of the Jerusalem Bible and has been intimately associated with it from first to last. The decision mentioned was confirmed shortly afterwards at a meeting with Professor CASSUTO in my own flat in Jerusalem at the beginning of December, 1951. Unfortunately Professor CASSUTO died a week later.

In spite of this heavy loss, the Magnes Press decided to carry out the late

Professor's plan without avoidable delay, and arrangements were made for his alterations to be inserted into the Ginsburg text by skilled craftsmen of the Bezalel School of Arts and Crafts in Jerusalem, to whom was handed one of the duplicate copies of the Letteris text with CASSUTO's alterations. These men of course understood what they were doing, and their work was under the supervision of Professor E. S. ARTOM, CASSUTO's brother-in-law, who had been closely associated with him in his work for many years, and probably knows more than any other man living about the principles by which he was guided in his recension of the Masoretic text. Professor ARTOM in fact carried out, in accordance with CASSUTO's principles, the annotation of the books of the Hagiographa, which CASSUTO had not completed at the time of his death, though his work on the Pentateuch and the Prophets was finished. Professor ARTOM was also responsible for correcting the proofs of the Bible as it came off the press.

It is thus entirely misleading to say, as Professor KAHLE does, that the Jerusalem Bible "is merely a mechanical reproduction of an existing edition of another text of the Bible in which, after the death of CASSUTO, certain alterations were made, taken from the material collected by CASSUTO from the Ben Asher manuscripts which he studied". The facts are that CASSUTO not only collected material, but prepared the greater part of the text for printing with his own hand; that the preparation of the remainder of the text was carried out by his colleague in accordance with the principles on which CASSUTO had prepared the earlier part; and that, though CASSUTO himself unfortunately did not live to see his work through the press, the text of the Jerusalem Bible, differing in many thousands of small details from all previously published texts, is (subject to undetected errors in the GINSBURG edition, and to further errors made in the process of altering that edition by hand) substantially the text which CASSUTO intended to give to the world as his own recension.

LEON SIMON

BOOK LIST [1])

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Contributions by HARDING, SHANKLIN, DARK, DRIVER, AWNI DAJANI. Report of excavations in Jordan, 1951-1952. Preliminary list of the fragments (Sept. 1952), compiled by BARTHÉLEMY and MILIK.

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Contributions by ALBRIGHT, Dedan; BAUMGÄRTEL, das alttest. Geschehen als heilsgeschichtliches Geschehen; EDEL, KUB iii 37 + KBo i 17 und KUB iii 57; EISSFELDT, Ps. 80; ELLIGER, Ez. 42, 1 ff.; GALLING, der Gott Karmel; NOTH Mari und Israel; VON RAD, 1 Kor. 13, 4-7; ROST, Gen. 9, 18 ff.; ZIMMERLI, Ich bin Jahwe; MANN, Bibliographie Alt.

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KRISTENSEN †, W. B., *De slangenstaf en het spraakvermogen van Mozes en Aäron*, March 1953, Amsterdam. 20 pp.

KRAELING, E. G., *The Brooklyn Museum Aramaic Papyri*, New Documents of the Fifth Century B.C. from the Jewish Colony at Elephantine. Edition with a historical introduction. Yale University Press, New Haven 1953. xv + 319 pp., + 23 plates.

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[1]) The mention of books in this list neither implies nor precludes subsequent review at length.

MATTUCH, I. I., *The thought of the Prophets*, London 1953. 176 pp. 9/6 net.

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Studia Orientalia Ioanni Pedersen septuagenario a. d. vii Id. Nov. anno MCML III a collegis discipulis amicis dicata. Hauniae 1953 (Munksgaard, Copenhagen). xvii + 390 pp.

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LA MISSION D'ESDRAS

PAR

HENRI CAZELLES

Paris

Dans le *Biblical Archaeologist* de Septembre 1952 [1]) Mr KRAELING donnait un aperçu sur le contenu de papyrus araméens achetés par WILBOUR en Janvier-Février 1893 et légués depuis par sa fille Theodora à la section égyptienne du Musée de Brooklyn. Il s'agissait de 17 documents, plus quelques fragments, qui appartenaient à la série des textes d'Eléphantine dont une partie avait été publiée dès 1906 par SAYCE et COWLEY, et une autre par SACHAU en 1911. On pouvait déjà par le simple résumé qu'il donnait de leur teneur [2]) avoir une idée de l'intérêt de ces pièces, ce qu' a confirmé la publication très remarquable qu'il vient d'en faire à la fin de 1953 [3]). La conclusion qu'il tire des Nos 9-13 paraissent valables: la première domination perse en Egypte n'a pas cessé dès la mort de Darius II en 404, elle n'a disparu qu'au début du règne d'Artaxercès II, et la colonie juive d'Eléphantine existe encore en Décembre 399, c'est l'avènement de Néphéritès Ier qui lui porte le coup de grâce.

Les tractations de la famille d'Ananiah-bar-Azariah dont les actuels documents constituent les archives ne seraient en effet intelligibles que si les papyrus 9 à 13 sont postérieurs aux papyrus 1-8 [4]). Ces derniers allant jusqu'en 416, l'Artaxercès dont le nom sert à dater les papyrus 9 [5]) à 12 ne peut être Artaxercès Ier mort avant Février 423. Il s'agit donc d'Artaxercès II et la date du document nr 12 correspond au 13 Décembre 402 [6]). La campagne des Dix Mille datant de 401 [7]) et Xénophon faisant dans son Anabase mention de

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[1]) *Biblical Archaeologist*, Sept. 1952, XV, 3, p. 50-67. [2]) *id.*, p. 60-64.

[3]) *The Brooklyn Museum Aramaic Papyri*, Yale University Press 1953.

[4]) En 9, 17 Ananiah est très âgé et a été aidé par sa fille Yehoshima née avant le 3ème année d'un autre Artaxercès (Pap. 4). [5]) 1ère année d'un Artaxercès.

[6]) PARKER-DUBBERSTEIN, *Babylonian chronology*, Chicago Press 1946, p. 15.

[7]) KRAELING, *op.cit.*, p. 63. Il s'agit de la 3ème année du règne car le règne d'Artaxercès II commence avant Avril 404 et les Babyloniens utilisent la post-

la révolte égyptienne après la bataille de Cunaxa [1]), il est probable que l'évacuation de l'Egypte par les Perses remonte à cette date. Mais le papyrus 13, confirmant le papyrus 35 de la collection COWLEY [2]) et datant de Décembre 399, on voit que la colonie juive existe encore sous Amyrtée et ne disparut qu'avec la défaite de ce dernier dont parle justement ce dernier document.

Or cette question des deux Artaxercès et cette date de Décembre 399 évoque la question si discutée de la mission d'Esdras, datée par Esd. vii 7 de la 7ème année d'un Artaxercès. M. VERNES [3]), comme le fait remarquer H. ROWLEY dans un récent article [4]) émit dès 1889 l'idée que l'Artaxercès d'Esdras pourrait ne pas être Artaxercès Ier Mnémon (464-423) qui envoya Néhémie à Jérusalem en Nisan de la 20ème année de son règne (445), mais Artaxercès II Longuemain (404-359/8); la mission d'Esdras serait alors postérieure à celle de Néhémie et daterait de 398. Ce sont les études de VAN HOONACKER qui donnèrent à cette thèse toute sa consistance. Il exposa ses arguments en 1890 dans le *Muséon* [5]), réfutant ensuite dans une série d'articles les objections qui lui étaient faites: celles de KUENEN en 1892 [6]), du P. LAGRANGE en 1895 [7]), de KOSTERS et SCHLATTER en 1896 [8]), de NIKEL en 1901 [9]), de KUGLER en 1923 et 1924 [10]). On se rend compte par la-même de l'opposition rencontrée par le professeur de Louvain. Les uns ne voient en Esdras qu'une figure religieuse créée par le Chroniste, auteur comme on le sait non seulement des Chroniques,

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datation. cf E. THIELE, *The mysterious numbers of the Hebrew kings*, Chicago 1951, p. 14.

[1]) *Anabase*, xi 1; xiv 5, 13 cf. tr. TALBOT, p. 35 et 48.

[2]) Ce papyrus 13 fait allusion à la capture d'Amyrtée par Néphéritès.

[3]) *Précis d'histoire juve*, 1889, p. 582 note. Mais d'après J. COPPENS, *Le chanoine A. van Hoonacker*, Paris-Gembloux 1935, p. 42, VAN HOONACKER avait émis ses idées dès 1880.

[4]) H. H. ROWLEY, „The chronological order of Ezra and Nehemiah", in *Ignace Goldziher Memorial volume*, Budapest 1948, p. 117-149, réimprimé dans *The servant of the Lord, and other Essays on the Old Testament*, Londres 1952, p. 131-159.

[5]) *Muséon*, ix 1890 p. 151ss, 317ss, 389ss.

[6]) „Néhémie en l'an 20 d'Artaxercès Ier; Esdras en l'an 7 d'Artaxercès II".

[7]) „La question Néhémie et Esdras", in *RB* 1895, p. 186-202. L'article du P. LAGRANGE se trouve dans la *RB* 1894, p. 561-586.

[8]) *Nouvelles études sur la restauration juive après l'exil de Babylone*, Paris-Louvain 1896.

[9]) „Notes sur l'histoire de la restauration juive après l'exil de Babylone" in *R. B.* 1901, p. 5ss, 175 ss.

[10]) „La succession chronologique Néhémie-Esdras", in *RB* 1923, p. 481 ss; 1924, p. 33ss.

mais d'Esdras-Néhémie. C'est le cas par exemple de M. VERNES, C. C. TORREY, plus ou moins suivi par LOISY, HÖLSCHER, PFEIFFER [1]), KAPELRUD [2]). Les autres préfèrent respecter l'ordre chronologique apparemment adopté par le Chroniste, ne trouvant pas de motifs suffisants pour le suspecter; c'est le cas de E. SELLIN [3]), R. KITTEL [4]), R. DE VAUX [5]), ARANA [6]) et de bien d'autres. Quelques uns enfin comme ALBRIGHT [7]) et RUDOLPH [8]) déplacent la date d'Esdras et modifient le texte. On trouvera dans l'article de H. ROWLEY les positions de chacun et une bibliographie quasi-exhaustive.

Les arguments de VAN HOONACKER ont été souvent repris et exposés, ainsi par G. RICCIOTTI [9]), DE VAUX, COPPENS, ROWLEY ... Les principaux arguments sont tirés des livres d'Esdras et Néhémie eux mêmes. Sans pour cela que les documents d'Eléphantine soient négligés puisqu'ils confirmaient la date de Néhémie et l'existence d'un grand prêtre Johanan à la fin du Vème siècle. La politique générale de la Perse avait été invoquée; dans sa réponse à KUENEN, VAN HOONACKER avait montré les rapports entre cette 7ème année d'Artaxercès et la Retraite des Dix Mille; par ailleurs il avait discuté les suggestions du P. LAGRANGE qui songeait à Artaxercès III plutôt qu'à son prédécesseur. Mais ceci n'intervenait que secondairement.

VAN HOONACKER avait lui même numéroté en 1901 et 1924 les principales données qui étayaient sa thèse. Le P. DE VAUX en retient cinq [10]), H.H. ROWLEY quelques unes de plus [11]): 1° Quand Esdras vient à Jérusalem il remercie Dieu de la bienveillance des rois de Perse grâce à laquelle a été donné un *gâder* aux israélites en Juda et à Jérusalem (Esd. ix 9)? Comme le mot désigne en Mic. vii 11 le mur d'une cité, il semble bien qu'Esdras fasse allusion à la reconstruction des murs faite par Néhémie. Même si le mot n'était pas à prendre au sens

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[1]) *Introduction to the Old Testament*, New York 1941, p. 824-8.

[2]) *The question of authorship in the Ezra-narrative; a lexical investigation*, Oslo, 1944; et son compte-rendu de J. WRIGHT, „The date of Ezra's coming to Jerusalem" (Londres-Tyndale 1946) dans *Bi.Or.* VI (1949), p. 63s.

[3]) *Geschichte des israelitisch-jüdischen Volkes*, 1932, II, p. 134-163.

[4]) *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*[3] (1929), III, p. 567ss.

[5]) *Suppl. Dict. de la Bible*, IV, Paris 1949, col. 763ss.

[6]) „Sobre la colocacion original de Neh. 10", in *Estudios biblicos*, 1951, p. 379ss.

[7]) v. g. „A brief history of Judah from the days of Josiah to Alexander the great", *Bibl. Arch.* IX, 13s (Fév. 1946).

[8]) *Esra und Nehemia*, Tübingen 1949, p. xxvi et xxvii, 168-171.

[9]) *Histoire d'Israel*, tr. fr. Paris 1939, II, p. 132-138.

[10]) *Op. cit.*, col. 766.

[11]) *Servant...*, p. 140ss.

strict l'expression serait peu en situation en 458 car Néhémie en 445 trouve non pas une cité sure et protégée, mais une ville ouverte et sans défense contre ses voisins. 2° Si Esdras trouve une population nombreuse (Esd. x 1), c'est qu'au préalable Néhémie a dû repeupler la ville (Néh. xi); 3° Néh. xii 26 qui a des préoccupations chronologiques place Néhémie avant Esdras; 4° Néhémie est contemporain du grand prêtre Eliashib (xiii 4) et Esdras au moment décisif de son action se retire chez Johanan fils d'Eliashib (Esd. x 6) qu'il est bien difficile de ne pas identifier avec le Johanan fils d'Eliashib de Néh. xii 23, et celui-ci est sûrement le descendant du grand prêtre de ce nom; 5° Les Mémoires de Néhémie ignorent tout d'une activité antérieure d'Esdras; 6° Dans son recensement (Néh. xi 3ss) Néhémie connaît les rapatriés venus avec Sheshbassar ou Zorobabel, non pas ceux qui sont venus avec Esdras (Esd. viii); 7° La commission des quatre à laquelle s'adresse Esdras (viii 33) lors de son arrivée paraît bien être celle qu'avait instituée Néhémie (Néh. xiii 13); 8° Le problème des mariages mixtes n'est soulevé par Néhémie qu'à son second voyage (xiii 23ss) tandis qu'il eût dû s'en occuper dès son premier voyage si Esdras avait déja entrepris sa réforme.

Ces données n'ont pas paru suffisamment lumineuses à beaucoup. L'objection la plus forte est évidemment l'ordre adopté par le Chroniste et J. Stafford Wright faisait encore récemment remarquer que si Esdras vient à Jérusalem en 398 la date de la composition de l'oeuvre du chroniste est trop peu postérieure pour que la tradition ait pu à ce point se brouiller. Mais cet argument suppose résolu le problème littéraire des Chroniques. D'autres arguments ont été tirés des faits eux mêmes. Si les calculs astronomiques du P. Kugler ont semblé trop difficilement vérifiables pour entraîner la conviction, une observation de Kuenen et de Nikel paraissait de poids; ils observaient que Néhémie trouvait à Jérusalem plusieurs personnages qui semblaient mentionnés dans la caravane d'Esdras: Hashabia (Esd. viii 19 et Néh. iii 17), Hattush [1]) (Esd. viii 2 et Néh. iii 10), Daniel (Esd. viii 2 et Néh. x 7), Malkyah ben Harim (Esd. x 25, 31 et Néh. iii 11), Merémoth ben Uriah (Esd. viii 33 et Néh. iii 4), Meshullam (Esd. viii 16 et Néh. iii 4). Ce point a été traité longuement par van Hoonacker [2]), plus récemment par H. Rowley. Ils ont pu montrer que le même nom avait été souvent porté par différents personnages,

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[1]) Le texte hébreu est peu favorable à faire de Hattoush un ben Shekanya.
[2]) Voir en particulier *RB* 1901, p. 16 à 22.

que dans certains cas il s'agissait de la famille, que dans le cas le plus embarrassant, celui de Meremoth fils d'Uriah, il ne s'agit pas d'un compagnon d'Esdras mais d'un personnage qui, jeune à l'époque de la construction des murs, se trouvait dans sa vieillesse chargé d'un poste important. L'objection la plus forte enfin, celle de SCHAEDER [1]) et du P. DE VAUX [2]), estime que la réforme de Néhémie suppose celle d'Esdras et est inconcevable sans elle. Nous y reviendrons.

C'est peut être une autre position de SCHAEDER qui faillit être fatale à la théorie de VAN HOONACKER. En même temps que dans ses *Iranische Beiträge I* [3]) il étudiait de près les passages araméens du livre d'Esdras et les rapports de vocabulaire avec le vieux-perse, il reprenait dans son *Esra der Schreiber* l'analyse littéraire de l'ensemble Esdras-Néhémie. Avec BERTHOLET et KITTEL il remarquait que le ch. x de Néhémie sur la rénovation de l'alliance se terminait aux vv. 31ss par un résumé des réformes de Néh. xiii (avec quelques additions harmonisantes); ce chapitre et l'engagement solennel qu'il contient ne se rapportent donc pas à la grande lecture de la Loi faite par Esdras au ch. viii de Néhémie [4]). Quant à ce chapitre viii, SCHAEDER, d'accord avec KITTEL et TORREY, montre qu'il est beaucoup mieux en situation si on l'insère dans les mémoires d'Esdras entre Esd. viii 36 et ix 1. Entre la date de l'arrivée d'Esdras, au début du 5ème mois (Esd. vii 9 et viii 33), et le début de l'affaire des mariages mixtes au 9ème mois (Esd. x 5) il est tout naturel que prenne place la publication de la Loi, objet principal de sa mission (Esd. vii 25s), au septième mois (Néh. vii 73b) [5]). L'analyse littéraire montrait de plus que seule la rédaction du chroniste associait Esdras et Néhémie à la même oeuvre (Néh. viii 9; xii 26 et 36); d'où la formule du P. DE VAUX, d'accord avec SCHAEDER et RUDOLPH: "Dans leur forme originale le rapport d'Esdras ne connaissait pas Néhémie et les Mémoires de Néhémie ne nommaient pas Esdras" [6]). Il n'y avait donc plus à chercher avec VAN HOONACKER un jeune Esdras accompagnant

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[1]) *Ezra der Schreiber*, Tübingen p. 62. „So erscheint uns Nehemia, auf das Ganze gesehen, als ausführendes Organ eines von Esra konzipierten und endlich auch durchgesetzten Plans".

[2]) „L'œuvre administrative et sociale de Néhémie suppose la réforme religieuse d'Esdras et se fonde sur elle", *SDB* IV, 766.

[3]) I, (1930) Niemeyer, Halle in *Schriften der Königsberger Gelehrten Gesellschaft*, p. 199-296.

[4]) *Op. cit.*, p. 8.

[5]) *Op. cit.*, p. 12ss.

[6]) *Op.cit.*, col. 765.

Néhémie lors de sa première mission, et revenant fort âgé plus d'un demi-siècle après. Mais par ailleurs il apparaissait avec évidence que le Chroniste tout en s'appuyant sur certaines sources, n'hésitait pas à les remanier [1]). Dans ces conditions trois voies étaient ouvertes à la critique.

1⁰. Une solution consistitait à voir dans le personnage une création factice du Chroniste. C'est celle de TORREY pour lequel en créant Esdras le prêtre-scribe et en rédigeant ses Mémoires, le Chroniste a voulu obtenir une contre partie sacerdotale au laïc Néhémie. Cette position était déjà plus ou moins celle de M. VERNES. L'étude de A. KAPELRUD [2]) lui a apporté un argument nouveau en 1944 par l'étude du vocabulaire et du style des Mémoires d'Esdras qu'il n'a pas trouvé différents de ceux du Chroniste [3]). Il admet que les traditions relatives à Esdras ont été mises en oeuvre par les cercles d'où sortit la compilation actuelle, au même titre que d'autres chapitres. R. PFEIFFER dans son „Introduction" estime que les réformes d'Esdras ne peuvent prendre place ni avant, ni après les réformes de Néhémie [4]). Pour lui le style du décret d'Artaxercès est typiquement juif, les pouvoirs donnés à Esdras sont „incroyables", et les sommes qu'il devrait obtenir des trésors royaux fabuleuses. Le récit d'Esdras s'interrompt avant qu'Esdras ait rien accompli de ce qu'il devait faire et leur auteur est qualifié de „scribe", c'est à dire d'interprète de la Loi, avant même que la Loi ne soit mise en vigueur. On ne voit pas pourquoi en Néh. ix Esras n'a aucune part à la confession des péchés et à la ratification de la Loi; et finalement on ne sait pas de quelle Loi il s'agit. „En conclusion les Mémoires d'Esdras tels que nous les avons maintenant sont incapables d'offrir une vue historique consistante d'événements réels."

2⁰. Ces arguments de R. PFEIFFER marquent bien la difficulté du problème mais ils ne tiennent pas assez compte des éléments de solution déjà fournis en partie par des auteurs comme SCHAEDER [5]) en particulier sur le style des décrets de la cour perse et sur le sens

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[1]) SCHAEDER propose encore d'autres transpositions plus discutables.

[2]) Voir surtout p. 95. Mais pour KAPELRUD le fond des Mémoires n'a pas été inventé par le Chroniste. Ainsi à propos du chapitre viii il dit „The many original words and phrases prove, however, that it does not *originate* in Chr., but that it is impossible to undertake a separation of sources" (p. 94).

[3]) Voir cependant les réserves faites par RUDOLPH à cette affirmation de KAPELRUD, *Esra und Néhémia*, p. 163-165.

[4]) *Op. cit.*, p. 828.

[5]) Voir cependant p. 826, n. 10. C'est une simple fin de non recevoir: „conjectures ... supported by no evidence".

du mot scribe. Celui-ci suivi par O. EISSFELDT, R. DE VAUX, en accord avec KITTEL, SELLIN ... estime que, une fois adoptées les transpositions exigées par la critique littéraire, il convient de maintenir l'ordre adopté par le Chroniste. Ecrivant, somme toute, peu de temps après les événements il devait savoir à quoi s'en tenir. Ces transpositions s'expliquent par le fait „qu'il a entendu donner un tableau d'ensemble de la Restauration, en présentant à la fois l'aspect religieux et national", mais „l'oeuvre administrative et sociale de Néhémie suppose la réforme religieuse d'Esdras et se fonde sur elle" [1]).

3⁰. En insistant sur ces deux points ces auteurs marquaient bien la nécessité d'étudier, d'une part, les buts poursuivis par le Chroniste dans la composition de son oeuvre, et de préciser de l'autre la nature des deux missions, leurs rapports mutuels. Mais on pouvait faire observer que dans la composition de son oeuvre le Chroniste ne se sentait pas lié par la chronologie, lui ou ses sources; ainsi Esd. iv 7-23 relatif à des travaux faits sous Artaxercès est chronologiquement postérieur à Esd. v et vi qui se réfèrent à des événements du règne de Darius Ier. Les arguments présentés par VAN HOONACKER conservaient donc leur valeur. Les réfutations proposées par les adversaires de VAN HOONACKER, plus récemment par le P. DE VAUX [2]), JOHANNESEN [3]), GRANILD, n'ont pas paru convaincaintes à ALBRIGHT [4]), SNAITH [5]), ROWLEY [6]), RUDOLPH [7]) et LODS [8]), qui ont étudié la question en dernier lieu.

Sans revenir sur les excellentes considérations que font ces derniers auteurs nous voudrions préciser les rapports entre la mission de Néhémie et la Loi d'Esdras, ce qui nous permettra après coup de mieux définir la place de la mission d'Esdras dans l'oeuvre du Chroniste et d'en tirer les conclusions historiques qui nous paraissent s'imposer.

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[1]) Voir p. 5 notes 2 et 6.

[2]) *Op. cit.*, col. 766.

[3]) *Studier aver Ezras og Nehemjas Historie*, 1946 que je ne connais que par le bref résumé de A. BENTZEN, *Introduction to the Old Testament*² II, 208, Gad Copenhague 1952.

[4]) Voir *Bibl.Arch.* IX, p. 13s et le dernier état de la pensée de l'auteur dans „*De l'âge de la pierre à la chrétienté*", tr. fr., Payot 1951, p. 237, et dans *The biblical period* Pittsburgh 1950, p. 53s et note 133.

[5]) „The date of Ezra's Arrival in Jerusalem", *ZATW* 63 (1951), p. 53-65.

[6]) Voir la conclusion de son article, *op.cit.*, p. 159.

[7]) Voir p. 303 n. 9.

[8]) *Histoire de la littérature hébraique et juive*, Paris 1950, p. 499. BENTZEN, personnellement très réservé, dit "The majority still seems to be in favour of dating Ezra to the year 397 B.C." *Introduction to the O.T.*, II, p. 207.

Il y a deux missions de Néhémie. La première a avant tout pour but la reconstruction des murs de Jérusalem et le *pêha* n'intervient qu'accessoirement dans la vie de la communauté en s'opposant au prêt à intérêt (v 7ss) et aux ventes pour dette (id. 10ss). Sur quoi s'appuie-t-il dans cette première activité réformatrice? Sur la prédication prophétique d'une part [1]), mais aussi sur le Deutéronome dont l'influence sur la vie politique et littéraire d'Israel est manifeste à partir de Josias. Ce livre en effet interdit de prêter à intérêt à son compatriote juif (Deut. xv 3) et, par l'année de rémission qui entraînait l'extinction des dettes (xv 2) et la libération des personnes (xv 12ss), il obviait à la perte des biens par le débiteur; c'est à cette aliénation des biens et des personnes que Néhémie entend remédier (Néh. v 11).

Le détail de la seconde mission de Néhémie (433) nous est donné en Néh. xiii. La réforme est cette fois-ci plus poussée et comporte plusieurs mesures. Mais, là encore, toutes s'appuient sur le Deutéronome. La séparation d'avec les étrangers est justifiée en xiii 1 par Deut. xxiii 4-6 [2]) qui exclut de l'Assemblée (*qahal*) l'Ammonite et le Moabite; c'est le seul passage du „livre de Moïse" où l'on ait pu lire ce commandement dans les termes où Néhémie nous le rapporte. L'expulsion de Tobie l'Ammonite (Néh. xiii 4-9) est une application de cette loi. La seconde réforme qui tend à assurer les revenus des lévites [3]) aboutit à faire rentrer la dîme du blé, du vin et de l'huile. Or c'est précisément cette dîme qu'en Deut. xiv 23ss et xxvi 12ss l'israélite doit apporter au Temple et partager avec le lévite; bien plus il doit la lui abandonner tous les trois ans. La dîme de Néhémie n'est pas encore le prélèvement du code sacerdotal (Num. xviii 24ss) et il n'est pas question d'exiger des lévites la dîme de la dîme comme en Num. xviii 26-32. La troisième réforme qui tend à protéger le repos sabbatique ne fait pas non plus allusion à la législation sacerdotale ni à ses particularités comme la prohibition d'allumer du feu (Ex. xxxv 3) ou de ramasser du bois (Num. xv 32-36) [4]). Néhémie

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[1]) Cf. Amos ii 6; viii 6; Is. v 8; Mi. ii 2.

[2]) Sur cette loi K. Galling, „Das Gemeindegesetz in Deuteronomium 23", in *Festschrift für A. Bertholet*, Tübingen 1950, p. 176-191. Comparez Néh. xiii 2 et Deut. xxiii 5 & 6. Ce passage appartient aux Mémoires authentiques car le v. 2 est rédigé à la 1ère personne. Il se réfère à la lecture d'une Loi qui est ici la lecture prévue par Deut. xxxi 11.

[3]) Néh. xiii 10-14. Sur Néh. xii 44-47 on reviendra plus loin.

[4]) Ajoutons que cette réforme ne réclame ni la sainte assemblée de Lév. xxiii 3, ni le renouvellement des pains devant Yahvé (Lév. xxiv 8), ni l'holocauste spécial demandé par Num. xxviii 10.

s'appuie seulement sur le Décalogue deutéronomiste qui prohibe tout travail ou ouvrage (Deut. v 13s) et qui mentionne spécialement les ânes comme le fait notre texte. Si le gouverneur insiste sur les activités commerciales et les transports, c'est que les prophètes comme Amos (viii 5), Jérémie (xvii 21ss) et la troisième partie d'Isaïe (lviii 13) l'avaient fait avant lui.

La quatrième réforme de Néhémie se rapproche davantage de l'activité d'Esdras car elle vise à réprimer les mariages avec les étrangères (xiii 23-28). Mais elle ne paraît nullement en dépendre si nous en croyons la rédaction actuelle des mémoires d'Esdras. D'après Esd. ix 1 c'est des Cananéens, Héthéens, Phérézéens, Jébusites, Ammonites, Moabites et Egyptiens que les juifs doivent se séparer. L'énumération de Néhémie est différente: il ne s'agit que des Ashdodiennes, Ammonites et Moabites. Là encore c'est sur Deut. xxiv 3s que s'appuie Néhémie. Ce dernier texte parle du Mamzer, des Ammonites, Moabites. Or nous avons d'excellentes raisons pour identifier le *Mamzer* [1]) et l'Ashdodien de Néhémie. Quand le Deutéronome parle du *Mamzer* il emploie une formule parallèle à celle qu'il utilise pour le Moabite et l'Ammonite, plus étroitement parallèle que lorsqu'il parle de l'eunuque: il est donc probable que pour l'auteur du Deutéronome le *Mamzer* est plutôt un gentilice comme l'ammonite ou le moabite, qu'un appellatif. Où placer le *Mamzer*? C'est ici que Zach. ix 6 nous est précieux car il fait habiter le *Mamzer* à Ashdod, dans un futur prophétique il est vrai [2]), mais la connexion du texte de Néhémie avec celui du Deutéronome n'en demeure pas moins assurée. Peut-être cette population non philistine mais cousine des israélites comme Moab et Ammon habitait-elle près de Beth-Horon, d'où l'affectation de Néhémie à parler de Sanaballat le Horonite alors que nous savons par les documents d'Eléphantine qu'il était gouverneur

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[1]) Il ne semble pas que l'on puisse suivre l'interprétation classique encore représentée par GALLING, *op.cit.*, p. 179, (mais seulement faute de mieux): "Bastard der aus unerlaubten Verbindung stammt". Cette interprétation semble remonter à la Mishnah: Yeb. iv 13. Mais le texte parle de parenté par le sang et l'origine de cette opinion est peut-être tout simplement un récit du genre de Gen. xix 30-38 qui fait naître Ammonites et Moabites d'un inceste.

[2]) Ce serait donc une population voisine d'Ashdod non philistine. Ashdod qui avait été sous Sargon chef lieu de province (cf FORRER, *Provinzeinteilung des assyrischen Reichs*, Leipzig 1921, p. 63) semble avoir retrouvé à l'époque de Néhémie une position semblable. Cependant O. LEUZE dans son *Die Satrapien-einteilung in Syrien und im Zweistromlande von 520-320* (Halle 1935) mentionne Gaza et Askalon mais pas Ashdod; elle semble avoir présenté peu d'importance au temps d'Alexandre, tout en jouant cependant un rôle pendant les campagnes de Démétrius en

de Samarie [1]). Ceci expliquerait au mieux le v. 28, application de la quatrième réforme néhémienne, de même que l'expulsion de Tobie était une application de la première; Néhémie expulse un petit-fils d'Eliashib qui a épousé une fille de Sanaballat le Horonite. Aussi deutéronomiste que l'auteur du livre des Rois, Néhémie attire l'attention de son lecteur sur les fautes et la responsabilité de Salomon (1 Reg. xi 1ss) et il adjure les israélites „de ne pas donner vos filles à leurs fils et de ne pas prendre de leurs filles pour vos fils" (v. 25) dans les termes mêmes du Deutéronome (vii 3). Puis Néhémie conclut cette réforme par un de ces appels religieux qui rythment ses Mémoires, chaque fois sous une forme différente malgré le même *incipit*: „Souviens-toi d'eux, mon Dieu, à cause de la souillure du sacerdoce", tout à fait dans la ligne de Malachie (i 7 & 12) [2]).

Néhémie par conséquent n'apporte pas de loi nouvelle et ses réformes s'appuient uniquement sur le vieux Deutéronome, alors même que les circonstances nouvelles lui font donner à ses prescriptions une application que visiblement le législateur n'avait pas prévue [3]). De plus dans son effort de réforme il se heurte aux Samaritains dirigés par Sanaballat [4]) et au haut clergé de Jérusalem lié à Sanaballat et à Tobie par des mariages (Néh. vi 18; xiii 28).

La mission d'Esdras se présente dans des conditions fort diffé-

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312 (Glotz, Histoire grecque, IV, p. 316). Sur la province d'Asdod voir A. Alt, „Judas Nachbarn zur Zeit Nehemias", *Pal. Jahrb.* 1931, p. 66ss. M. Delcor voit dans le *mamzer* une population „des environs de Gaza qui servirent à repeupler cette ville après le siège" (*V.T.* I, 120).

[1]) Cf. Cowley no. 30, 29. Les trois adversaires de Néhémie sont Sanaballat, Tobie et Géshém. Tobie est ammonite. Géshém est arabe, mais dans la pensée de Néhémie cette appellation doit représenter le moabite du Deut. Les arabes sont une population nomade connue d'Isaïe (xxi 13ss) et de Sennachérib (Luckenbill, *Ancient records* II, 240) qui fournit des auxiliaires à Ezéchias. Ils conquièrent Edom et Moab avant 312, date de la campagne d'Athénée à Pétra (Diodore, xix 94-100), mais presque certainement avant même la mission de Néhémie; le livre de Malachie suppose la ruine d'Edom (i 3). Or il s'apparente de très près à Néh. xiii: même ignorance du code sacerdotal (v.g.: Eissfeldt, *Einleitung in das A.T.*, p. 496), même critique du sacerdoce, même inquiétude sur les mariages mixtes (ii 11). Si Tobie est l'ammonite, si Géshém représente le moabite-édomite (voir le point de vue de Alt, *op.cit.*, p. 73) le Horonite représenterait l'ashodien. De fait Néh. iv 1 à côté de deux des trois chefs, Sanaballat et Tobie, cite les trois peuplades Arabes, Ammonites et Ashdodiens.

[2]) Sur Néh. xiii 29b-31, voir plus loin.

[3]) Ainsi l'expulsion du petit fils de Tobie, plutôt dans la ligne d'Ezéchiel xl 45s, et les applications pratiques de la Loi du sabbat.

[4]) Et ces Samaritains semblent les maîtres des gens du pays opposés aux efforts des rapatriés.

rentes. En premier lieu la mission d'Esdras, aussi bien dans le texte du firman conservé dans le livre d'Esdras (Esd. vii 25s) que dans la tradition [1]) plus tardive, se réfère à une loi, qualifiée de Loi de Dieu et Loi du Roi. Il est certain que cette Loi a un rapport avec le Pentateuque ou l'une de ses parties, qu'il s'agisse de la remettre en vigueur selon l'interprétation du IV Esdras suivie par le Talmud (Sanhedrin 21b) et par Irénée, Clément d'Alexandrie et Origène, ou qu'il s'agisse de l'instaurer ou de la compléter comme le pensent WELLHAUSEN et son école. Mais les auteurs contemporains sont très hésitants sur le contenu exact de la Loi d'Esdras. RUDOLPH s'associe au jugement de NOTH: „Nous ne savons pas ce qu'a été cette ‚Loi dans la main d'Esdras' et pouvons seulement conjecturer que ce fut une compilation de lois venues de la période antérieure à l'exil avec peut-être encore quelques morceaux nouvellement composés" [2]).

Cette conjecture est en effet en parfait accord avec la politique perse envers la religion des peuples soumis. Elle est à la fois interventionniste et respectueuse des traditions autochtones. Cyrus, le premier, se présente dans la Chronique de Nabonide [3]) comme le restaurateur religieux du culte babylonien et dans le Cylindre Rassam [4]) il fait donner aux dieux de Sumer et d'Akkad „une demeure qui réjouisse le coeur, en paix dans leurs sanctuaires". Aussi le P. DE VAUX [5]) a-t-il pu établir le sens et la valeur de l'édit de Cyrus en Esd. vi et E. BICKERMANN [6]) justifier la forme même que prend l'édit en Esd. i. Sur la politique religieuse de Cambyse en Egypte nous avons le témoignage de Oudjahorresne [7]) sur la statuette du Vatican, à

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[1]) Voir Josèphe Ant. XI, v qui suit III Esdras. IV Esdras fait intervenir Esdras non seulement pour la Loi (xiv 12) mais pour toute l'écriture (id. 37-48). Nous trouvons plus tard dans le Talmud, Soukkah, 20b: „La Torah était oubliée des Israélites jusqu'à ce qu'Esdras vint de Babylone et la restaura". Voir les témoignages de St Jérôme dans J. TOUZARD, *Moïse et Josué*, Dict. ap. Foi Cath. III, col. 698. Voir aussi le témoignage indirect du *Sépher Taggin*, traité anti-samaritain selon A. SPIRO, *Samaritans, Tobiads and Judahites in Pseudo-Philo*, Am. Academy for Jewish research, New-York 1951, p. 20, n. 37.

[2]) M. NOTH, *Die Gesetze im Pentateuch*, p. 62, n. 7. Il ajoute que le gouvernement perse s'est intéressé à la communauté de Jérusalem et a pris des mesures pour la mise en pratique de sa loi (p. 63).

[3]) Traduction OPPENHEIM dans *Ancient Near Eastern Texts* Princeton 1950 p. 315, d'après les travaux de S. SMITH et de LANDSBERGER-BAUER.

[4]) id. p. 316; et WEISSBACH: *Keilinschriften der Achämeniden*, p. 6 & 7.

[5]) „Les décrets de Cyrus et Darius sur la reconstruction du temple", *RB* 1937, p. 31ss.

[6]) *J. B. L.* 1946, p. 249-275; résumé de R. DUSSAUD in *Syria*, 1949; p. 155.

[7]) Etude complète et bibliographie dans G. POSENER, *La première domination perse en Egypte*, Le Caire 1936, p. 1-26. Mr POSENER me signale les publications

compléter par la statuette du Caire [1]) et les inscriptions relatives aux Apis enterrés sous son règne [2]) et nous pouvons voir que le souverain perse s'y comporte comme un adepte de la religion égyptienne. Il y est instruit de la „grandeur de Saïs, résidence de la grande Néith [3])"; il ordonne de purifier le temple en expulsant les étrangers, il en rétablit le clergé et la liturgie, il restitue les revenus des fondations [4]). Bien plus il se prosterne devant Neith, lui fait des offrandes et des libations [5]). Ce qui est vrai de Cambyse l'est encore plus de Darius Ier. Oudjahorresne, renvoyé par le roi en Egypte, s'occupe d'un centre médical et sacerdotal et pourvoit les étudiants de „tous les accessoires indiqués par les écrits, comme il en était auparavant" [6]). Cette allusion à des écrits auxquels on se réfère et peut-être que l'on copie se retrouve sur l'un des textes qui sont au verso de la Chronique démotique. Darius aurait ordonné „qu'on rassemble les sages ... parmi les guerriers, les prêtres et les scribes d'Egypte, afin qu'ils mettent par écrit les anciennes lois de l'Egypte" [7]). Les colonnes *b* et *c* nous donnent de plus des règles sur l'activité des prêtres et nous voyons dans la correspondance du satrape Phérendatès le gouvernement perse intervenir dans la nomination des prêtres éponymes du Temple de Khnum à Eléphantine [8]). Enfin d'après Hérodote l'amiral Datis, lors des guerres médiques, aurait brûlé 300 talents d'encens sur l'autel d'Apollon et Artémis à Délos [9]) et l'inscription de Magnésie du Méandre contient une interdiction de percevoir des impôts sur

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de A. Tulli (*Il naoforo Vaticano* in *Misc. Gregoriana*, 1941, p. 232-280) et de Botti-Romanelli in: *Le sculpture del Muse Gregoriano Egizio-Topografia Poliglotta Vaticana* 1951 et l'étude de A. Klasens, „Cambyses in Egypte" (*Jaarbericht Ex Oriente Lux IX*, Leyden 1946, 339-349) qui ne changent rien sur le point qui nous occupe. Il en est de même des objets d'époque perse présentés par Michaelidis (*Asae* 1943, p. 91-103).

[1]) *Id.*, p. 26-29.

[2]) *Id.*, p. 30-36.

[3]) Vat. no. 158, 1. 25-27. Sur la conciliation de ce témoignage avec ceux d'Héro dote, Pausanias et Strabon, voir de Vaux, *op.cit.*, p. 37.

[4]) *Id.*, 1. 22. L'ordonnance de Cambyse conservée à l'envers de la chronique démotique étudiée par W. Spiegelberg, *Die sogenannte demotische Chronik des Pap. 215 der Bibl. nat. zu Paris*, est plus restrictif. Aperçu dans de Vaux, 37s.

[5]) Vat. No. 158, 1. 25 et 29.

[6]) *Id.*, l. 44ss, cf Posener, *op.cit.*, p. 22.

[7]) Chr. dém. verso col. c 1. 9s. Tr. de Vaux, *op.cit.*, p. 38.

[8]) De Vaux, *op.cit.*, p. 39 d'après W. Spiegelberg, *Drei democratische Schreiben aus der Korrespondenz des Pherendates, des Satrapen Darius I. mit den Chnumpriestern von Elephantine.*

[9]) Hér. vi, 97-98.

les jardiniers sacrés d'Apollon[1]). Ajoutons qu'à la fin du siècle[2]) Darius II reste dans les traditions persanes lorsque nous le voyons intervenir dans les affaires religieuses de la communauté d'Eléphantine en même temps qu'il fait construire dans la grande oasis un temple en l'honneur d'Amon[3]). En l'an 5 de son règne (419) il intervient par un décret dans le règlement de la fête de Pâque[4]). Plus tard son lieutenant Bagohi, pacha de Judée, autorise les juifs d'Eléphantine à rebâtir leur temple et à y offrir oblations et encens, mais ne mentionne pas les holocaustes[5]).

Les interventions de la cour perse portent donc sur les temples, leur clergé, leurs revenus et leur liturgie, en même temps que sur un rappel ou une mise au net des lois anciennes. Si nous reprenons le firman d'Esdras nous pouvons constater que pour beaucoup de ses dispositions nous pouvons trouver un parallèle. OLMSTEAD[6]) et KENT[7]) ont souligné les rapprochements entre les fragments SCHEIL et certaines expressions de la Loi hébraïque; comme ces fragments le firman d'Esdras parle de la „Loi du roi" (vii 26). Comme l'inscription de la statue d'Oudjahorresne et les textes d'Eléphantine la cour perse, dans le rescrit d'Esdras, se préoccupe des sacrifices, offrandes et libations (vii 17). Le firman d'Esdras prévoit une collecte en Babylonie (vii 16) analogue à celle que nous voyons pratiquer pour Yahvé chez les colons d'Eléphantine (COWLEY Pap. 22)[8]). L'exemption d'impôt prévue pour le clergé de Jérusalem (vii 24) rappelle celle de l'inscription de Magnésie et répond à la situation de certains temples d'Egypte[9]). Un souci analogue de l'instruction se trouve dans le firman (Esd. vii 25 in fine) et les inscriptions d'Oudjahorresne (l. 43s). Le firman demande pour la loi du dieu

[1]) DE VAUX, *op.cit.*, p. 41 d'après Bull. corr. Hell. xiii, p. 529ss.

[2]) Sur la politique religieuse de Xercès on ne dispose d'aucune donnée ferme car ni la stèle du Satrape ni l'inscription de Persépolis ne peuvent être utilisées. cfr. I. LÉVY, „L'inscription triomphale de Xerxès", in *Revue historique* 1939, p. 1-20. E. DRIOTON et S. VANDIER, *L'Egypte*[1] Paris 1952, p. 613 et 621.

[3]) Cf. A. VINCENT, *La religion des judéo-araméens d'Eléphantine*, p. 235ss; 377.

[4]) COWLEY, p. 21 reprise dans K. GALLING, *Textbuch zur Geschichte Israels*, Tübingen 1950, p. 73. Trad. GINSBERG dans *ANET*, p. 491. Voir aussi A. DUPONT-SOMMER, *CRAI* 1945, 174-6 et *Revue des Etudes Juives* VII (1946-1947) p. 1-15.

[5]) COWLEY, No. 32, 1-9.

[6]) *AJSL*, li (1934-5) p. 247-9.

[7]) *JAOS*, 1934 p. 44.

[8]) Voir le commentaire de A. VINCENT, *op.cit.*, p. 543 et p. 555s, les éclaircissements qu'apporte le papyrus de Pétrogad étudié par REVILLOUT.

[9]) Les textes de la période perse étudiés par POSENER comportent restitution de revenus plus qu'exemption d'impôts; la stèle de Naucratis et l'inscription des

d'Esdras un respect analogue à celui que demande l'inscription de Xercès pour la loi d'Ahuramazda [1]) (cf Esd. vii 26) et les rebelles peuvent être traités avec la même sévérité dont fait preuve Darius contre ses propres rebelles [2]). Le fond du firman d'Esdras est donc tout à fait dans la ligne de la politique achéménide [3]).

D'après ce que nous pouvons juger des interventions de la cour perse, l'oeuvre législative dont est chargé Esdras devrait consister d'une part à réunir et à mettre en vigueur d'anciens textes, d'autre part à mettre au point le statut du temple, de son clergé et de sa liturgie. S'il y a donc un apport nouveau d'Esdras dans la législation juive conservée dans le Pentateuque c'est dans le code sacerdotal que nous devons chercher. Or la critique littéraire [4]) a dû depuis longtemps distinguer à côté d'un écrit fondamental des lois additionnelles qui ont été insérées dans sa trame [5]). Un certain nombre de ces lois précisent qu'elles ont pour but d'assurer unité de législation entre le *gêr* et l'*ézraḥ*, traduisons provisoirement, l'étranger et l'indigène.

Ces lois, une douzaine environ, sont généralement des doublets de lois déjà inscrites dans le Pentateuque. Ainsi Lév. xxiv 21s ne fait que reprendre la loi du talion en style (Ex. xxi 24) du code sacerdotal, mais le passage se termine par cette formule: „Il y aura

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Sept années de famine cèdent des droits régaliens (Posener, „Les douanes de la Méditerranée", in *Revue de Philologie* 1947, p. 117s) sans mention d'exemption. Cependant déjà les décrets de l'Ancien Empire semblent avoir comporté pareille exemption et d'après G. Lefebvre, *Histoire des grands prêtres d'Amon*, p. 169, 195 l'exemption va de soi. Cependant les *Ramesside administrative documents* publiés par A. Gardiner, Londres 1948 (cf Federn in *JNES* 1952, p. 82) font douter de cette exemption au début de la XXème dynastie (Papyrus de taxation de Turin). Sur l'interprétation du décret de Nauri par Séthi Ier, cf Edgerton, *JNES*, 1947, 29-230 et A. Gardiner, *JEA* 1952, p. 24-33.

[1]) L. 46ss. cf Kent, *Old persian grammar, texts, lexicon*, New-Haven 1950, p. 152.

[2]) Il y a une nuance cependant. Le firman parle après la peine de mort de *šršw*. On y voit d'habitude le bannissement et de fait la racine se retrouve également comme une menace dans l'inscription d'Eshmounazar l. 11 qui est de la même époque. Comme on le verra plus loin ceci semble être une menace contre les habitants du pays qui seront arrachés, déracinés s'ils n'obéissent pas à la Loi. Ceci répond à l'image employée par Eshmounazar et à la situation concrète que vise le firman.

[3]) Darius menace du supplice du pal (Béh. iii 92). De plus iv 80 menace les familles. Si le *šrš* du firman d'Esdras est à comprendre dans le sens d'une famille, ce serait un parallèle de plus.

[4]) V. g. Holzinger, *Einleitung in den Hexateuch*, Leipzig 1893, p. 418ss.

[5]) Ainsi la Torah des sacrifices de Lév. i-vii sépare Lév. viii du ch. xl de l'Exode dont il est la suite naturelle. Mais la répartition exacte est encore discutée. Dans ses

pour vous une seule règle de droit (*mišpat*), tel l'étranger, tel est l'indigène". Même formule à propos du blasphème du Nom sacré: „Tel l'étranger, tel l'indigène, il mourra s'il blasphème le Nom". (Lév. xxiv 16, cf Ex. xxii 27). A propos des villes de refuge pour le cas de meurtre une sorte d'incise précise que l'étranger (*gêr* ou *tôshab*) pourra lui aussi fuir dans les villes de refuge comme les autres enfants d'Israel (Num. xxxv 15, cf Deut. iv 41ss et xix 1-13). Mais ces lois ne visent pas seulement les crimes les plus graves déjà punis par la Loi, elles ont souvent pour objet le rituel. Ainsi l'étranger circoncis [1]) fera la Pâque comme l'indigène (Ex. xii 48s, cf xii 14); comme l'indigène le *gêr* ne doit pas garder chez lui de levain pendant la semaine des Azymes (Ex. xii 19, cf xiii 7). L'unité de législation se trouve précisée également pour la seconde Pâque (Num. ix 14) [2]), le jour des Expiations (Lév. xvi 29) [3]), l'usage du sang dans les sacrifices (Lév. xvii 10-14, cf 15) [4]), les oblations (Num. xv 16, cf 13), les sacrifices pour le péché (Num. xv 29). C'est à l'occasion de ce dernier détail du rituel qu'est formulée l'exclusion de la communauté de celui qui a commis un crime délibérément „qu'il soit étranger ou indigène" (Num. xv 30). Concluons par deux lois des plus importantes pour le sujet qui nous occupe. Lév. xix 34 étend à l'étranger (*gêr*) le précepte de l'amour du prochain donné en Lév. xix 18. Et à propos des interdits matrimoniaux Lév. xviii 26s oppose d'une part l'étranger et l'indigène, d'autre part les hommes qui „ont habité le pays avant vous" c'est à dire les Cananéens, Héthéens, Phérézéens ... que mentionne encore Esd. ix 1. Voici le texte du Lévitique: „Mais vous, vous garderez mes lois et mes coutumes, vous ne commettrez aucune de ces abominations, pas plus l'indigène que l'étranger qui réside parmi vous. Car toutes ces abominations-là, les hommes qui ont

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Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Studien, I, 190-206, Halle 1943, M. Noth attribue très peu de chose à l'écrit sacerdotal fondamental en Num. x-xxxvi, Deut. xxxi-xxxiv et par suite presque tout aux couches secondaires.

[1]) Il est ici distingué du *tôšab* (v. 45).

[2]) Cette loi n'est pas un doublet. Mais elle a dû présenter grande importance à l'époque post-exilique. Le chroniste fait célébrer à cette époque la Pâque d'Ezéchias (2 Chr. xxx 2), après convocation d'Ephraïm et de Manassé. Cette mesure semble donc avoir un rapport avec les relations de Juda et de Samarie.

[3]) Cette loi n'est pas un doublet. Mais on a fait depuis longtemps remarquer (Wellhausen) que cette solennité du 10ème jour du 7ème mois ne semble pas encore célébrée lors de la grande confession des péchés de Néh. ix. Voir cependant Max Löhr, *Das Ritual von Lev. 16*, Berlin 1925, p. 14.

[4]) C'est un doublet de Lév. xvii 4 et Deut. xii 16.

habité ce pays avant vous les ont commises et le pays en a été rendu impur."

Quelles sont ces deux catégories dont se compose la communauté sainte? Les Septante ont d'ordinaire rendu *gêr* par *prosêlutos* et l'on voit d'habitude dans ce prosélyte le non-israélite converti au judaïsme. „La double caractéristique du *gêr*, dit GRAY[1]), c'est qu'il n'était pas de descendance hébraïque tout en étant un membre permanent de la communauté israélite." Il semble bien que ce soit l'exégèse reçue lors de la traduction des Septante. Il semble même que l'on puisse remonter plus haut et que ce soit l'idée même du Chroniste. En 1 Chr. xxii 2 les *gêrim* sont des étrangers au pays d'Israel que David transforme en tailleurs de pierre; 1 Chr. xxix 15 compare les juifs à des *gêrîm*. Enfin en 2 Chr. xxx 25 les *gêrîm* sont des étrangers qui en Israel et en Juda s'associent à la fête de Pâque [2]).

Mais גֵּר vient d'une racine גור qui signifie „être en résidence, séjourner"; il s'applique au réfugié qui n'est pas chez soi. Or dans la langue même du Chroniste le verbe est employé non plus pour des étrangers mais pour des israélites. Ainsi en 1 Chr. xvi 19 ceux qui sont ainsi réfugiés, les *gârîm*, ce sont les israélites eux-mêmes; ils sont réfugiés en terre promise, et parfois même en Juda d'après 2 Chr. xv 9. En Esd. i 4 le *gâr* est l'israélite déporté qui vit en Babylonie et songe à revenir. Dans ce cas les Septante tendent à éviter *prosêlutos* pour utiliser le mot *paroikos*. Mais nous voyons que plusieurs fois même pour *gêr* ils ont évité *prosêlutos*. Ainsi dans la Loi sur la Pâque d'Ex. xii 19, c'est *geiôras* qu'ils ont employé, et ce point est fort important. En 1 Chr. xxix 15 c'est *paroikos* qui est employé ce qui suppose la lecture *gâr* et non *gêr*. La concordance de HATCH-REDPATH nous donne dix cas de ce genre [3]). Incertitude de la lecture ou incertitude du sens, toujours est-il que ces hésitations et les passages du Chroniste nous font croire que le rédacteur sacerdotal a pu voir dans les *gêrîm* ou *gârîm* les israélites exilés ou réfugiés; il allait dans le sens du Deutéro-

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[1]) Numbers, p. 175, *ICC*, Edinburgh 1903. A. BERTHOLET, *Die Stellung der Israeliten und der Juden zu den Fremden*, Freiburg 1896. Voir aussi: S. DRIVER, *Exodus*, Cambridge 1911, p. 104. E. MARMORSTEIN (*PEQ*, 1953, 116) voit dans le *gêr* un travailleur agricole au service d'un propriétaire héréditaire, payé avec une part de la production. Quoiqu'il en soit des origines, la notion semble avoir pris une nouvelle valeur après l'exil.

[2]) Ces trois textes sont propres au Chroniste et ne se trouvent pas dans les passages correspondants du Livre des Rois.

[3]) *A concordance to the Septuagint*, Oxford 1897, II, 1071.

nome qui disait souvent des israélites qu'ils avaient été *gêrîm* en Egypte [1]).

L'autre catégorie, c'est l'*ézraḥ*, mot plus rare que le premier. Or si nous regardons de près l'acception du mot dans la Bible, nous constatons qu'il ne désigne pas tant celui qui est de la race d'Israel, que celui qui est né sur le pays, et le mot n'a pas une résonnance favorable mais évoque les anciens habitants païens du pays. 1 Reg. v 11 est net sur ce point quand il oppose la sagesse de Salomon à celle de l'Egypte et à celle d'Etan l'Ezrahite [2]), en ajoutant que la renommée de Salomon s'est répandue dans toutes les *nations d'alentour*. Plus explicite encore le Ps. xxxvii 35 met l'*ézraḥ* en parallèle avec le méchant (*réša'*); *l'ézraḥ* y est comparé à l'arbre verdoyant des cultes cananéens [3]). L'indigène *ézraḥ* est donc avant tout le produit du pays [4]). Or si le Chroniste n'emploie jamais ce mot, nous savons fort bien par lui ce que pensaient les juifs rapatriés des habitants et des peuples du pays. Ce sont leurs adversaires. Ils terrifient [5]) les compagnons de Zorobabel reconstruisant l'autel des holocaustes (Esd. iii 3), ils s'opposent à ce que le peuple de Juda rebâtisse le Temple (Esd. iv 4) parce que les rapatriés n'acceptent pas leur impur concours. Ce sont en effet ces peuples impurs dont Israel doit se tenir séparé (Néh. x 29, 31; cf Esd ix 11; x 2 & 11) [6]). Ce sont les peuples que dominent au Nord et au Nord Ouest Sanaballat le ḥoronite, à l'Est Tobie l'Ammonite, au Sud Geshem l'arabe. Au temps de Zorobabel et au temps de Néhémie ces peuples du pays, ces autochtones sont donc en opposition avec Néhémie et ils disposent d'appuis précieux au sein de la communauté, grâce en particulier à leurs alliances avec le haut clergé.

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[1]) Deut. x 19, xxiii 8 (à l'occasion de la Loi sur la communauté). Cf Lév. xix 34.

[2]) Le Chroniste rattache Etan l'Ezrahite à Juda par Zérah (1 Chr. ii 6 & 8) mais les Zérahites sont pour lui de demi-judéens encore à moitié édomites (i 37). Les édomites étaient en effet renommés pour leur sagesse.

[3]) Le passage est difficile mais s'explique bien par un jeu d'images. רענן suggère les arbres verts des cultes cananéens, en même temps qu'il évoque le méchant רע. Par ailleurs ערה veut dire „dépouiller" en parlant par exemple de la végétation (Soph. ii 14; Is xix 7) et זרח semble avoir été rattaché par l'auteur à זרע (dont c'est peut-être une forme dialectale). D'où la traduction „J'ai vu le méchant redoutable, mais se dépouillant comme un arbre verdoyant (qui se flétrit)", avec le sens „se dépouillant comme un indigène pervers".

[4]) De même dans la notice de 1 Chr. vii 21, les gens „nés dans le pays" sont des adversaires des Ephraïmites. On ne les appelle pas Philistins, quoique habitants Gat. Seraient-ils *mamzer*?

[5]) A comparer avec le méchant redoutable du Ps. xxxvii 35.

[6]) La perspective est d'ailleurs un peu différente de celle de sa source comme on le verra plus loin.

Mais en est-il de même lors de la mission d'Esdras? Nous n'avons plus trace de l'opposition qui avait éclaté entre Néhémie et le haut clergé allié aux Samaritains et aux Tobiades. On a fait remarquer qu'au moment de son action contre les mariages mixtes c'est dans la chambre d'un certain Johanan fils d'Eliashib qu'il se retire (Esd. x 6). Il est bien difficile de n'y pas voir le même personnage que le Johanan fils d'Eliashib de Néh. xii 23 qui, servant à dater une époque, ne peut être que le grand prêtre Johanan petit fils d'Eliashib; c'est lui qui précéda Jaddua et qui vivait en 408 d'après le témoignage de deux lettres d'Eléphantine [1]). Bien plus, ce sont les prêtres qui sont les premiers à admettre sa réforme (Esd. x 19). Il semble que la liste de ceux qui entourent Esdras lors de la lecture de la Loi ne comporte pas de noms de prêtres [2]); c'est que l'opposition à laquelle Esdras devait faire front ne venait pas des prêtres mais des lévites et des laïcs. D'après Esd. x 15 cette opposition [3]) vient de deux personnages, Jonathan fils d'Asahel et Yahazya fils de Tikwa, soutenus par Meshullam et le lévite Shabbetaï. Si l'on précise que Shabbetaï est lévite sans préciser si les trois précédents sont lévites ou prêtres c'est qu'ils étaient très probablement des laïcs. Si au moment de son départ le prêtre Esdras n'a pas voulu quitter le fleuve Ahava avant d'avoir recruté des Lévites [4]) pour sa caravane c'est qu'il prévoyait des difficultés du côté des Lévites, non du côté du haut clergé.

La mission d'Esdras ne rencontra donc pas d'opposition de la part du haut clergé, elle n'en rencontra pas non plus du côté des Samaritains. Les ennemis de Néhémie disparaissent de l'horizon d'Esdras. Dans la liste des peuples dont les israélites doivent se séparer, liste qui a d'ailleurs quelque chose de stéréotypé, ce sont les anciens habitants du pays qui prennent le pas sur les autres de la liste de Néhémie, moabites, ammonites et azotiens; ces derniers même ne sont pas mentionnés et si le mot azotien évoque Sanaballat le ḥoronite comme nous le croyons, cette disparition est pleine de sens.

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[1]) Cowley, 30, 18 et 31, 17. cf Néh. xii 11, 22. Discussion dans H. Rowley, *op.cit.*, p. 145-150. Témoignage de Josèphe dans *Ant. jud.* XI, vii 1.

[2]) C'est l'opinion de Torrey et de Rudolph. De fait la moitié de ces noms (Néh. viii 4) se retrouve dans la liste des laïcs en Esd. x 25-43 (Matathias, Séméias, Melchias, Hashum, Zacharie, Meshullam).

[3]) Le texte n'indique pas exactement si l'opposition est dirigée contre la réforme même ou les modalités proposées. Mais vu la tendance du Chroniste à adoucir ces heurts il est probable que l'opposition était dirigée contre le fond même de la réforme (voir Rudolph, *op.cit.*, p. 95).

[4]) Esd. viii 15-20.

A la différence de la mission de Néhémie qui oppose la communauté de Jérusalem à ses voisins et surtout aux samaritains, la mission d'Esdras apparaît ainsi comme destinée à unir sous une seule législation les rapatriés de Jérusalem, les *gêrîm* ou *gârîm* et les samaritains, *ézraḥ* [1]) sous l'égide du sacerdoce de Jérusalem. La Loi d'Esdras comprend deux parts, suivant les initiatives de la politique religieuse achéménide. Une partie nouvelle où nous reconnaissons les lois additionnelles du code sacerdotal insistant sur l'unité de législation; une autre, traditionnelle, qui consiste à recueillir les textes anciens et à en confirmer la valeur. Ces éléments anciens sont d'une part le Deutéronome et les éléments antérieurs, J et E, déjà recueillis et canonisés puisque la réforme de Néhémie s'appuie sur le Deutéronome qui est le plus récent d'entre eux. Mais à côté de cette tradition palestinienne déjà admise par les Samaritains, Esdras fait admettre la tradition babylonienne des rapatriés [2]), tradition qu'ignore encore Malachie comme on l'a fait remarquer et que Néhémie n'avait pu songer à faire appliquer. Cette tradition babylonienne remonte à Ezéchiel dont le code sacerdotal applique la théologie. C'est lui qui a affirmé la prééminence du sacerdoce sadocite sur les Lévites [3]), d'où les craintes d'Esdras devant les réactions de l'élément lévite. Nous ne nous étonnerons pas de trouver dans la Torah d'Ezéchiel le prototype de nos lois sur l'unité de législation pour le réfugié et l'indigène (Ez. xlvii 22s), mais dans la perspective du livre d'Ezéchiel il ne s'agissait encore que d'assurer aux exilés leur part au milieu des Israélites établis en terre sainte. Nous voyons ainsi avec Esdras le Pentateuque actuel devenir loi d'Etat et les Samaritains accepter le code sacerdotal. Ainsi s'explique que juifs et samaritains possèdent tous deux le Pentateuque comme Loi canonique, alors même que les samaritains rejettent la canonicité de livres préexiliques comme Amos et Osée.

Les Samaritains ont toujours été plus sensibles que les juifs à l'influence du pouvoir politique. Les gouverneurs perses comme Réhum et Bagoas résidaient à Samarie et c'étaient en s'appuyant sur les autorités perses locales que les samaritains avaient pu faire échec

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[1]) Les Samaritains nous apparaissent ainsi comme la population que les rapatriés trouvent sur le sol et dont les chefs résident à Samarie.

[2]) Comparant Cowley 21 avec les ostraka de Berlin et d'Oxford (*RES* 1792 et 1793) A. Dupont-Sommer (cf. p. 13 n. 4) a montré que le décrit de Darius II avait pour but non d'introduire la Pâque mais d'en fixer la date selon le teneur du code sacerdotale. C'est exactement la ligne de ce qui nous semble être la mission d'Esdras 20 ans plus tard.

[3]) Ez. xliv.

aux premières tentatives de reconstruction des murs de Jérusalem (Esd. iv 8ss). Comme nous allons le voir ils ont su s'entendre avec les grecs et, plus tard, leur attitude vis à vis des gouverneurs romains sera plus souple que celle des juifs et leur permettra même d'obtenir la chute de Ponce Pilate. Il n'est donc point étonnant qu'ils aient accepté le firman, d'autant que leurs intérêts étaient liés à ceux du sacerdoce de Jérusalem. Mais comment Esdras put-il obtenir l'appui de la cour perse? C'est là que la date de 398 devient particulièrement éclairante grâce aux papyrus WILBOUR. De même que les perses s'étaient appuyés en Egypte sur les allogènes et la colonie militaire juive d'Eléphantine, il devenait pour eux particulièrement urgent après la chute de leur domination en Egypte et la grande crise de la campagne des Dix Mille de trouver un point d'appui ferme à la pointe Sud-Ouest de leur Empire. Il était facile à Esdras de faire comprendre aux Perses l'intérêt pour eux d'un foyer juif uni autour de Jérusalem et les appuis qui favorisèrent Néhémie durent aussi favoriser Esdras [1]). Comme Darius II était intervenu à Eléphantine, Artaxercès II intervenait en Palestine, fixait la Pâque et tentait la création d'un foyer séparé des populations ambiantes plus ou moins contaminées par le contact avec les grecs, surtout sur la côte: les gouverneurs pourraient compter sur cette communauté.

On peut ainsi reprendre sur de nouvelles données la fameuse question de savoir si Esdras a réussi ou échoué. Sans le dire expressément les textes donnent l'impression que la mission ne fut pas un plein succès. Si nous nous plaçons au point de vue de l'adoption du Pentateuque par les Samaritains, le succès d'Esdras est ici indéniable puisque les Samaritains l'ont gardé. Mais si nous nous plaçons du point de vue de l'unité entre juifs et samaritains, il faut reconnaître que ce fut un échec. Un demi-siècle après la venue d'Esdras nous savons par Josèphe [2]) que les Samaritains obtinrent d'Alexandre l'autorisation de bâtir un temple sur le Garizim. Jérusalem paraît avoir été pressenti par les Grecs avant la chute de Tyr mais avait tout intérêt

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[1]) L'insertion des Egyptiens dans la liste stéréotypée des peuples à rejeter prend alors tout son sens, d'autant plus qu'elle contredit Deut. xxiii 8, la loi de la communauté sur laquelle s'appuyait Néhémie.

[2]) *Ant.* XI, viii 4. Ce texte est confirmé par *Ant.* XIII, ix 1 et B.J. I, ii 6, tradition indépendante de la première. Josèphe y note que la destruction du temple du Garizim faite par Hyrcan en 128 fut faite „200 ans après l'érection du temple". Il est cependant peu probable que le gouverneur du moment se soit appelé également Sanaballat. Voir RICCIOTTI, *Histoire d'Israel*, tr. fr. II, No. 161 s. Pour SPIRO, *op.cit.*, p. 34 il faut lire 260 ans. Voir l'intéressante n. 67.

à rester fidèle aux Perses, d'où l'émoi du grand prêtre Jaddua à la chute de Tyr, puis de Gaza. On sait comment Josèphe raconte la manière dont Jérusalem échappa de justesse au danger. Mais Samarie s'était affranchie et, dans les traditions samaritaines, tout en conservant le Pentateuque comme Loi, Esdras resta „le maudit Esdras" [1]) qui avait su obtenir des autorités que les samaritains vinssent au Temple de Jérusalem.

Cependant Esdras avait eu à faire face à une autre opposition à Jérusalem même, nous l'avons vu. Cette opposition semble avoir persisté et explique à notre avis le double courant noté par BENTZEN dans les traditions juives relatives à Esdras et à Néhémie [2]). Un courant ignore systématiquement Esdras. Il est représenté par le Siracide et par 2 Macc. Le Siracide exalte Néhémie [3]) et ne dit rien d'Esdras; 2 Macc. ne connaît lors de la Restauration que l'activité littéraire de Néhémie [4]), sans d'ailleurs rien lui attribuer de la Loi ce qui est une manière indirecte de confirmer la tradition relative à Esdras. Or le même Siracide qui se tait sur Esdras condamne sévèrement les Samaritains (l 26) „le peuple insensé qui habite Sichem". Ces deux livres sont l'écho d'un milieu qui ne pardonnait pas à Esdras la tentative d'union avec les Samaritains et pour eux le grand homme restait Néhémie qui les avait combattus. Etant données les connexions de l'Ecclésiastique avec les écrits de la secte de l'alliance [5]) et le caractère également sacerdotal de la lettre de 2 Macc., on verrait volontiers dans ce milieu les ancêtres de la secte des esséniens, de Qumran groupés autour du clergé uni à la lignée des grands prêtres [6]) (jusqu'à Onias III) après que Manassès eut coupé les ponts par la fondation du Temple du Garizim.

L'autre courant est favorable à Esdras et nous en avons un premier écho dans le livre des Chroniques. Il peut paraître outrecuidant d'aborder ici de biais et en quelques lignes le problème des Chroniques qui est au fond la source des difficultés exégétiques relatives à Esdras et Néhémie [7]); à cause de cela justement il ne saurait être évité. Que le

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[1]) cf. SPIRO, *op.cit.*, p. 20 n. 37.

[2]) „Sirach, der Chronist und Nehemia", in *Studia Theologica* III, 2 (1949), p. 159.

[3]) Sir. xlix 13.

[4]) 2 Macc. ii 13.

[5]) Voir A. DUPONT-SOMMER, *Nouveaux aperçus sur les manuscrits de la Mer Morte*, Paris 1953, p. 103 et n. 42. J. TRINQUET: „Les liens „sadocites" de l'écrit de Damas, des Manuscrits de la mer Morte et de l'Ecclésiastique" in *VT* I, 287-292.

[6]) Simon fils d'Onias est célébré par Ben-Sirach (1 1-21) et dans les Pirkê Abôth (i 2).

[7]) Voir l'exposé récent de H. VAN DEN BUSSCHE, *Het Probleem van Kronieken*,

Chroniste soit favorable à Esdras on pourrait l'inférer de l'étroite ressemblance de style entre les Mémoires d'Esdras et des passages propres au Chroniste" [1]). On pourrait l'inférer également du thème fondamental de son histoire d'Israel. L'auteur deutéronomiste du Livre des Rois jugeait de chaque règne au nom de la Loi deutéronomique, celle qu'invoque encore Néhémie dans sa seconde mission. Le Chroniste juge de chaque réforme non plus au point de vue de l'unité de sanctuaire, mais au point de vue de la liturgie du Temple basée sur la distinction des prêtres et des Lévites [2]). David est le fondateur de cette liturgie [3]). Les rois seront grands dans la mesure où ils en assureront l'exécution: Salomon (2 Chr. iii-vii), Roboam (xi 13-17), Asa (xv 8-15), Josaphat (xix 4-11), Joas (xxiv 8-11), Ezechias (xxix-xxxi) [4]) et Josias (xxxiv et xxxv). La chose est particulièrement frappante quand on peut mettre en regard le texte de Rois et le texte des Chroniques [5]). Rien d'étonnant par conséquent à ce qu'il ait traité dans le même esprit la réforme de Néhémie: il l'interprète par la Réforme et la Loi d'Esdras.

Sur ce point la démonstration littéraire est possible si l'on regarde de près la présentation que fait le Chroniste de la seconde mission de Néhémie. Les Mémoires de Néhémie traitaient de mesures en vue d'assurer les revenus des Lévites (xiii 10-14) [6]). Or le Chroniste a fait précéder tout ce chapitre des Mémoires par une sorte de doublet relatif aux revenus des Lévites (xii 44-47) où tout le monde reconnaît la main du Chroniste [7]). Ce paragraphe, faisant suite au passage relatif à la dédicace des Murs de Jérusalem, est visiblement dans sa pensée une introduction aux mesures qui vont suivre et vont être considérées

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Louvain 1950. Von Rad a renouvelé le problème des Chroniques et Noordtzij (voir en particulier *RB* 1940, p. 161-9) a bien marqué qu'un thème fondamental du livre est l'importance de l'alliance et du retour à l'alliance. Mais ce retour est chaque fois décrit comme une remise en vigueur de prescriptions liturgiques inspirées du code sacerdotal. Voir Noth, *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche studien* I, 205s.

[1]) De Vaux: „Les chap. d'Esdr. vii à x dérivent d'un rapport rédigé par Esdras et utilisé par le chroniste, avec des retouches. Je crois que cette reprise explique les ressemblances de style qu'on trouve entre Chron. et Esdr. . . . sans qu'on doive identifier Esdras avec l'auteur des Chroniques" (*SDB* IV, 764).

[2]) Dans la ligne d'Ez. xliv.

[3]) cf. 1 Chr. xv-xvi, xxii-xxvi, xxviii & xxix.

[4]) Comparer xxx 1-9 et Num. ix 11s.

[5]) Le travail a été rendu facile grâce à l'œuvre de P. Vannutelli, *Libri synoptici veteris Testamenti*, Rome 1931.

[6]) Voir plus haut p. 120

[7]) Cf. Rudolph, *op.cit.*, p. 201: „Dass dieser Abschnitt nach Form und Inhalt chronistisch ist ist allgemein anerkannt." Le P. de Vaux, *op.cit.*, col. 765 ne compte pas ce passage parmi les parties authentiques des Mémoires de Néhémie.

par lui comme une défense des droits des Lévites contre un certain sacerdoce allié aux Samaritains (Sanaballat xiii 28 et 29a, mais déjà indirectement Tobie xiii 4-9) [1]). Ce que l'on remarque moins, c'est que les vv 29b à 31 sont aussi de la main du Chroniste. A une phrase bien néhémienne: „Souviens-toi d'eux, mon Dieu, à cause de la souillure du sacerdoce", le Chroniste fait une ajoute curieuse: „et l'alliance du sacerdoce et des Lévites". Au lieu de la formule habituelle: „Les prêtres et les lévites", il parle ici du sacerdoce et des Lévites, les Mémoires qu'il complète parlant ici de „sacerdoce". Le v. 30, aussi général et stérétoypé que le reste du chapitre était concret et précis, est rédigé dans la mentalité et le style du Chroniste [2]). Enfin tandis que Néhémie varie chaque fois la formule de son appel à Dieu, le Chroniste s'est contenté de copier en finale un texte des Mémoires de Néhémie (Néh. v 19b). En donnant ainsi à la seconde mission de Néhémie cette préface et cette conclusion, surtout cette conclusion de portée générale, le Chroniste ramenait la réforme de Néhémie au schéma sacerdotal de toutes les autres réformes de l'histoire d'Israel.

Vus sous cet angle les transferts littéraires notés par SCHAEDER, RUDOLPH, DE VAUX et beaucoup d'autres, s'expliquent bien. L'engagement qui concluait primitivement la réforme de Néhémie (Néh. x 1- 29ss) [3]) a pris place à la suite des ch. viii et ix comme conclusion de la lecture de la Loi d'Esdras [4]); les réformes du ch. xiii de Néhémie se

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[1]) A noter la répétition „En ce temps là" en xii 44 et xiii 1. D'après Josèphe le fondateur du Garizim, Manassès est frère du grand prêtre Jaddua.

[2]) On ne trouve pas dans les parties authentiques des Mémoires de Néhémie l'expression „les prêtres et les Lévites". xii 30 est du Chroniste. De plus celui-ci utilise l'expression *hé'émîd mišmar* au sens de „remettre en vigueur les règlements" (cf 2 Chr. vii 6; viii 14; xxxv 2) tandis qu'en Néh. iv 3 elle signifie seulement „établir une garde". La séparation de l'étranger ne se trouve pas dans les Mémoires de Néhémie mais dans les parties adventices (Néh. ix 2, cf Esd. ix 1). La notion de purification est exceptionnelle dans les Mémoires de Néhémie (xiii 9, 22), elle est fréquente dans le Chroniste à l'occasion des réformes (2 Chron. xxix 15; xxxiv 3, 5, 8; Esd. vi 20). Les „temps fixés" (*'ittîm mezummanôt*) sont une expression d'Esd. x 14 (mais là l'adjectif est au masc., indice de plus que l'auteur des Mémoires n'est pas le Chroniste) mais absente des Mémoires de Néhémie. L'offre du bois suppose les textes sacerdotaux tels que la Loi des sacrifices (Lév. i 7; iv 12; vi 5) tandis que le Deut. ignore l'holocauste permanent de Lév. vi 2. Les prémices sont appelées *bikkurîm*, terminologie proprement sacerdotale. Tout ceci se retrouve en Néh. x 29-40, mais SCHAEDER a montré que ce chapitre a été transposé et le Chroniste l'a complété.

[3]) En englobant la liste des signataires, autre indice du travail rédactionnel du Chroniste sur ce chapitre.

[4]) Cf. RUDOLPH, *op.cit.*, p. 172. A. GÉLIN, „Le Chroniste a rattaché l'engagement

présentaient de ce fait comme une application de la Loi d'Esdras. Le reste des Mémoires de Néhémie se trouvait reporté avant la lecture de la Loi d'Esdras et précédé par le reste des Mémoires d'Esdras; le firman d'Artaxercès qui définissait la mission d'Esdras en lui confiant la mise en oeuvre de la Loi couvrait ainsi l'ensemble de l'activité réformatrice. Le Chroniste tenait d'ailleurs à unir le souvenir des deux réformateurs car „il entendait donner un tableau d'ensemble de la Restauration en présentant à la fois l'aspect religieux et l'aspect national" [1]). C'était enfin une tentative pour unir les deux courants de la communauté israélite qui, après le schisme de Manassés, n'avaient plus qu'à s'unir autour du sacerdoce et de fait les Simon et les Onias seront loués aussi bien par le Siracide que par les *Pirkê Abôth* de tendance pharisienne.

On sait que les généalogies du livre semblent mener jusqu'à l'époque grecque. De fait, c'est à l'époque grecque que cette tentative du Chroniste s'explique le mieux. En face de l'hellénisme et de sa philosophie contre laquelle l'Ecclésiaste mettra les israélites en garde, un renforcement du groupe autour de la liturgie du Temple paraissait s'imposer. La grande nouveauté du Chroniste par rapport à l'oeuvre sacerdotale, c'est l'importance donnée au chant liturgique; il y a là un souci artistique qui implique une ambiance nouvelle [2]). Mais, dans sa tentative de regrouper les juifs autour de la Loi liturgique d'Esdras, le Chroniste a dû estomper tout ce qui dans la mission de son maître pouvait évoquer une volonté d'union avec les Samaritains [3]). Il fait la part très large aux Lévites dans les réformes et leur confie même l'immolation de la Pâque sous Josias (2 Chr. xxxv 11) ce que ne prévoyait ni la Loi sur les Sacrifices (Lév. i 3ss) ni la législation lévitique des Nombres qui pourrait bien représenter celle d'Esdras (Num. iii 5-10 et xviii 2-4). Mais cet effort de conciliation du Chroniste succédant à l'effort de conciliation de son maître Esdras ne devait aboutir que longtemps après. Le Siracide ignore le Chroniste [4]) comme Esdras et le IIIème Esdras ignore Néhémie ou pres-

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de la communauté à la lecture réitérée de la Loi, signalée aux ch. viii et ix". (*Esdras-Néhémie*, Paris 1953, p. 101 n. 1).

[1]) De Vaux: *SDB* col. 765.

[2]) Voir dans la même ligne les descriptions cultuelles de la lettre d'Aristée 57ss, 82ss.

[3]) On a déjà noté que chez lui les *gêrîm* tendent à devenir les prosélytes, ce qui annonce déjà les tendances apologétiques de l'époque grecque.

[4]) La chose a été discutée dernièrement entre Noth et Bentzen (*Sirach*, p. 159). A. Bentzen croit que Sir. xlvii 8b, s'appuie sur 1 Chr. xvi 4-7 à cause de mot

que [1]). Les livres d'Esdras et de Néhémie si importants pour le judaïsme semblent bien n'être entrés au canon qu'après Daniel et le reste de l'oeuvre du Chroniste plus tard encore [2]), sans doute au synode de Jamnia lors du triomphe de l'école pharisienne. C'est cette même école qui dans le IVème Esdras fera de son héros le restaurateur des Ecritures: il les auraient dictées à cinq hommes et les auraient fait rédiger „avec des caractères qu'ils ne connaissaient pas" [3]).

Mgr GRY a vu là une cryptographie. Mais avec CHARLES il est préférable de voir là un écho de la tradition rapportée au Talmud [4]), tradition importante quoique difficile à interpréter sur laquelle Mr D. DIRINGER vient à nouveau d'attirer l'attention. C'est Esdras qui aurait introduit l'écriture d'Assur [5]) et la langue sacrée en laissant aux *hédyototh* les caractères hébraïques et la langue araméenne [6]). Or R. Hisda identifie les *hédyototh* aux Kuthéens, c'est à dire aux Samaritains. Comme par ailleurs les *hédyototh* sont en grec des *idiôtai* et que les *idiôtai* grecs s'opposent dans certains textes aux *Xenoi* [7]), nous aurions là un vestige de la terminologie d'Esdras qui opposait les Samaritains, gens du pays, et les *gêrîm*, étrangers réfugiés.

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tâmîd. Mais le mot est incertain dans l'hébreu (voir SMEND, *Die Weisheit des Jesus Sirach*, Berlin 1906, p. 53). Le *d* seul est probable; mais le grec n'a rien de semblable et xlv 19 sur lequel CHARLES s'appuie pour reconstituer le texte (*Ap. and Pseud.* I, 496) est difficilement utilisable car, à la différence de xlvii 8b il n'y a pas de lacune entre *yôm* et *tâmîd*. SPIRO, *op.cit.*, n. 65 p. 30 qui ajoute quelques considérations reste sur la réserve. id. chez P. ACKROYD in *VT* III, 116.

[1]) 3 Esd. v 8 n'est qu'une liste où un Néhémie est inscrit en 3ème place. W. ALBRIGHT suit HOWORTH, TORREY et MOWINCKEL (*The biblical period*, n. 126) et admet l'antériorité de 3 Esd. (Esd. A des LXX) sur l'Esdras-Néhémie canonique.

[2]) La répétition dans les LXX de l'édit de Cyrus (plus exactement: de deux versets et demi) à la fin des Chroniques et au début d'Esdras ne s'explique bien que si la canonisation d'Esdras a précédé celle des Chroniques. D'autres éléments interviennent, ainsi l'absence des Chroniques au canon de l'Eglise syriaque (cf A. BENTZEN, *Introduction to the O.T.*², Copenhague 1952, p. 34).

[3]) 4 Esd. xiv 42, cf Mgr GRY, *Dires prophétiques d'Esdras*, Paris 1938, II, 412 et CHARLES, *op.cit.*, II, 623.

[4]) Sanh. 21b.

[5]) In *Essays and Studies presented to S. A. Cook*, Londres 1950, p. 36.

[6]) Dans le papyrus de la *Chr. dém.* verso col. c. 1. 14 l'écriture d'Assur désigne également l'écriture araméenne. Cette tradition talmudique est encore un témoignage sur l'apport babylonien d'Esdras. A l'usage de la chancellerie perse dont l'araméen était la langue officielle une rédaction de la Loi a dû être faite en cette écriture tandis que jusque là gens du pays et Samaritains usaient encore de la vieille écriture. On sait que dans les textes de la mer Morte des fragments de la Loi ont été trouvés qui sont encore rédigés dans l'écriture ancienne. *RB* 1949, 597.

[7]) LIDDELL-SCOTT I, 816, cf Aristophane, Grenouilles 459. Voir aussi la traduction des LXX en Prov. v 20.

Notons enfin que cette manière de concevoir la mission d'Esdras et ses conséquences permet de mieux comprendre le difficile passage de Zach. xi 4-17. Indépendamment l'un de l'autre ELLIGER[1]) et DELCOR[2]) ont établi que le ch. ix, le premier de la seconde section de Zacharie, contenait des allusions à Alexandre, ce qui porte à l'époque grecque la rédaction de cette seconde partie du livre. Le passage xi 4 à 7 est difficile tout d'abord à cause des gloses qui semblent y avoir été attachées après coup; elles nuisent à l'unité du style et rompent le développement[3]). Il peut toutefois donner quelque lumière sur la question qui nous occupe. Il y est question de deux morceaux de bois, *maqlôt*, appelés par Dieu l'un *Nôʿam* „bienveillance" et l'autre *Ḥôbelîm*. On traduit ce dernier par „lien" ou „concorde". Mais nous avons là un participe pluriel du verbe *ḥâbal* „prendre en gage" et comme ces *Ḥôbelîm* sont assimilés aux „Cananéens du troupeau"[4]) au v. 11, il semble qu'il faille traduire: „ceux qui prennent en gage"; il s'agit de commerçants avides, comme l'implique le terme cananéen à cette époque (cf Prov. xxxi 14). *Nôʿam* et *Ḥôbelîm* forment donc les deux parties du troupeau de Dieu. L'auteur se place en effet dans les perspectives d'Ezéchiel, au ch. xxxiv; Yahwè retire leur pouvoir aux mauvais pasteurs qui dévorent les brebis (v. 3-10, cf Zach. xi 5) pour devenir lui-même leur pasteur (v. 11ss, cf Zach. xi 7). Or le même Ezéchiel en xxxvii 15-28 compare Juda et Israel à deux morceaux de bois (*maqlôt*) réunis dans la main du Prophète. Dans Zacharie ces deux morceaux symbolisent d'une part le troupeau fidèle, dépositaire des promesses universelles de bienveillance, et les puissants samaritains unis au haut clergé de Jérusalem pour s'enrichir aux dépens du troupeau; de l'autre d'autant qu'en Zach. xiv 21 ces cananéens sont dits cananéens du Temple.

Or Dieu, mécontent de son peuple, qui le lui rend (v. 8), va rompre avec ces deux éléments. La première rupture a lieu avec le bâton *Nôʿam* qui représente les aspirations universalistes des israélites dispersés chez tous les peuples. Cette rupture est approuvée par les cananéens du troupeau qui y reconnaissent la parole de Dieu. Ce

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[1]) „Ein Zeugnis aus der jüdischen Gemeinde im Alexanderjahr 332 v. Chr.", in *ZATW* 1950 (62), p. 63-114.

[2]) „Les allusions à Alexandre le grand dans Zach. ix 1-8", in *VT* I 1951, p. 110-124.

[3]) Voir K. ELLIGER, *Die Propheten*, Göttingen 1951, p. 149-155. Ainsi les vv 6 et 8.

[4]) D'après le texte grec. Mais la coupure faite par l'hebreu entre כן et עניי ne donne aucun sens et l'hébreu lui-même a „cananéen" en xiv 24.

serait une allusion à la réforme d'Esdras et à sa Loi; et l'auteur approuverait les opposants, lévites ou laïcs. La seconde rupture au v. 14 a lieu entre les prêteurs sur gage, donc les cananéens-samaritains, et se termine par la rupture du lien entre Juda et Israel, c'est à dire entre Samarie et Jérusalem lors de l'établissement du temple schismatique du Garizîm avec Alexandre. Dieu abandonne alors ses fonctions de pasteur et c'est un mauvais pasteur, peut-être Alexandre, qui va assumer la direction du troupeau.

Quoi qu'il en soit de cette dernière interprétation qui demanderait une étude plus fouillée du Deutéro-Zacharie nous conclurons par le résumé de la mission d'Esdras.

Néhémie fait sa première mission en 445 [1]). Il rebâtit les murs de Jérusalem malgré la triple opposition des voisins de Jérusalem alliés à des membres influents de la communauté, et même au grand prêtre. Déjà le besoin de réformes intérieures se fait sentir. Après un voyage à Babylone il revient en 433 et prend une série de mesures réformatrices qu'il légitime par le seul Deutéronome, mais où l'on sent plus que jamais l'opposition aux maîtres samaritains du pays. En 398 la cour perse qui vient de perdre l'Egypte veut utiliser la communauté juive de Palestine comme elle avait utilisé la communauté juive d'Eléphantine. Elle donne plein pouvoir à un prêtre, Esdras, qui est chargé d'unir les deux éléments de la population, l'ancienne couche de la population dirigée par Samarie et les rapatriés. Pour cela une loi commune sera promulguée, comprenant le Deutéronome, ancienne loi du pays, et le corpus sacerdotal auquel sont attachés les rapatriés qui suivent la tradition d'Ezéchiel. Des lois additionnelles adaptent ces anciennes lois aux données nouvelles et assurent unité de liturgie et de législation. Malgré la double opposition — celle des Samaritains opposés à cette nouvelle loi, et celle de milieux fervents de Jérusalem qui restent dans la ligne de Néhémie et se sentent plus liés à la Diaspora qu'aux Samaritains — Esdras, appuyé par le sacerdoce, réussit à faire adopter par les deux communautés cette Loi d'Etat. Mais les forces centrifuges demeurent et les Samaritains profitent de la chute de la domination perse pour s'affranchir de Jérusalem. Dans cette dernière ville les deux courants subsistent: l'un s'attache à Néhémie et est foncièrement antisamaritain, l'autre est favorable à Esdras et

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[1]) Il paraît bien difficile de faire confiance à la chronologie de Josèphe qui fourmille d'à peu près même quand il donne des renseignements intéressants, ainsi quand il fait de Sanaballat un contemporain d'Alexandre.

voit surtout en lui le restaurateur de la Loi. En face du schisme samaritain et de l'hellénisme le Chroniste repense toute l'histoire d'Israel à la lumière de la Loi d'Esdras. Sur un sadocisme et sur un sadducéisme plus conservateur un pharisaïsme plus vivant finira par l'emporter et assurera la canonisation de l'oeuvre du Chroniste en même temps qu'il magnifiera l'oeuvre d'Esdras.

ANTI-ESSENE TRAITS IN THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS

BY

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The essence of scholarship is to make the indefinite definite, to find a place for the unknown in the realm of the known. It is therefore rather unpleasant to try to demolish a theory unless one suggests a better in its place. Still, the very fact that one has not an axe to grind might at least enhance one's objectivity.

My present undertaking is even more unpleasant, since I am venturing outside the field of my main interest in the Dead Sea Scrolls (= DSS) — almost outside my main field altogether. The only excuse which I can offer for this presumption is that this is precisely what most of the scholars engaged in the study of the DSS are doing. No scholar can be expected to possess expert knowledge of all the different problems involved, and when linguists, archeologists etc. begin to speculate upon religio-sociological phenomena, their views are not necessarily authoritative.

In their search after a sect known from our history books to whom the DSS (and the Damascus covenant) might be attributed, scholars are divided into four main groups [1]). Those who maintain the scrolls are of Essene or almost Essene origin — the first two groups — are in the majority by far [2]). The differences between these two opinions are unimportant: Both concede that there are certain divergences between the Dead Sea Covenanters (= DSC) and the Essenes as depicted by Philo and Josephus, and both agree that certain characteristics are mentioned only as belonging to one of them. But whereas some scholars are cautious and prefer to speak of the DSC as a group closely allied to the Essenes — a sister sect, as it were [3]) — a great number make light of the differences [4]) and explain them as historical developments within *one* sect.

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[1]) For bibliographical details cf. BAUMGARTNER, *Theol. Rundschau* xix [1951], p. 140 sqq.; VAN DER PLOEG, *Ex Or. Lux* xii [1951/2], p. 240; ROWLEY, *The Zadokite Fragments and the Dead Sea Scrolls* [1952], pp. 45 sqq.; 78 sqq.

[2]) *Vide* VAN DER PLOEG, *VT* ii [1952], p. 172.

[3]) The so-called *marrying Essenes* are mentioned as an example of such a sister sect.

[4]) The differences brought to light until now are, indeed, not very striking.

The third group consists of scholars, each of whom has put forth a different theory as to the identity of the DSC, none of whom, however, advance further evidence of improbability [1]). According to these theories the DSS are attributed to any period between that of the early Assideans and the mediaeval Karaites.

Very few scholars accept none of these theories, neither do they advance any of their own [2]). None of them, however, have marshalled new evidence against the Essene theory. The present paper will therefore attempt to show that there are such grave religious divergences between the Essenes and DSC as to render this theory highly improbable, *unless we are prepared to allot to the name "Essenes" a meaningless indefiniteness.*

Our first problem is of course to find out, whether the identity between the Essenes and the DSC has been proved. All the points of affinity can be found in the studies of Burrows [3]), Brownlee [4]), Dupont-Sommer [5]), Schubert [6]) and Grinz [7]), who have assembled the relevant material and advanced almost the same points. If we take, however, the trouble to scrutinize these assertions more closely, it will soon become clear that they have proved one thing only: *The DSC, like the Essenes, were a religious monastic sect.*

Going through all these studies, what is the evidence in favour of the identification [8])?: Both groups were monastic in organisation, possessions were pooled (*vide infra*), a rigorous discipline was main-

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[1]) Thus a scholar who has gone to great lengths to prove his own theory is content to remark that the Essenes are ruled out by the fact that we know of no persecution of the Essenes. He adds: „The Essene theory on the origin of the Dead Sea Scrolls has, in any case, been exploded by Burrows' detailed study" (Teicher, *JJSt* ii [1951], p. 92). As far as I can make out, most scholars have attributed to Burrows' study neither this aim nor this result.

[2]) Driver, *The Hebrew Scrolls* [1951], p. 22; Liebermann, *JBL* lxxi [1952]. p. 206; Bonsirven, *Études* cclxviii [Fev. 1951], p. 215; Dhorme, *CRAIBL*, 1951, p. 193. Burrows' final attitude (*Oudtest. Stud.* viii [1950], p. 156 sqq., esp. pp. 166, 176) is not quite clear.

[3]) *Loc. cit.*

[4]) *BA* xiii [1950, 3], p. 56 sqq.

[5]) *CRAIBL*, 1951, p. 190 sqq.; *The Dead Sea Scrolls* [1952], p. 86 sqq.

[6]) *Zeit.f.Kath. Theol.* lxxiv [1952], p. 31 sqq.

[7]) *Sinai* xxxii [Sept. 1952], p. 11 sqq. [in modern Hebrew].

[8]) One is reluctant to allow the argument of Dupont-Sommer and Grinz that we are bound to identify the DSC with one of the movements known to us from our history lessons: „It would be quite impossible to connect the Pharisees in any way whatsoever with the sect of the New Covenant ... It can only be, therefore, that the sect of the New Covenant is to be identified with that of the Essenes" (Dupont-Sommer, p. 88). Cf. Grinz, p. 12.

tained and strict rules of conduct at the table and in the assemblies were enforced; each group had its head and was formed on a hierarchic system; the newcomer had to undergo a period of probation and the uninitiated were excluded from the common meals; there was an initiation-ceremony and the novice had to swear to remain faithful to its ideals. Indeed, these ideals and demands were identical: To keep to the law and to be righteous and virtuous, to be loyal to the sect and its laws and not to yield to any pressure from outside [1]). None of the scholars seem to have asked, whether these are not precisely the points which one must expect *a priori* in a religio-sociological phenomenon of this kind. In fact, most of them are present in much more loosely knit sociological structures — in the secret societies of primitive tribes as well as in a free mazons' lodge.

Other points advanced are of the "most certainly"-type. "All the earnings of the Essenes were given in trust to this official [the *epimeletes* M.G.], and so it *must have been* [my italics] among the Covenanters" (Brownlee). Heaven alone knows; but there is no justification to mention this point among the affinities. On the same lines proceeds the argument that "Agricultural pursuits *must have been included* [my italics] in the community work by which the Covenanters supported themselves" (*loc.cit.*). Better still: The parallel to the strict daily routine of the Essenes is. . . . that dawn, with the sect, was one of the times when one should worship God. "Hence, as with the Essenes, most of their time between dawn and sunset *must have been* [my italics] given to work" (*loc.cit.*).

Even more astonishing is the list of common characteristics compiled by Dupont-Sommer (p. 89). The items are either wrong [2]) or else self-evident in such a sect: "Marked spiritualism, divine rewards and the torments of hell, sovereignty of Destiny, abundant angelology, recognition of the Prophets as sacred books, allegorical exegesis, sacredness of the writings peculiar to the sect". So we have to rely upon his statement, although he "cannot here give a complete proof of this, since it would require a whole book" (p. 88) (*sic*). "I have minutely compared all the sources relative to the Essenes and all that is now known about the New Covenant. This examination has brought out so many resemblances on characteristic points that I

[1]) These are the points mentioned at great length in all the studies and they are the only ones concerning which complete agreement has been reached.

[2]) i. e. we simply do not possess the necessary information as regards *both* sects.

believe I can without hesitation reach the conclusion that they are identical" (*loc.cit.*).

If we wish to compare two sects it is a waste of time to list generalities which are at the very root of any sectarian organisation. It is the *details* which are important. All the investigators were, however, unable to prove affinities in the details. That those differences are due to a development within *one* sect may be true or may not be true. Everyone will also readily concede that if we knew more about the Essenes and the DSC, affinities in details *might* be found. These are, for the moment, idle speculations. The disappointing fact remains that there is *nothing whatsoever* that proves the Essene theory and hence no further argument *ex silentio* is admissible; *whatever details there are, differ* [1]).

It is clear by now that there is nothing to prove the identity of the Essenes and the DSC. The second step will be to show that this identification is improbable.

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[1]) Brownlee (p. 65) happily announced that the statement of Josephus (*de bello* ii, 123), that the Essenes regarded oil as defilement, is paralleled by a fragment in *Megilloth Genuzoth* I pl. 1, 1. 6. Alas, the word in question is far from being שמן, since the last letter can by no stretch of imagination be interpreted as a ן.

As for the prohibition of spitting in the assembly I would have liked to refer simply to Zeitlin's statement (*JQR* xli [1950/1] p. 263. This scholar, however, who has the habit of constantly accusing others of insufficient knowledge of rabbinical literature, has his own ways in quoting. He should have argued that the question of spitting is not a queer and most telling detail — as maintained by some scholars — and that several cases are discussed in the rabbinical literature (*vide infra*).

His quotation and statement, however, as they stand, are misleading. Jer. Ber. 3;5: The prohibition not to spit to the right has nothing to do with spitting in the synagogue (curiously enough this is a parallel to the Essene prohibition). A rabbinical scholar should have stated that the saying of R. Yehoshuʿa b. Levi: הרוקק בבית הכנסת כרוקק בבבת עינו is only a variant of the words of the same sage (Bab.Ber. 62b): כל הרוקק בהר הבית בזמן הזה כאלו רוקק בבבת עינו.

Zeitlin's contention that the Rabbis and Karaites in the Middle Ages laid much stress on the prohibition against spitting in the synagogue is not borne out by the facts. The words of Rava (Bab. *loc.cit*) רקיקה בבית הכנסת שריא (Spitting in the synagogue is permitted) have been accepted as law, as Zeitlin should have known from Maimonides, *Hilchoth Tefillah* xi 10 and *Oraḥ Ḥayyîm* § 151, 7. It is only forbidden to spit during or immediately after prayer, and all this has nothing to do with the synagogue as an assembly place, but solely with the necessary reverential attitude towards the Deity. I need not add that no one is encouraged to spit; it is expressly mentioned that one holy man never spit in the synagogue.

I wonder what are Zeitlin's references from Karaite literature; all the relevant chapters in the most important early code (Kitâb al-Anwâr) of Al-Qirqisâni are extant, but I could not find anything on this point.

The most fundamental difference which, to my mind, rules out even the "sister-sects" theory, is the diametrically opposed conception of purity and purification. The Essenes, as we learn from Josephus [1]), were typologically a "Täufersekte" [2]). The purity of the chosen members of such a sect was not the simple ritual purity of the Bible; not only after having been defiled corporeally in one of the ways mentioned in the Bible had they to purify themselves [3]). In the view of a "Täufersekte" — to cut a long story short — all people are unclean, having forsaken the ways of God. Only a small group — the sect — repents and tries to find its way back, the initial act being the baptism i.e. a magico-liturgical act effecting (or symbolising) the new status. This state of purity has to be meticulously guarded, and eventually any contact with members of the unclean world (or a less clean group within the hierarchy etc.) may defile. Little as we know of the Essenes, it is clear that their concept of purity was of this type.

It is exactly this concept the DSC abhor. I do not wish to press my point so far as to suggest that they are engaged in anti-Essene polemics; they might well polemise against one of the "Täufersekten" [4]). "He cannot purify himself by atonement, nor cleanse himself with purity-water, nor become clean in seas or rivers, nor become pure by all the waters for washing. Unclean, unclean shall he be as long as he rejects the laws of God so as not to accept the laws [5]) in the *Yaḥad* of his counsel. For it is through the spirit of God's true counsel [on] a man's ways that all his sins are atoned so that he might face the light of life, and through the spirit of holiness — to become member of his truthful *Yaḥad* (?) — he will be cleansed of all his sins, and through a true and humble spirit will his iniquity be atoned for, and through the submission of his soul to all the laws of God will his flesh be cleansed as though [6]) sprinkled with purity-water and cleaned with water for purifying" DSD iii, 4 sqq.). "They [7]) shall not enter

[1]) *De bello* ii, 129; 138; 149-150; *Antiquities* xviii, 19.

[2]) *Vide* KITTEL, *Theol. Wörterbuch z. N.T.*, i, 534; iv, 304. On the connotation of ἁγνεία *vide* i, 123.

[3]) This point has to be stressed. The observation of the simple Biblical laws of purity was incumbent upon every Jew, and of course upon the DSC too. Thus CDC chapter xii [10, 11 sqq.] gives the *Halachah* of the Covenanters on these laws—as do the rabbinical sources. Cf. CDC xiv 1 [11, 19]; xiv 21 [12, 14].

[4]) Those who wish to speculate might try to make the DSC fight John the baptist, the early Christian community etc.

[5]) On יסר-יסד: „to command" see HABERMANN, *Sinai* xxxii [1953] p. 159.

[6]) The obvious interpretation of the infinitives as resultative would yield no sense in this context.

[7]) Instead of „he".

water so as to touch the purity of the men of holiness, for they cannot become clean save by turning from their wickedness" (*ib.* v 13 sq.).

Sects often regarded themselves as forerunners of the true kingdom of the future: their ways today foreshadow the ideal of the days to come. Small wonder, therefore, that the purity concept — which was evidently a most important issue — appears in DSD also on the eschatological level. "Then will God through his Truth purify all the acts of man and choose (refine for himself from) the sons of man so as to extirpate the Spirit of Evil from his flesh and cleanse him through the Spirit of Holiness from all the deeds of Evil, and sprinkle upon him the Spirit of Truth like purifying water" (*ib.* iv 20 sq.) [1]).

To this fundamental difference [2]) we must add, of course, those divergences which the propounders of the Essene theory have tried to belittle [3]). To the *ex silentio* arguments no much weight can be attached; more important is the different attitude shown to women and warfare [4]). The difference in the attitude towards sacrifices, stressed especially by Delcor [5]), might not exist at all [6]). The alleged Essene belief in resurrection (*loc.cit.*) might prove a greater obstacle.

I would like, however, to adduce some new points, though this seems by now to be superfluous. According to our sources the Essenes were clearly a sect of the "twice-born" type. After having passed successfully the period of probation the novice was initiated and became a member — for ever. He could be punished for breaking the law; but there was only *one* initiation. The DSC, however, were of the "annual-birth" type: The community had to undergo the equivalent of an initiation year after year — typologically a most important difference [7]).

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[1]) This is totally different from the concept of the purification of man by the spirit of God, as uttered by the Prophets (against Brownlee, *BASOR Suppl. Stud.* 10-12 [1951] p. 11 n. 42). It is up to N.T.-scholars to decide if Mark i 8 = John i 33 = Acts i 5 express a related idea. Heb. x 22; Tit. iii 5; Eph. v 26 and 1 Cor. xii 13 seem to express quite a different thought.

[2]) To my mind it is impossible that such a divergence is the outcome of a historical development.

[3]) Dupont-Sommer, p. 89 sqq.; Brownlee, p. 63 sq.

[4]) One cannot but admire the *midrashic* reconstruction which Dupont-Sommer (p. 91) has concocted to smooth over the difference between the Essenes — singled out for their peaceful attitude — and DSW. Burrows (p. 179) rightly stresses this point.

[5]) *RB* lviii [1951], p. 592.

[6]) The answer depends, as will be recalled, on a spurious οὐκ in Josephus-manuscripts.

[7]) *Vide* DSD ii 19. This rite should not be confused with the annual promotion tests (v. 24).

There seems to be also an interesting difference as regards the maximum punishment. We learn from Josephus [1]) that the Essenes punished with death any irreverance towards the name of the lawgiver [2]). Such a law, however, is opposed to the spirit of the DSC. With them — characteristically enough — the severest punishment is . . . expulsion from the sect, from the community of the chosen [3]).

It is not clear, if the attitude to private possessions was different. The Covenanters had their private possessions not only in the state of disintegration depicted in CDC (xviii 25 [14, 13]) [4]), but also in the DSD-state. Without this assumption the law "If he shall commit a trespass against the property of the community . . . he shall pay it in full" [5]) would be meaningless: How can he pay back to the community, if he has no private possessions [6])? The Essenes, however, seem to have had no private property whatsoever [7]).

One could mention also some other points such as the "gnostic" colouring of the DSS, the different principles of hierarchy within the sect, the DSD concept of God as being ultimately the source of Good *and* Evil. These points might help to strengthen my view; I do not attach much weight to them. The DSC were a Jewish religious sect of monastic character — just as were the Essenes. That much we knew when we began our survey — and for the time being we know no more.

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[1]) *De bello* ii 145.

[2]) Dupont-Sommer (p. 91) seized upon the suggestion that this refers to the founder of the sect—according to him none but the *Master of Justice* of the DSS.

[3]) Cf. DSD vi 27; vii 17; viii 22; ix 1. Cf. CDC ix: 42 [8,25] sqq. The fate of the apostate is not worse than that of the man who has never joined the community (ii 26)! I do not wish to argue that capital punishment was not practised, even when commanded by the Thorah, since CDC represents a later stage.

[4]) Margalioth (*Sinai* xxx, p. 9 sqq. [in modern Hebrew]) has not been able to prove his contention that CDC reflects an earlier state of affairs than DSD. He is content to map out a possible development of the sect without realising that a sect is a sociological structure which generally develops along certain lines: from a strictly disciplined organisation to a more and more loosely knit community. He who maintains that the opposite has taken place has the burden of proof thrown upon him. I hope to deal with this problem at greater lengths on another occasion.

[5]) DSD vii 6. Cf. vii 25; viii 23.

[6]) I wonder, if some scholar will advance the theory that the Covenanters got their weekly pocket-money allowance.

[7]) It must be stressed that this assumption seems to be contradicted by one of the passages on the Essenes. See Bauer's discussion on „Essenes" in *Pauly-Wissowa*, Suppl. iv, col. 410 sqq.

THE DESERT SOJOURN OF THE HEBREWS AND THE SINAI-HOREB TRADITION

BY

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In his work on 'Monuments of the Lands and the History of Men' [1]), written in the beginning of the 14th century, the Arab writer Al-Qazwîni adduces an interesting confirmation of the tradition of the 'miraculous' feeding of the Hebrews in the desert by quails. Describing a district Jifār in the vicinity of Al-Arish [2]), Al-Qazwîni refers to seasonal flights of birds of the quail species which migrate from Europe. This confirms the statement of Numbers xi 31 (J) [3]), which alone mentions the most important fact that the quails came from the sea. Al-Qazwîni goes on to record that the natives of the district killed the birds wholesale and preserved them in salt. Though Al-Qazwîni does not mention it, the salt would probably be procured from the natural salt-pans of Lake Bardawîl, the Sirbonian Bog of the classical writers, which has been taken by some authorities as the scene of the crossing of the 'Sea of Reeds' [4]). The phenomenon of the quails, of course, is quite familiar in modern times, when the natives of the coast south of Gaza set up nets for the unfortunate migrants, which fly very low. Often indeed, no nets are necessary since the birds, after their long flight, alight on the point of exhaustion and cannot immediately take wing again. Before the late war thou-

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[1]) Al-Qazwîni, *ʾAṯār al Bilād wa ʾAḫbār al ʿibād*, ed. WÜSTENFELDT, Göttingen 1849.

[2]) *Op. cit.*, p. 120.

[3]) Other references are Exodus xvi 13 (P), Psalm cv 10.

[4]) BRUGSCH, *Egypt under the Pharaohs* (E.T.), II, pp. 390 ff. Valuable local knowledge is given on the basis of personal experience by JARVIS, "The Forty Years Wandering of the Israelites", *PEQ*, 1938, pp. 25-40. EISSFELDT locates the episode here in the vicinity of Baal Zephon, which was near Pelusium. Noting the difficulty of identifying Ṣabḫat al Bardāwîl with יַם סוּף in passages where that term refers to the Gulf of Aqaba, he finds that in the earlier (prophetic) sources, as against the Deuteronomic passages and later psalms, there is no mention of יַם סוּף but simply of הַיָּם. *Baal Zaphon, Zeus Kasios und der Durchzug der Israeliten durchs Meer*, 1932, pp. 39 ff.

sands of these poor creatures were slaughtered and sent by waggon-loads to the towns of Palestine and Syria.

This small scrap of local knowledge has a definite bearing on the question of the desert sojourn of the Hebrews before their settlement in Palestine. Here is no reflection of a late tradition of the monarchic period. From the time of their settlement in Palestine [1]) the Hebrews were effectively debarred from the coast, at least south of Jaffa, by the Philistines, who obliged the tribe of Dan to migrate even from the Judaean foothills twenty miles east of Jaffa [2]). Nor could the Hebrews have known about the quails in the south of the Sinai peninsula. This precise piece of information about the migrant quails, in fact, is further authentication of the tradition which associates the Hebrews with the vicinity of Qadesh in the North Sinai desert.

In this connection we may cite the view of MOWINCKEL, who has recently emphasized the significance of Qadesh in the Exodus tradition [3]). Like GRESSMANN [4]), he finds that all the really concrete traditions of the desert wanderings of the Hebrews are attached to Qadesh, and all points which may with any probability be fixed centre around Qadesh, which he identifies with the oasis around 'Ain Qedeirat [5]). We may remark that such an oasis, though there is no evidence that it was developed until the end of the first phase of the Iron Age (c. 10th century [6])), was a more natural objective for the fugitives from Egypt than the distant granite desert in the south of the peninsula, where there were Egyptian mining camps and

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[1]) We take the final and decisive phase of the Hebrew penetration of Palestine as falling in the last quarter of the 13th century.

[2]) The distance from Jaffa to Ṣarah, the traditional home of Samson the Danite.

[3]) MOWINCKEL, "Kadesj, Sinai, og Jahve", *Norsk Geografisk Tidsskrift*, XI, 1942, pp. 1-32.

[4]) GRESSMANN, *Mose und Seine Zeit*, 1913, pp. 123 ff.

[5]) MOWINCKEL, *op. cit.*, pp. 2-7.

[6]) LAWRENCE and WOOLLEY attest the remains of a fort here with sherds which they date at the earliest 'in the whole period 1800-900', *The Wilderness of Zin*, 1915, pp. 64 ff. GLUECK examined the site and on the evidence of the surface pottery dated the fort between the 10th and the 8th centuries, *AASOR*, XV, 1934, pp. 118-119. DE VAUX and SAVIGNAC find that the fort was built on an earlier installation, though they find no evidence of Bronze Age occupation (pre-12th century), „Nouvelles Recherches dans la Région de Cadès", *RB*, XLVII, 1938, pp. 89-100. OLMSTEAD suggested that this was one of the *migdaloth* built by Uzziah in the Negeb (2 Chronicles xxvi 10), *History of Palestine and Syria*, 1931, pp. 418-419. The pottery, however, suggests a date earlier than the time of Uzziah and the fort may have been built by Solomon to guard the oasis, which would be a vital entrepôt on an important trade-route from Aqaba to Palestine and Egypt.

barracks at that period [1]). Indeed, if the fugitives had gone south, they would in all probability have ended their adventure ignominiously as conscripts in the turquoise and copper mines. Furthermore, the distance of ʿAin Qedeirat from the Delta accords better with the request of Moses to lead his people a distance of three days [2]) into the desert [3]). The sanctity of the locality is indicated by the name Qadesh as well as by the modern place-name ʿAin Qadeis, a well in the vicinity of ʿAin Qedeirat, and MOWINCKEL, with GRESSMANN, would locate Meribat Qadesh, Maṣṣa, and Mara here, as well as ʿAin Mishpaṭ of Genesis xiv 7, which is associated in this passage with the Amalekites. That people, whose inveterate enmity to the Hebrews is so well attested throughout the O.T., is located in the Negeb in the narrative of Saul's expedition against the Amalekites on the memorable occasion when Agag was hewn in pieces before the Lord [4]). MOWINCKEL notes that Qadesh was the first objective of the Hebrews and, with GRESSMANN, he would regard the whole 'Mount Sinai-Horeb' episode as an interpolation between Exodus xvii and Numbers xx [5]), where the Qadesh tradition is resumed. He suggests that the Sinai-Qadesh tradition may reflect the cult of the deity on such holy mountains as the Zion Hill after the Hebrew occupation of the hill-country of Palestine [6]). This would aptly account for the emphasis on the legal and ritual elements in the Sinai-Horeb tradition, which we have shown to reflect the agricultural cult of Canaan implied in the mythological texts from Ras Shamra [7]).

It is generally pointed out that the tradition which locates the holy mountain of Sinai-Horeb in the South of the Sinai peninsula can be traced back definitely only to the 4th century A.D. and is not

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[1]) LUCAS, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries*, 1948, pp. 233 ff.

[2]) Exodus iii 18 (J). The number, of course, may not be literally accurate.

[3]) GRESSMANN accepts the view that this journey to Marah, where the Israelites received statutes and were tested (Exodus xv 22 ff. (J)), led them to this vicinity. He locates Maṣṣah of Exodus xvii 1-7 (J), which was apparently identical with Marah, Meribah (Exodus xvii 7) and Qadesh in the vicinity of ʿAin Qedeirat, *op. cit.*, pp. 123-124. So MOWINCKEL, *op. cit.*, pp. 5-7, and ROWLEY, *From Joseph to Joshua*, 1950, pp. 104-106. Here it is pointed out that Judges xi 16 visualizes Qadesh as the immediate objective.

[4]) 1 Samuel xv.

[5]) MOWINCKEL, *op. cit.*, p. 14. So GRESSMANN, *op. cit.*, pp. 123-124.

[6]) MOWINCKEL, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

[7]) GRAY, "Cultic Affinities between Israel and Ras Shamra", *ZAW*, LXIII, 1949/50, pp. 207-220.

Jewish but Christian. This view must be qualified by the evidence of MORITZ, who has adduced a number of much earlier North Arabic graffiti from the Wadi Feirān in the vicinity of the holy mountain of Christian tradition [1]). Those he has shown to be dated according to the era of Boṣra in the Hauran and fall between 149 and 253 A.D. [2]) There is, furthermore, an indication that the pilgrim-cult of this locality goes back earlier still. Diodorus Siculus [3]) and Strabo [4]), both of whom were the contemporaries of Julius Caesar and Augustus, both attest the sanctity of an oasis on the eastern shore of the southern part of the peninsula. This was a place of pilgrimage and there was an altar with a male ministrant and a female, who apparently held hereditary office. Since Diodorus in his communications on the Red Sea region relies largely on Agatharchides, who wrote in Alexandria in the 2nd century B.C., there is good reason to carry the Sinai-cult back to that date at least, though there is no reason to connect it with Jewish tradition, since Diodorus and Strabo, both apparently using the same source, expressly name local North Arabian pilgrims. It is conceivable, however, that during their sojourn at Qadesh in the North of the Sinai peninsula [5]) the Hebrews may have been attracted to such a place of pilgrimage in the south, though this must be largely a matter of conjecture.

It is significant, however, that the earlier sources in the O.T. locate the desert cult of Jahweh in the north of the peninsula. The Song of Deborah, which is one of the earliest documents in the

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[1]) MORITZ, "Der Sinai-Kult in der heidnischer Zeit", *Abhandlungen der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Phil.-Hist. Klasse*, N. F., Band XVI, No. 2, 1916.

[2]) MORITZ suggests that Sinai became a place of pilgrimage for the North Arab peoples after the Romans occupied Petra, and declined in importance with the more intensive Roman occupation of the frontier areas after the fall of Palmyra in 271 A.D., *op. cit.*, p. 38. The theophoric names cited by MORITZ (p. 30) are late Nabataean. There is no indication of any Hebrew tradition at this time.

[3]) Diodorus Siculus III, 42-43.

[4]) Strabo XVI, 4, 18.

[5]) On the basis of Deuteronomy ii 14 ROWLEY supposes that 38 of the 40 years wandering were spent at Qadesh, *From Joseph to Joshua*, p. 105. This passage, however, visualizes the whole period spent in the desert west of the ʿAraba, and there is nothing to suggest that it was spent wholly at Qadesh. Diodorus and Strabo both attest a 5-yearly pilgrimage to the holy mountain in the southern oasis. Such a periodic pilgrimage of a nucleus of the Hebrews would be practicable. The distance from Qadesh to Sinai-Horeb in the south is given as 11 days, Deuteronomy i 2. ABEL notes that this is roughly correct, according to his personal experience in 1906, *Géographie de la Palestine* 1933, I, pp. 393 ff.

O.T. [1]), associates Jahweh with Se'ir and Edom. The Blessing of Moses, where the separate tribal traditions reflect primitive conditions early in the settlement of Canaan [2]), associates Jahweh with Paran in the north of the peninsula and also with Se'ir in Edom. The third chapter of Habakkuk, long suspected as an independent document, or at least resting on old materials [3]), associates the cult-home of Jahweh with Paran and with Kushan and Midian. Those associations of Jahweh with districts east of the 'Araba are significant, but need not militate against the Pentateuch tradition which locates the desert-cult west of this feature [4]), about Qadesh. In Habakkuk iii 3-7, the theophany strongly suggests Apollo as he was represented in Palestine in the Hellenistic period, when he was actually accepted as the Greek counterpart of Kos, the god of Edom, with his cult established at Ascalon [5]). It is rather significant that, in spite of the admitted consanguinity of the Hebrews and the Edomites, the O.T. gives no hint of the identity of the national god of Edom. Indeed, we know Kos as the deity in question only through the obviously theophoric names of two Edomite kings in Assyrian inscriptions

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[1]) Judges v 4-5. ALBRIGHT associates the Song of Deborah on stylistic grounds with the Ugaritic epics and the triumphal hymns of Ramses II and Tikultu-Ninurtu of Assyria, both of the 13th century, *BASOR*, 62, 1936, pp. 30 ff., "The Psalm of Habakkuk", *Studies in Old Testament Prophecy*, ed. ROWLEY, 1950, pp. 5-6. He would date the poem about the first half of the 12th century, terming it 'a kind of Canaanite rococo exaggeration of the florid style of the Canaanite epics' of two centuries earlier. The poem seems to have more of the native vigour of the tribal warsong and Arab *saj'* than the literary craftsmanship postulated by ALBRIGHT.

[2]) Deuteronomy xxxiii 2. ALBRIGHT dates this 'as a whole' to the end of the 11th century, "The Psalm of Habakkuk", *op. cit.*, p. 9.

[3]) Habakkuk iii 3. ALBRIGHT regards this passage and the third chapter of Habakkuk as essentially part of the whole book, though containing older elements. He regards it as the consciously archaizing production of Habakkuk, a temple-prophet in the last years of the first Temple. It must be noted that the Hebrew 'commentary' in the Dead Sea scrolls ignores the third chapter of the book, which might suggest that this chapter was indeed independent. The omission, however, may simply be due to the fact that it suggested nothing to the purpose of the sectaries who wrote this most topical and tendentious 'commentary'.

[4]) Cf. NIELSEN, who locates the Sinai-Horeb episode in the neighbourhood of Petra, where the Mosaic tradition is so strong in native folk-lore, "The Site of the Biblical Mount Sinai", *JPOS*, VII, 1927.

[5]) Herod's family were said to have been connected with the cult of Apollo at Ascalon. EUSEBIUS, *Eccl. Hist.* i 6, 2; 7, 11. In the time of Alexander Jannaeus the inhabitants of Gaza, then largely Idumaean, took refuge in the temple of Apollo there. Josephus, *Antt.*, XIII, xiii, 3. Apollo is represented on coins of Rafah. HILL, *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Palestine in the British Museum*, p. lxxxiii.

of the 8th and 7th centuries [1]) and Greek inscriptions of the Ptolemaic period [2]). From the silence of the Hebrew records in this matter we rather suspect that Kos of Edom and Jahweh of Israel had originally too much in common for the liking of Hebrew orthodoxy. The affinity was therefore obscured in discreet silence, though in the third chapter of Habakkuk it appears. This passage, then, authenticates the tradition of the sojourn of the Hebrews in north Sinai and their vital experience of Jahweh there, and militates very seriously against the location of this episode in the south of the Sinai peninsula.

The forty-days journey of Elijah to Horeb, perhaps the actual source of the tradition of the revelation at the holy mountain in the far south, which found concrete expression in the early Christian period of the Roman Empire, cannot seriously be cited as evidence. The number forty here, as in the patriarchal chronology and the date of the Exodus, is a snare to the unwary. Its significance as a round and rather indefinite number is familiar to all students of Hebrew and Arabic literature. Apart from its occurrence in the narrative of Elijah's journey and the statement of 1 Kings vi 6, which reckons back 480 years (40 × 12) from the dedication of the Temple to the date of the Exodus, the following instances of the number forty in the Biblical tradition are found, and the list is by no means

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[1]) Kaušmalaku on a tablet of Tiglath-Pileser III from Nimrud, dated 728 B.C., LUCKENBILL, *Ancient Records of Assyria*, I, § 801. Kaušgabri on a prism commemorating the restoration of a palace of Esarhaddon at Nimrud, LUCKENBILL, *op. cit.*, II, § 690. The same individual is mentioned on a cylinder of Assurbanipal, LUCKENBILL, *op. cit.*, II, § 876.

[2]) This deity is probably indicated in the theophoric name ברקוס in Ezra ii 53. Other such theophoric compounds of Cos are Κοσνατανος, Κοσβανος, Κοσμαλαχος, Κοσγηρος, Κοσαδαρος, and Βορακος in inscriptions of the first half of the 2nd century B.C. from Memphis, MILLER, *Revue Archéologique*, 1870, pp. 109 ff. PETERS and THIERSCH attest the name Κοσνατανος among the inscriptions of the Ptolemaic period in the cave-tombs of Beit Jibrin, *Painted Tombs of Marissa*, 1905, p. 44. Josephus mentions Κωζαι as an Edomite god, *Antt.* XV, vii, 9, and the theophoric name קסנתך occurs in an inscription from Al-Ḥajr in the Ḥejaz from the beginning of the first century A.D. In this last inscription there is a reference to the temple of Qaish קישא, who appears probably as the deity قيس in the pre-Islamic period in North Arabia. This militates against the view of WELLHAUSEN, who would identify قيس with Cos of Edom, (*Reste des arabischen Heidentums*, 1897, p. 67) and supports that of NÖLDEKE, who would distinguish between the two deities, *ZDMG*, XLI, p. 714. An interesting instance of a Cos-theophoric, Κοσβαραχος, is found at a tomb or sanctuary (?) in Cyrene, together with the ethnic 'Ιδουμαιος, which occurs several times. This feature has been dated to the reign of the Emperor Claudius (41-54 A.D.), PACHO, *Relation d'un Voyage dans la Marmarique, le Cyrénaique etc.*, 1827, pp. 393 ff., Pl. LXIV, No. 2.

exhaustive. The duration of the Flood is given as forty days and forty nights, which is the period Moses is said to have been on the holy mountain. Jesus was tempted forty days and forty nights and for the same period he is said to have appeared after his resurrection. The Hebrews wandered in the desert forty years; the land, during the Hebrew occupation in the period of the judges, had repeated seasons of peace lasting forty years; Goliath challenges Israel forty days; and Jonah gives Nineveh forty days notice of destruction. Here, obviously, is the stamp of popular tradition. Instances might be multiplied from Arab folk-lore [1]), from which we may conclude by citing what is perhaps the best-known example, Ali Baba and the Forty Thieves!

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[1]) CANAAN, *JPOS*, II, 1922, pp. 139-144.

THE VARIANTS OF DSI II

BY

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The first list of the variants from these fragments was published by Professor KAHLE in his excellent book *Die hebräischen Handschriften aus der Höhle* [1]). This publication will be a second temptation made on the basis of the whole material reconstructed by the late Professor SUKENIK.

In the first column we are giving the Massoretic text [2]), and in the second the variants of DSI II. An asteric before the words signs that DSI I has the same or a similar reading. From the common variants we have to learn, that both versions represent a special group of Bible MSS from textual point of view, inspite of the differences in the ortography, and are belonging to the same period. In the third column we are remarking parallels from the old translations of the Bible [3]), the bab. Talmud [4]) and other Hebrew MSS [5]). Naturally these parallels are not complete. However if we intend to fix the text and to value the real importance of such variants, we have to take into consideration the parallels too. In the light of them we shall not read with KAHLE [6]) דברי (= ודבר lix 4); תגשונה (= תאמנה lx 4) instead of דברו and תנשינה = תנשאנה.

The ortography of this MS. is generally the same as that of the Massoretic text, nevertheless we can see that the copyist uses special methods. He omits often the *Wāw* and the *Yôd* also in words where they are belonging to the root [7]).

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[1]) Stuttgart, 1951, p. 80-81.
[2]) *Biblia Hebraica*. ed. KITTEL-KAHLE, 1949 (= BH).
[3]) Septuaginta (= LXX); Vulgata (= Vulg.); Pešiṭṭa (= Peš.); Targum Jonathan (= Trg.).
[4]) Ed. Wilna and Cod. Monacensis. ed. STRACK.
[5]) KENNICOTT (= Ken.); DE ROSSI (= DR.); GINZBURG (= G.).
[6]) *Op.cit.*, 80-81.
[7]) This occurs sometimes in the Massoretic text too.

להושיעני	=	להשיעני	xxx	20
יאבדו	=	ויבשו	xli	11
ויניחהו	=	וינחה[ו]	xlvi	7
ובמנוסה	=	ובמנסה	lii	12
תבושי	=	תבשי	liv	4
ביצי	=	בצי	lix	5
מבציהם	=	מבציהם		
תעופינה	=	תעפינה	lx	8
ואוריד	=	ואריד	lxiii	6
מנוחתי	=	מנחתי	lxvi	1
ומגורתם [1]	=	ובמגרתם	lxvi	4

His other speciality is to write sometimes pairs of words together [2]):

במו־אש	=	במואש	xliii	2
לא תאחר	=	לאתאחר	xlvi	13
כמו־כן	=	כמוכן	li	6
ואת־דורו	=	ואתדורו	liii	8
כי־בשמחה	=	כיבשמחה	lv	12
אי־זה	=	איזה	lxvi	1
ואי־זה	=	ואיזה		
מי ראה	=	ימראה	lxvi	8

It is impossibile to distinguish in this MS. between *Wāw* and *Yôd* as well as in the Commentary of Habaqquq. Perhaps the head of the *Wāw* is a little smaller than that of the *Yôd*. I think so, we have also in this problem to take into consideration the old translations and not only the Massoretic text.

	ממלכתו	ממלכות	xiii	19
	השירה	השיר	xxvi	1
	*הזאת [3]	הזה		
	ויבאו	ויבא		2
Ken.	*יושבי	ישבי		5
Ken.	יבאנו	יבואנו	xxviii	15
LXX, Peš. Trg. Vulg.		יסד		16
Ken.	*יוסד [4]	והקימתי	xxix	3
Ken.	והקימו/תי/	עבר		15
	*עובר	לפתע	xxx	13
	לפתח [5]	יבוא		
	ויבוא			
Peš. also omits	— —	שויתי ... תשלימני	xxxviii	13
Ken. G.	/יה/וה	אדני		14

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[1]) Perhaps to this group belongs also: תושב = תשב (xliv 26).

[2]) The examples except of xlvi 13 and lxvi 8 are in the Massoretic text connected with *Maqqef*; אי־זה is also in a part of Bible MSS. written as one word.

[3]) DSI I : הזואת.

[4]) Or: ייסד; DSI I: מיסד.

[5]) The copyist has not distinguished between the Ḥeth and ʿAyin; see the bab. Talmud ʿErubin 53 b: בני גליל דלא דייקי לישנא מאי היא דתניא דההוא בר גלילא דהוה קאזיל ואמר להו אמר למאן אמר למאן אמרו ליה גלילאה שוטה חמר למירכב או חמר למישתי עמר למילבש או אימר לאיתכסאה.

	חשקה [1]	עשקה	xxxviii	14
	יד/בר/ [2]	ואמר		15
	היום כמוני	כמוני היום		19
Ken.	יודע	יודיע		
Trg.	אלה [3]	אל		
Ken. 159.	להשיעני	להושיעני		20
	אל	על		21
Ken. 182	יחזקיהו	חזקיהו		22
Ken. DR.	באצרו/תיו/	באצרתיו	xxxix	2
	*ויבוא	ויבא		3
Ken. DR.	/הראי/תם	הראיתים		4
Ken.	באצרו/ת/	באצרת		
	ו			
	טב	טוב	xli	7
LXX, Ken.	ו/ל/א	לא		
	ויבשו	ויאבדו		11
	ותשור [4]	ותאשור		19
Ken. 96.	יחדיו	יחדו		
Ken.	בוראך	בראך	xliii	1
	[ב]מואש	במו־אש		2
	ואתנה [5]	ואתן		4
	*אומר	אמר		6
Ken. 253	/בנ/יך	בני		
	ובנתיך	ובנותי		
Ken.	ולכבדי	ולכבודי		7
	ואף [6]	אף		
	אוציא [7]	הוציא		8
Ken.	*יחדיו	יחדו		9
DR. 850	*יגידו [8]	יגיד		
	ואחריי [9]	ואחרי		10
LXX, Vulg.	השמעתי	והשמעתי		12
Ken.	*גואלך [10]	גאלך	xliv	24
Ken.	*ויוצרך [11]	ויצרך		
Ken.	רוקע	רקע		

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[1]) Here has perhaps the copyist of the Massoretic text written ʿAyin instead of the original Ḥeth (see in the 17th vers: חשקת נפשי); proposed עשקה with Śin; Trg: קביל צלותי; Pes. פצנו.

[2]) Or: ודבר.

[3]) Ken. 96 omits; 30, 270, DR. 596 primo, Bibl. Compl.: את; see also the LXX and the Vulg, the commentaries of ʾAbraham ibn ʿEzra: אב לבנים יודיע, אלה ונראה כי יונתן תרגם אל כמו בצרי, כמו הארצות: האמונות and David Qimḥi: האל שתרגם אבהן לבנן יחוון גבורתך ויודון למימר דכל אילן קשוט וכן פירש החכם ראב״ע .. ואני תמה בזה כי לא ראינו בשום ספר אלא אל נקוד סגולה וסמוך במקום עם אמתך כמו האחר והמסורה אל אמתך שנים.

[4]) The copyist of DSI I omits also sometimes the Aleph; in this MS. lii 14. ה

[5]) DSI I אתן אדם instead of ואתן אדם of the Massoretic text.

[6]) See also the LXX, Peš. and Vulg.

[7]) Proposed by Oort and Ewald (Mentioned by Krauss in the Perush Maddai); see also the Bohairic translation (Ziegler, *Isaias*, Goettingen, 1939, p. 282).

[8]) DSI I: ויגידו. [9]) Or: ואחריו. [10]) DSI I: גואלכה.

[11]) DSI I: ויוצרכה.

	אתת	אתות		25
Ken.	וקוסמים	וקסמים		
Giṭṭin 56 b.	*יסכל [1]	ישכל		
Ken.	*האומר	האמר		26
	*תשב [2]	תושב		
Ken. DR.	וחרבתיה	וחרבותיה		
	*האומר	האמר		28
	*ישלים	ישלם		
LXX	*והרורים [3]	והדורים	xlv	2
	אוצרת [4]	אוצרות		3
Trg.	וזולתי	זולתי		5
Ken. G.	ליוצרו	ליצרו		9
Ken. G.	ויוצרו	ויצרו		11
	וגלתי	וגלותי		13
Ken.	*אסבול	אסבל	xlvi	4
LXX, Peš.	וישכרו [5]	ישכרו		6
LXX, Peš. Vulg. Ken. 145	*ויסגדו [6]	יסגדו		
Ken.	*וינחה/ו/	ויניחהו		7
Ken. G.	פשעים	פושעים		8
Ken. G.	הרחקים	הרחוקים		12
	לאתאחר	לא תאחר		13
	*זכרתי	זכרת	xlvii	7
	בלבה	בלבבה		8
Ken. 30	השמים	שמים		13
Ken. 245	מדרכיך	מדריכך	xlviii	17
LXX	*ולא [7]	לוא		
Ken.	שלמך	שלומך		18
	ארץ	הארץ		20
	צר	צור		21
Ken. 245 primo	בחרב	כחרב	xlix	2
	ה/תפאר/	אתפאר		3
Ken. 210	כלתי	כליתי		4
Trg.	אך [8]	אכן		
LXX, Peš. Ken. DR.	כה/אמר/	— /אמר/		5
G. Ken.	יוצרי	יצרי		
Trg.	הנקל [9]	נקל		
	ארץ	הארץ		
	*אדני/יהוה/ [10]	— /יהוה/		7
	גואל	גאל		
	יקומו [11]	וקמו		

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1) Also the internal text of Ken. and G.
2) See the introduction (Note 1).
3) DSI I: והרורים. 4) Ken. 269: ואוצרת. 5) Or: יישכרו.
6) Or: ייסגדו; DSI I: ויסגודו.
7) DSI: I ולוא.
8) LXX: לכן.
9) See the Commentary of David Qimḥi נפעל פועל עומד והקו״ף בצר״י ופירושה בתמיה והוא חסר ה״א התמוה כאלו אמר ה נ ק ל.
10) LXX 538 and the Syrolucian translation: κύριος ὁ θεός.
11) Or: וקומו; Ken. 195: יקמו; Old translations: ויקומו.

Ken. G.	*קדוש	קדש		
	[שמ]מת	שממות		8
LXX, Peš.	ומאזרי [1]	מאזרי	L	11
	ע/ל/	אל	li	1
	/ו/על	ואל		
Ken. G.	*ולאמי [2]	ולאומי		4
Ken.	*/וזר/ועי	וזרעי		5
	כמוכן	כמו כן		6
Ken. 96	ימותו	ימותן		
Ken. G.	*יודעי	ידעי		7
	*וממגדפתם [3]	ומגדופתם		
Ken.	*יחדיו	יחדו	lii	9
Ken. 95 also omits	— —	צאו מתוכה		11
	ובמנסה	ובמנוסה		12
Ken. G.	*הולך	הלך		
	וגבה ונשא	ונשא וגבה		13
	ותרו [4]	ותארו		14
LXX, Peš. Vulg.	*אל	על	liii	1
DR. 737 primo LXX, Peš. Vulg.	מכאבים	מכאבות		3
Ken. DR.	*וידע [5]	וידוע		
Vulg. Ken. 150	*ונבזה [6]	נבזה		
LXX, Peš. Ken. 351, primo 141.	*ומדכא [7]	מדכא		5
Ken. G.	*מפשעינו	מפשענו		
Ken.	שלמנו	שלומנו		
	*פיהו	פיו		7
	*לטבוח	לטבח		
	ממשפט [8]	וממשפט		8
	לקחו	לקח		
	ואתדורו	ואת דורו		
LXX	/יראה/*אור [9]	/יראה/ —		11
Ken.	*יסבול	יסבל		
LXX, Vulg. Trg.	*/חטא/י	חטא		12
LXX	*ולפשעיהם [10]	ולפשעים		
Ken.	מתר/יך/	מיתריך	liv	2
Trg.	*יירשו	יירש		3
Ken. G.	תבשי	תבושי		4
Ken. 91	אל [11]	ואל		

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[1]) The LXX and Peš. have translated מאירי (BH).

[2]) DSI I: ולאמי. [3]) DSI I: ומגדפותם. [4]) See also xli 19.

[5]) DSI I: ויודע; see also Weisz, *Die Peschitta zu Deuterojesaia*, Halle. 1893, p. 43.

[6]) DSI I: ונבוזהו = Peš.

[7]) DSI I: ומדוכא.

[8]) LXX: (ἐν τῇ ταπεινώσει) ἡ κρισις αὐτοῦ (ἠρθη).

[9]) See I. L. Seeligmann (*Bibliotheca Orientalis* 1949, p. 7-8).

[10]) DSI I: ולפשעיהמה.

[11]) DSI I: ואל.

	תחפר/י/ [1]	תחפירי		
Ken.	אלמנתך	אלמנותיך		
Ken.	*וגואלך [2]	וגאלך		5
Ken. 8	*דויד	דוד	lv	3
Ken. G.	לאמים	לאומים		4
Ken.	*לאום/ים/	לאמים		
	/וגוי/אשר [3]	/וגוי/ —		5
LXX, Vulg.	*וקדוש [4]	ולקדוש		
	/מחשבותי/כם	מחשבותי		8
	מחשבותי	מחשבותיכם		
	כי			
	כאשר	כי כאשר		10
Ken. G.	*את /אשר/	— /אשר/		11
	שלחתי	שלחתיו		
	כיבשמחה	כי בשמחה		12
	תצאון	תצאו		
	ימחוו [5]	ימחאו		
Trg. Vulg. Megilla 10 b, Ken. DR. G. Qere	*ותחת	תחת/2/		13
	ך			
	הספד	הסרפד		
Ken.	*שומר	שמר	lvi	2
Trg. Ken. G. Madin	על	אל		3
Ken.	שבתתי	שבתותי		4
	/וב/חמתי	ובחומתי		5
	ה			
	נכר	הנכר		6
Ken.	והביאתים	והביאותים		7
Ken. G.	עלתיהם	עולתיהם		
	לנקבצו	לנקבציו		8
	חייתו	חיתו /2/		9
Ken.	יכלו	יוכלו		10
	והם	והמה		11
	אקח	אקחה		12
Trg.	/יבא/ו	יבא	lvii	2
Ken.	משכבתם	משכבותם		
Ken.	הולך	הלך		
Ken. 300	*נכחה [6]	נכחו		
	ואשלמה	ואשלם		18
LXX, Peš.	ואל	אל	lviii	1
LXX, Vulg.	*אתי [7]	ואותי		2
Ken. 125	*ראיתה	ראית		3
LXX, Trg. Vulg.	*נפשתינו [8]	נפשנו		
	לא/תדע/	ולא/תדע/		
Ken.	עצבכם	עצביכם		

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[1]) DSI I: תחפורי. [2]) DSI I: וגואלכי. [3]) LXX and Vulg: וגוים אשר.
[4]) DSI I: וקדוש.
[5]) Or: ימחיו; DSI I: ימחוא; see my notes in *Kirjath Sepher* XXIX (1953) p. 219.
[6]) DSI I: נכחה.
[7]) DSI I: אותי. [8]) DSI I: נפשותינו; Ken. DR. G.; נפשינו.

Trg. Peš.	*ולמצה [1]	ומצה		4
Ken.	להכות	ולהכות		
Ken. DR. G.	ולא	לא		
LXX	ויום	יום		5
LXX	ראשך [2]	ראשו		
Ken.	*שק	ושק		
Ken. 294	*יום	ויום		
Ken.	חרצבת	חרצבות		6
Ken.	אגדת	אגדות		
Peš. Trg.	*מטה [3]	מוטה		
LXX, Vulg.	שלח	ושלח		
Ken. 80	רצצים	רצוצים		
Peš.	מטה	מוטה		
Ken. G.	*פרוס	פרס		7
	עניים	ועניים		
Ken. 1	מרדים	מרודים		
Ken. G.	*ערום	ערם		
	ארכתך	וארכתך		8
LXX, Peš. Vulg. Ken. G. 'Aboda Zara 5 a.	*וכבוד [4]	כבוד		
	תשוע	תשוע		9
LXX, Peš. Trg. Ken.	מטה	מוטה		
Ken.	בצחצחת [5]	בצחצחות		11
	*יחלצו [6]	יחליץ		
	מ			
	וכוצא	וכמוצא		
Ken.	*גדר	גדר		12
Trg. Peš. Vulg. Peš. Vulg. Trg. Ken. DR. G.	משיב [7]	משבב		
	חפצך	חפציך		13
Vulg. Sabbath 119 a, Ken. G.	*ולקדוש [8]	לקדוש		
Peš. Trg. Ken.	דרכך	דרכיך		
LXX, Peš. Trg.	*והרכיבך [9]	והרכבתיך		14
Ken. G. Qere	במתי	במותי		
Peš. Sanhedrin 65 b. Ken. 158	— /אם/ [10]	כי /אם/	lix	2
Ken. G.	*מבדילים	מבדלים		
Ken. 150	ובין	לבין		

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1) DSI I: ולמצא.

2) LXX: τραχηλον = Peš.: צורה; Aquila, Symmachus, Theodotion: κεφαλην.

3) See JULIAN MORGENSTERN, "Two Prophecies of the Fourth Century B. C. and the Evolution of Yom Kippur", *HUCA* XXIV, 1952-1953 p. 23.

4) Cod. Monacensis omits this part of the vers.

5) DSI I: בצצחות. 6) DSI I: יחליצו.

7) See also the Commentary of Shelomo Jizḥaqi תרגם יונתן מתיב רשיעיא לאורייתא. משובב כמו משיב

8) DSI I: ולקדש.

9) DSI I: והרכיבכה.

10) The original text of the Cod. Monacensis was also without אם, but corrected between the lines on the basis of the Massoretic text; LXX: ἀλλα; Vulg.: sed.

Ken. G.	וחטאתיכם	וחטאותיכם		
Ken. G.	ואצבעתיכם	ואצבעותיכם		3
Ken. G.	*קורא	קרא		4
LXX, Peš. Vulg.	בטחו [1]	בטוח		
	*דברו [2]	ודבר		
LXX, Peš. Vulg.	*והולידו [3]	והוליד		
Ken. 150, 172	*בצי	ביצי		5
Ken.	*האוכל	האכל		
Ken.	*מבציה/ם/	מביציהם		
Ken. G.	מחשבתי/הם/	מחשבותיהם		7
LXX.	/ימו/ש	ימושו		21
	והערפל	וערפל	lx	2
	וכבדו	וכבודו		
Ken. 611	תנשינה [4]	תאמנה		4
LXX, Trg. Vulg.	*אליך	עליך		5
Vulg.	יבוא [5]	יבאו		
Ken. G.	ולבנה	ולבונה		6
Syh.	תהלת	ותהלת		
	יבשרון	יבשרו		
Ken.	*ל/רצון [6]	על רצון		7
Ken. 687	תעפינה	תעופינה		8
Ken.	על	אל		
Ken.	וברצני	וברצוני		10
Ken. G.	*חרוב	חרב		12
Ken.	בראש	ברוש		13
DR. 319	תרהר [7]	תדהר		
Ken.	*יחדיו	יחדו		
Ken. G. DR.	*כל/בני/ [8]	— /בני/		14
Ken.	*וגואלך	וגאלך		16
Ken.	בגבלך	בגבוליך		18
Ken. G.	חמ/תיך/	חומתיך		
Peš. Ken. 30, 181 also omit.	— — — —	ואלהיך.. עולם		19-20
	מטעיו [9]	מטעו		21
LXX, Vetus latina.	*ידיו [10]	ידי		
'Aboda Zara 20 b, [11] Ken. DR.	/יה/וה אלהים ש	אדני יהוה	lxi	1
	לחני [12]	שלחני		
Ken.	*/פ/קחקח [13]	פקח קוח		

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1) See also the Trg.
2) The old translations: ודברו.
3) Ken. 258: והולידי; see also the Trg.
4) Ken. 611: על כתף תנשאנה; 96: תאמנה תנשאנה; see also the LXX (Zillesen, *ZAW*, XXII, p. 254).
5) Proposed: יָבִיאוּ. (BH).
6) DSI I: לרצון על; Trg. Peš. 'Aboda Zara 23 b.
7) DSI I: ותהרהר. 8) DSI I: כול.
9) Or: מטעיי; DSI I: מטעי יהוה. 10) Or: ידיי.
11) Cod. Monacensis: רוח י״י; DSI I: רוח יהוה; see also the LXX.
12) DSI I (between the lines): של חני.
13) DSI I: פקחקוח.

	מלכה	מלוכה	lxii	3
Ken. G.	חמ/תיך/	חומתיך		6
Ken. 112	*— /לא/	תמיד/לא/		
	לכם [1]	לו		7
	— —	עד יכונו		
Ken.	ע/ד ישים/	ועד /ישים/		
	בימיץ/עזו/	בימיו .../עזו/		8
	*עוד את/ ד/ענך [2]	את /דענך/עוד		
Trg. Ken.	בחצרות	בחצרות		9
	אבן	מאבן		10
	בצדק	בצדקה	lxiii	1
Ken.	*כדורך	כדרך		2
	*טאלתי	אטאלתי		3
	ואב טה	ואביט		5
Trg.	איש [3]	עזר		
	ואשתוממה	ואשתומם		
	*/וא/בוסה	ואבוס		6
	*ואשכירם [4]	ואשכרם		
	*ואורידה [5]	ואוריד		
Ken. G.	*ינעו	יינעו	lxv	23
	ברכי	ברוכי		
	הם	המה		
	והיה			
	טרם	והיה טרם		24
	*המה	הם		
Ken. G.	*איזה	אי־זה	lxvi	1
Ken. G.	*ואיזה	ואי־זה		
	מנחתי	מנוחתי		
	*תכאה [6]	תכה		2
Ken. G. Madin.	אל /דברי/ [7]	על /דברי/		
Ken. G.	*עורף	ערף		3
	*ו/במגרתם [8]	ומגרתם		4
	מיראה	מי־ראה		8
Ken. G.	*נו/טה/	נטה		12
Ken. DR. G.	*/אח/ת	אחד		17
	בא/שר/	כאשר		22
	א			
	הנשים	האנשים		24

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[1]) Peš: להון; Ken. 76: לך.
[2]) DSI I: עוד דענך מאכל = Peš.
[3]) See Is. xli 28.
[4]) DSI I: ואשכירמה.
[5]) DSI I: ואורידה.
[6]) DSI I: תכאי; see also BH.
[7]) DSI I: לדברי; Trg.: לקבל פתגמי.
[8]) DSI I: ובמגרותיהמה.

ECHOES OF CANAANITE LITERATURE IN THE PSALMS

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Although the influence of Canaanite literature on the Bible has been increasingly recognized, especially since the surprising discoveries of Ugarit (Ras Shamra) [1]) in 1929, it is as regrettable that this light has not yet penetrated into all biblical circles [2]), as it is certain that still more light can be gained from the same source. The present paper offers some instances where the Bible, and particularly passages in the Psalms, are better understood in such light.

In Ps. ix 6 we have the phrase שמם מחית לעולם ועד "their name thou hast destroyed forever and ever". This notion of destroying the name of someone, familiar to us from the Ancient Near East, really means, of course, that all memory of the proscribed person is to be eradicated, as is explicitly confirmed by Ex. xvii 14 אמחה את־זכר עמלק (LXX-τὸ μνημόσυνον) as compared with Dt. xxv 19 תמחה את־זכר עמלק (LXX-τὸ ὄνομα!). This was most effectively achieved by destroying either the person himself, with whom the name was identified and here the texts of Dt. ix 14, xxix 19; Ex. xxxii 32 and Ps. lxix 29 are to be considered; or else their posterity, similarly identified, as confirmed by 2 Kgs. xiv 27 ישראל (LXX-τὸ σπέρμα) ולא־דבר יהוה למחות את־שם. The meaning of "seed" for שם is evidently present in Ps. cix 13 [3]) and

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[1]) In addition to Cl. SCHAEFFER's *Ugaritica* I (Paris, 1939), *Ugaritica II* (Paris, 1949) and initial reports by Ch. VIROLLEAUD and Cl. SCHAEFFER in *Syria* since vol. x (1929), see R. DE LANGHE, *Les textes de Ras Shamra-Ugarit et leurs rapports avec le milieu biblique* (2 vols., Gembloux et Paris, 1945); for the grammar see C. GORDON, *Ugaritic Handbook* (Rome, 1947), pp. 283.

[2]) E. g. see ADOLPHE LODS, *Histoire de la littérature hébraique et juive* (Paris, 1950), pp. 1054 and *Die Heilige Schrift in deutscher Übersetzung: das Alte Testament* (Echter-Bibel edited in Würzburg, 1949-50), where such a lacuna is felt.

[3]) The second half of the verse reads "May their name be wiped out in the second generation."

it is paralleled clearly with it in 1 Sam. xxiv 22 as may be seen from the text: את־שמי מביח אבי ... את־זרעי אחרי ... [1]). Lack of posterity, being one of the greatest calamities that could befall, is the subject of touching recitals and the Ugaritic tales of Keret and Aqhat in some ways are a typical counterpart to that of Abraham in Gen. xv 2-3 [2]). It is not by accident that in the institution of Levirate marriage, whereby a man would take the wife of his deceased brother and the son first born to them would take that deceased brother's name, its purpose should be expressed in the following words ולא־ימחה שמו מישראל. But it is not only through children that oblivion is avoided. Ben Sira (xl 19) tells us that children and the foundation of a city perpetuate a name. We can feel therefore what is behind the words of Azitawaddu, king of the late Hittite citadel (c. 725 B. C.) at Karatepe in Cilicia, when he says (*Portal Inscription*, III, 12-4) "if (there be) a man who is a man of note (אדם שם) who should erase the name of Azitawaddu (אש ימח שם) from this gateway, and should put a name (there) ... (ושת שם) and (*ibid.* 16) should make (it) into a strange gate, and should put his name on it; ... (18) then may Baʿal Shamêm and El, the creator of the earth, and Shamash the eternal, and all the gods destroy (ומח) that royal person ... that man, who is a man of note (אש אדם שם) but the name of Azitawaddiya shall be forever like the names of Shamash and Yaraḥ". That is, he hopes that the city, Azitawaddiya, shall be of an everlasting dynasty in comparing it to the sun and moon; for this compare Ps. lxxii 5, 17, lxxxix 37-8.

In the light of this great concern for having a name and a blessed posterity, the passage in 1 Kgs. iv 7-19a has always been a source of discomfort to commentators. It lists twelve prefects of Solomon's administrative districts, but five of these who are in the regions of Mt. Ephraim, of Beth Shemesh and Aiyyalon, of Socho, of Dor and of Ramoth Gilead, are indicated as: *the son of Y*, whereas the other seven are listed by their own names, followed almost always by their father's respective names, thus: *X son of Y*. The usual explanation of this phenomenon is given by the latest commentary on the Book of Kings, that "an accident early befell the document, a vertical break at the right hand of the papyrus (?) left blank the initial names

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[1]) The Ugaritic phrase *ʿṯrt šm bʿl*, if it is not to be translated "Astarte, offspring of Baal", is certainly a surrogate of his in some way.

[2]) See U. Cassuto, "The Seven Wives of King Keret", *Bull. of the Amer. Schools of Oriental Research* 119 (1950), pp. 18-20.

in vv. 8-11, ... in v. 13." [1]) But A. ALT [2]) has now brought forward a much happier solution in proposing that these five names, which occur in quite Canaanite districts, represent individuals who occupied hereditary positions of royal and feudal service reaching back into pre-Israelite time, and hence they were indicated by the names of their fathers who were first invested and identified with the respective offices. This view ALT supports by a reasoned study of name-lists in Ugarit which refer to guilds and groups of feudal service to the king. The expression *bn Y*, as well as personal names, occurs often and cannot possibly refer to newly born children, as yet unnamed, nor to simple genealogical or tribal lists, nor to different ethnic or geographic groups. The phenomenon is restricted to official and administrative documents, and finds its most probable explanation in the fact that we are dealing with archival lists of state functionaries. Analogous expressions such as *TUR-Ana* and *TUR-Azimi* are found in the Amarna letters.

In Ps. xvi 2 we read "I said to Yahweh, my Lord art thou..." and the verse ends טובתי בל עליך which the LXX and Vulgate both translate: "You have no need of my goods", while Symmachus, the Targum (Jerusalem) and the new Roman version (1945) read "*non sine te*." This has suggested the emendation בלעדיך. Apart from the fact that טובתי is most naturally translated "my happiness" rather than goods, all the translations go too far. We may again have recourse to Phoenician where the particle *bl* is not only negative, as is well known (and cp. Ps. cxli 4b "And with men who work iniquity I shall never eat [ובל־אלחם] of their delicacies"), but it may also be asseverative. Thus, in the Ugaritic legend of Aqht, the phrase (2 Aqht i 21) *bl iṯ bn lh*, in the light of the preceding context, can be translated positively only, "may he indeed have a son." It is not impossible, therefore, that in Ps. xvi 2 we may read " ... my happiness is indeed in (lit. on) thee". For this use of *'al* compare Ps. vii 11 מגני על אלהים "my shield is in God."; in both cases *'al* indicates the source of support. To translate *'al* as "from" is an acceptable suggestion provided its force is not separative as in Ps. iv 7 "The light of thy

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[1]) J. A. MONTGOMERY, *The Books of Kings* (ICC) edited by H. S. GEHMAN (New York, 1951), p. 120. Likewise R. DE VAUX in *Les livres des Rois* (Paris, 1949), p. 37, note c, says "Le document d'archive inséré ici avait son bord détérioré: ce qui explique que, pour les premiers préfets, le nom de leur père soit seul conservé."

[2]) A. ALT, "Menschen ohne Namen" *Archiv Orientální* XVIII (= *Symbolae Hrozný* III), pp. 9-24.

countenance, Yahweh, has been taken from us", which is probably to be read. In any case, the view that a vestige of the asseverative *bl* is in Ps. xvi 2 eliminates radical emendation of the text, as well as unnatural translations. A possible reconstruction of the text however, like טובתי <י>בל עליך, yielding a meaning such as "My *profit* is in (or from) thee" or the like, merits consideration in the light of Ps. lxxxv 13.

If we are to read in Ps. xvii 8 כאישון בבת־עין "like the pupil *in* the apple of the eye" as emended from the Massoretic בת־', this emendation may appear unnecessary in view of the fact that the preposition *b* may be omitted in Ugaritic before the construct state of *bt* "house" [1]). If the sense of the emendation is, however, "like the pupil, the apple of the eye", then the emendation reinstates the word בבה*, which occurs only once otherwise, in Sach. ii 12 where it is preceded by the preposition *b*, thus "... for he who touches you, touches the apple of his (*sic*) eye" נגע בבבת עינו... Since in Lam. ii 18 we find the expression בת־עינך (similar to MT of Ps. xvii 8), the derivation being *bat* <*bant*<*bint* „daughter", it seems legitimate to ask if such is not the case in Sach. ii 12 as well, and if there is not some explanation for the double *b* there (preceded by the preposition *b*) other than the supposed בָּבָה*. The solution may be found in the Phoenician practice of multiplying labial consonants in prepositional phrases, e. g. למבירח ח' "from the month of H. on," or in Karatepe (*Portal* II, 2) לממצא שמש "from the rising of the sun."

In Ps. lviii 11b the idea of exulting in vengeance is expressed thus: "he (the just) will bathe his feet in the blood of the wicked" פעמיו ירחץ בדם הרשע as also in Ps. lxviii 24 ... למען תרחץ רגלך בדם "that you may bathe your feet in blood ..." [2]) This has a close parallel in Ugaritic literature where the goddess Anat commits great slaughter

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[1]) For examples see C. Gordon, *op. cit.*, p. 83 where he notes the same phenomenon in Gen. xxiv 23 and 2 Kgs. xi 25.

[2]) The MT has תמחץ "thou smitest" but in view of Ps. lviii 11 and the versions it is probably not to be retained. W. F. Albright in the best and most recent study of Ps. lxviii, "A Catalogue of Early Hebrew Lyric Poems (Psalm lxviii)," *The Hebrew Union College Annual* xxiii (1950-1951), pp. 1-39, has offered (*ibid.* pp. 15; 28 f.; 38) the ingenious reconstruction of v. 24a ... למ ענ'ת' (?) ת'ר'חצ "Why, O Anath (?) dost thou wash thy feet in blood ..." This avoids retaining the troublesome למען "in order that" and, of course, is consonant with our knowledge of Anath from Ugaritic. Moreover, that a pagan deity should be addressed in a Hebrew poem will seem less strange in light of an analogous apostrophe in Is. xiv 12 ff., cited by Albright.

and (*'nt*, ii 13f.) . . . *brkm . tǵ* [*11*] 14) *bdm. śmr . ḫlqm . bmm*[*'*] 15) *mhrm* . . . "She p[lunges] knee-deep in knights' blood, Hip-deep in the gore of heroes", and the words are repeated in lines 27-28. The tenor of the text in the following lines, however, 34) — *trḥṣ ydh . bdm . śmr* 35) [*u*]*ṣbt'h bmm'.mhrm* seems to favour the view of H. L. GINSBERG (as opposed to C. GORDON's, *UL*, p. 18) that it is now an ablution, with separative force of the preposition *b*, "She washes her hands of knights' blood, Her fingers of the gore of heroes", after she is sated with carnage. In any case the first section of the Anat tale gives a vivid Canaanite background to the phraseology of the Psalmist.

It has been more than once pointed out that Ps. lxviii is replete with Canaanite expressions and verbal images [1]). In verse 22 we read that "God smites the head of his enemies, the pate of the wicked [2]) who walks in his iniquities". Apart from the general similarity to this phrase which is found in the Ugaritic Baal epic (C. H. GORDON, *UH*, Text 68, 8-9) "Behold thy enemies, O Baal, behold, thy enemies shalt thou smite, behold thou shalt destroy thy foes" [3]), we have a still closer parallel in the Canaanite tricolon found in the Keret epic (C. GORDON, *ibid.* 127, 54-57) "May Horon break, O my son, may Horon break thy head (*rišk*), Ashtoreth, offspring of Baal, thy pate (*qdqdk*)"; see p. 165, n. 1. Remarkably close to this is a tricolon in an Egyptian magical papyrus, which dates from the Late Bronze Age: "The scimitar of Seth is against thee, O Smn, the sword (?) of Baal is (stuck) in thy head, O Smn, the bronze of Horus is (stuck) in thy vertex". [4]) It is to be noted that Baal or his equivalent is the agent in both the Ugaritic and the Egyptian passages, and so it seems to be fairly conclusive that H. L. GINSBERG (*Anc. Near Eastern Texts*, Princeton, 1950, p. 130 A) is right when he restores another passage in Ugaritic (C. GORDON, *UH*, 137, 7-8) to read: "May [Horon]

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[1]) See many articles by H. L. GINSBERG and W. F. ALBRIGHT in the *Bulletin of the Amer. Schools of Orient. Research*, *passim* since 1938; J. H. PATTON, *Canaanite Parallels to the Psalms* (Baltimore, 1944); T. H. GASTER, *Thespis*, pp. 424-427, 457-458; and especially ALBRIGHT's study cited in the preceding note.

[2]) The MT reads קדקד שׂער "the hairy head"; our translation would read קדקד רשע; cf. Hab. iii 13. If MT is not original, then the change came in before the versions, which follow MT. Other biblical texts similar to Ps. lxviii 22 are found in Num. xxiv 17, Jud. v 26, Ps. cx 6. W. F. ALBRIGHT, (*op. cit.*, p. 27), returning to a former opinion, reads *śā'ir*, thus "The skull of the goat-demon."

[3]) And compare Ps. xcii 10 "For behold thine enemies, O Lord, for behold thine enemies shall perish, shall be scattered all workers of iniquity."

[4]) Cf. the writer in *Orientalia* 21 (1952), pp. 37-46, for a fuller treatment of this passage, which is evidently of Canaanite origin.

break [O Yamm, May Horon break] thy head, Ashtoreth, Name of Baal, thy pate", as against GORDON's (*UL*, p. 12) "May [Horon] break [O Baal], etc. or T. GASTER's (*Thespis*, p. 136) "may [the Lord of Hell] split op[en, O Baal]", etc. Although we often experience sharp reversals of identity or characteristics in the ancient Oriental pantheons, it is asking too much in the present case to think that Baal is opposing himself when his quarrel is evidently with the Sea, Yamm. By the same token, the name of Judge River, occurring in line 6, is that of the addressee, not that of the speaker.

In meditating on the arrogance of the wicked, the Psalmist (Ps. lxxiii 9) says: שתו בשמים פיהם לשונם תהלך בארץ, "They direct (lit. set) their mouth towards heaven and their tongue goes about the earth". In the Ugaritic poem of the Gracious and Beautiful Gods, evidently of cosmogonic character, Dawn and Dusk are begotten by El and their ravenous appetites soon after birth are described (C. GORDON, *UH*, 52, 61-62) . . . *špt* 62) *larṣ* . *špt lšmm* . . . "One lip is (stretched down) to earth, one lip (upward) to the sky . . ." [1]) It is not impossible that the Psalmist used the wording of an early cosmogonic myth as a striking figure of speech to mark the colossal insolence of the impious. In keeping with the voracious appetite of Dawn and Dusk we find a more forceful application of the same phrase to the god Môt into whose ravenous maw Baal will descend in the season of declining vegetation. See the Baal epic (C. GORDON, *UH*, 67, 2-4) *špt larṣ* . *špt* . *lšmm* 3) [ ] *šn* . *lkhkhm* . *yʿrb* 4) [*bʿ*] *l* . *bkhdh* . *bph yrd* "One lip to earth and one lip to heaven, [He stretches his to]ngue to the stars, Baal enters within him, he descends into his maw." Here the closest parallel is the biblical application to the extended gullet and insatiable hunger of Sheol, the most striking example being found perhaps in Is. v 14; [2]) cf. also Hab. ii 5, Prov. i 12, and Ps. cxli 7.

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[1]) We must resist here the temptation to secure even greater verbal identity with the biblical text by reading the *šṭ* in Ugaritic which precedes the first *špt* (*ibid.*) as "they place one lip..." etc. The *šṭ* in question means "Lady" and belongs to the immediately preceding context . . . *bn ym ynqm bap šd šṭ špt* . . . etc. "sons one day old, they suck at the nipples of the Lady's breast; a lip..." etc.

[2]) The writer has recently come upon a tradition of the South Pacific islanders (but unfortunately lacks the reference) in which two primordial monsters of a cosmogonic tale have one lip to heaven, and one lip to earth. Of analogous cosmogonic interest is the figure of Ningirsu (Gudea, *Cylinder A*, col. 4, lines 14 ff.; col. 5, lines 13 ff.) whose stature equalled the heaven, and equalled the earth, being a god in his upper part, the Im-Dugud bird by his wings and the deluge by the lower part of his body. For parallels to the yawning mouth of Hell see the excellent literary cases cited by T. GASTER, *Thespis* (New York, 1950), p. 189

In Ps. lxxiv 9 we read "We no longer see our signs (אותתינו), a prophet is no more, and no one amongst us knows until when..." This Psalm certainly indicates its *Sitz im Leben* as some time after the destruction of the temple, since it describes the devastation wrought by the invader. The latter are most probably the Chaldaeans, and there is no conclusive reason to think of the Seleucids in this connection. Our verse is thus a poignant echo of the Lachish letters which mirror the last tragic days of the siege of Jerusalem in the autumn of 589 B. C. In Lachish letter iv, line 10 we read "and my lord will know that we are watching for the signals of Lachish according to all the signs which our Lord gives" ... אל משאת לכש נח(11)נו שמרם ככל האתת ... In Lachish letter iii, line 20 we have clear mention of a prophet, נביא who sends warning "Be on thy guard" תשמר [1]). In the light of these practically contemporaneous Hebrew letters it seems best to understand אותתינו of Ps. lxxiv 9 as "signals", at least of some sort (compare the אתות of the enemies in v. 4) rather than as miracles wrought by God, although the latter view may have some homiletic value. H. H. Rowley in *The Zadokite Fragments and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, (Oxford), 1952, p. 73 f. says that in v. 4 there is a reference to some enemy symbols erected in the temple. This view is possible but the verse may be corrupted at this point.

In Ps. li 21, a verse probably added to the Psalm for liturgical use in the period of the Exile, it is best to translate זבחי צֶדֶק not as sacrifices of justice, but as "lawful (or legitimate) sacrifices." This use of *ṣdq* is paralleled in the Keret legend (C. Gordon, *UH*, p. 184, KRT 12-13) *ḏṭt . ṣdqh . ỉypq* 13) *mtrḫt yšrh*, "His (Keret's) lawful wife he did find, His legitimate spouse".

The enclitic *mêm*, a fairly common feature in Ugaritic literature, has been recognized in frequent instances in the Bible, particularly by H. L. Ginsberg and W. F. Albright. This is true especially where it is found between the *regens* and the *rectum* of a construct chain. It is most clearly exemplified by the well-known case in Dt. xxxiii 11b where we should read *mḥâṣ moṯne-m qāmāw* "Smite the loins of his foes." [2]).

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[1]) It cannot be determined with certitude if the prophet in question was Jeremiah, although this is possible. There is no proof that the word prophet is mentioned in Letters vi 5, viii 3 or xvi 5. For the best study on this topic see D. Winton Thomas, *'The Prophet' in the Lachish Ostraca* (1946).

The signals of iv 20 are probably fire signals, as in the Mari letters, *iśâtam našûm*, for which compare the משאת of Jer. vi 1 and Jud. xx 40.

[2]) See W. F. Albright, "The Old Testament and Canaanite Language and Literature," *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* VII (1945), p. 23 f.

It is also found in Ps. lviii 17 where we should read *hārê-m gabnûnîm*, "ye doméd mountains", not *hārîm gabnûnîm* as seen from the הר גבנונים of v. 16. It may be present in Ps. xviii 16 also. [1]) We suggest now that we may have another case of the same kind in Ps. lxxvii 18a זֹרְמוּ מִים עָבוֹת, usually translated "The clouds poured down water" [2]). But the first word, as a verb, is a *hapax legomenon* in the Bible and it has been suggested (GESENIUS, *Hebrew Grammar*², 1910, § 55, note 1) that it is rather a *Puʿal* than a *Poʿēl* form. This may have given rise to the proposed emendation in KITTEL's *Biblia Hebraica*³ to read מֵעָבוֹת ... thus: "Waters are poured down from the clouds". The Septuagint version is of no help in the matter. However, if we read *zorʿmu mê-m ʿāḇoṯ*, taking the verb as neuter and not transitive, a natural translation is secured, "The waters of the clouds pour down". We suggest another example of enclitic *mêm*, though not in a construct case, in Ps. cxxv 1 *hab-bōṭēḥ-m ba-ʾaḏōnai* etc. „He who trusts in the Lord..."; the singular of the participle is perfectly in keeping with rest of the verse.

Another case of the enclitic *mêm* in a construct chain has been brought to the writer's attention by E. ARBEZ in the difficult text of Hosea xiv 3c. For the פרים שפתינו of MT we might read *parê-m šefattênū*, "the bullocks of our pens." W. F. ALBRIGHT (*op. cit.*, p. 22) has pointed out that the שפתים of Ps. lxviii 14 should be restored perhaps as משפתים and that, connected with the Ugaritic *mṯpdm*, it means "hearth". In the light of the perfectly natural reading of Hosea xiv 3c, however, it makes just as good sense in Ps. lxviii 14 to read "cattle enclosures" as "hearths" and indeed for a semi-nomadic people given to the raising of large cattle there cannot be a great difference between the two, since they are correlative in such a setting. By this very reasoning, nevertheless, we must admit that Hosea xiv 3c could easily be read פרי משפתינו although the translation "bulls of our hearths" is clumsy and unsuitable, and the enclitic *mêm*, of course, would be eliminated. We prefer, therefore, to read Hosea xiv 3c as first proposed, even though the words שפתים and משפתים are undoubtedly related.

In Ps. lxviii 19b the words לקחתָ מתנות באדם "thou hast taken

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[1]) Where the אפיקי מים "the water sources" should be read perhaps as אפיקי ים "the depths of the sea" as in 2 Sam. xxii 16. However the phrase of Ps. xviii 16 recurs in Ps. xlii 2.

[2]) Thus the new Roman Psalter² (1945) *Nubila profunderunt aquas.*

gifts from men", might indicate a strange use of the preposition *b* [1]). But the meaning "from" is found commonly enough in Ugaritic, and we need not cite examples. That the notions "in" and "from" can often have quite close semantic connections is clear from the English phrase "to drink from the cup" as compared with the French "boire dans la tasse". The writer notes that he has been anticipated by the independent translation of T. GASTER (*Thespis*, p. 426) but he is disinclined to look upon *ba-'adam*, as does GASTER (*ibid.*, p. 458), as a false interpretation of an original BDM = *miyyadam*. The suggestion of W. F. ALBRIGHT (*op.cit.*, p. 26) that verse 19 of our poem celebrated David's successful campaign in Zobah and that hence we should read "Thou hast received gifts from Aram", is certainly possible.

In Ps. lxxx 18 most translators, following the LXX presumably, read תהי־ידך על־איש יְמִינֶךָ על־בן־אדם אמצת לך as "May thy hand be on the man of thy right, on the son of man, whom thou hast strengthened for thyself". Perhaps we should translate, and more correctly, "Let thy hand be upon man, thy right hand (יְמִינְךָ) on the son of man" [2]). The phrase (אמצתָּ לך) may originally have been secondary, arising as a simple case of vertical dittography of v. 16 which reads וְכנה אשר־נטעה יְמִינֶךָ וְעל־בן אמצתה לך [3]). Verse 18 then, as we have proposed it, would be a perfect example of Semitic *parallelismus membrorum* which shows here the metrical pattern 3 — 3 and, with regard to its components, exhibits in the second half what C. GORDON (*UH*, p. 106) has aptly called a "ballast variant", thus *a-b-c//b'-C*. For *C*, being longer than *c*, compensates for the absence of **a'*, while preserving the triple beat of the metre. It will also be noted that then verse 18 fits in more harmoniously with the metric structure

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[1]) The Greek translation is of little help for it is slavish to the Hebrew. The new Roman Psalter reads "*accepisti in donum homines*", "thou hast received men as gifts," and so presumably considers the *b* as a *beth essentiae*. But the practice in the ancient Orient of taking captive some peoples and then of receiving tribute from others justifies our translation.

[2]) For the frequent parallelism of איש (or אנוש) with בן אדם see Nu. xxiii 19; Job xxv 6, xxxv 8; Ps. viii 5; Is. li 12.

[3]) The LXX read על־בן־אדם. As the MT has it however, the phrase אמצתה לך has a better chance of being original here in v. 16 than v. 18, involving the use of a subordinate clause as the *rectum* in a construct chain (in v. 18 the *regens* would itself be a construct chain). However, it must be admitted that the sense of v. 16b offers a sudden shift from the figure of a vineyard to speech about man, even though it is Israel which is represented by the vineyard.

of vv. 17 and 19. For reasons why the rendering "the man of the right" should be omitted, we need only turn again to Ugaritic literature. In the Keret legend (C. GORDON *UH*, p. 184, KRT, 66-7, partially restored) we read *qḥ im*[*r bydk*] 67) *imr . d*[*bḥ bm*] *ymn*, "Take a lam[b in thy hand,] a lamb of sac[rifice in (thy)] right hand." Again in the Baal epic (*ibid.*, p. 152, 76, ii, 6-7) *qšthn . âḫd . bydh* 7) *wqṣʿth . bm . ymnh*, "He takes his bow in his hand, and his arc [1]) in his right hand". Finally in the Aqhat legend (*ibid.*, p. 181, 1 Aqht, 215-16) . . .*yn* [ ] 216) *ks . bdy . qbʿt . bymny*, "Let her (Paghat) [place] the cup in my hand, the goblet in my right hand", and Paghat does this (lines 217-8), her action being described thus . . . (. *ks*) *bdh* 218) *qbʿt . bymnh*. As opposed to these parallels, however, H. L. GINSBERG has called the attention (oral communication) of the writer to Is. xli 10b where we read אצצתיך אף־עזרתיך אף־תמכתיך בִּימִין צִדְקִי and asserts that this is an instance which shows that the phrase אמצת לך is to be identified with אִישׁ יְמִינֶךָ. In this view then Ps. lxxxi 18 is to be retained precisely as it is in the Massoretic text. But Is. xli 10 would also explain Ps. xviii 16 and could, in itself, be another reason, besides the vertical dittography already referred to, why אמצת לך was added to Ps. lxxx 18, especially since the word ימינך also occurred there. Also, the examples of *yd* | *ymn* which we have quoted from Ugaritic and the other parallels of *ʾîš* | *ben ʾādām* found in the Bible itself are strong arguments for treating Ps. lxxx 18 as we have done [2]). A similar parallelism is found in Ps. lxxiv 11 . . . ידך וימינך . . . although in its present form the verse may be disturbed from its original form.

In Ps. lxxxii, which certainly has a Canaanite background, the *elohîm* of v. 1 makes it clear that vv. 2-4 are not part of the original poem, but only secondary intrusions into the text, according to J. MORGENSTERN [3]). The reason for this is that *elohim*, says MORGENSTERN, are not human judges, but lesser divine beings than Yahweh, and hence the functions of human judges as outlined in vv. 2-4:

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[1]) H. L. GINSBERG in *ANET*, p. 142 reads "Also his *darts* in his right hand."

[2]) Hence we cannot accept the view of S. BRIGGS who in *The Book of Psalms II* (ICC), p. 209, looks on v. 18 as a doublet of v. 16 based on Ps. lxxxv 5 and Ps. cx 1. This he attributes to the work of the same or another editor of the Psalm with a penchant for Messianic interpretations, and accordingly omits the v. in his translation on p. 202. In his commentary, however, he had translated "Let thy right hand be upon the (p. 207) man of the right hand."

[3]) J. MORGENSTERN, "The Mythical Background of Psalm 82," *Hebrew Union College Annual* XIV (1939), pp. 29-126.

"How long will you judge unjustly, and favour the cause of the impious? Defend the oppressed and the orphan, render justice to the lowly and the poor. Free the oppressed and the needy; save him from the hand of the wicked", can not be applied to them. How wrong this exegesis is, appears from the fact that when Keret, who is surely a semi-divine figure in Ugaritic literature, is reproached by his son *Yṣb* for neglecting precisely these same functions during his, Keret's, period of sickness, *Yṣb*'s words are (C. GORDON, *UH*, text 127, 27 ff.) "...32) Thou hast let thy hands fall into mischief, 33) Thou dost not judge the cause of the widow, 34) Nor adjudicate the case of the brokenhearted, ..." and cf. lines 44 ff. Remarkable also is that whereas the *elohîm* are told in Ps. lxxxii 7 "Hence ye shall die like men ..." so Keret is asked by his son *Ilhu* (C. GORDON *UH*, text 125, 17 ff.) "Wilt thou die, then, Father, like mortals? ...20) How can it be said 'Keret is a son of Il, the offspring of Lṭpn-and-Qdš? Or shall a god die, an offspring of Lṭpn not live?' " Since we have given a full discussion of this question elsewhere [1]), we restrict ourselves here to stating that, in the light of the Ugaritic material, vv. 2-4 of Ps. lxxxii are to be retained integrally as an original part of the poem, and that any exegesis of the Psalm must start out by treating them as such.

In Ps. cvi 28 we read "And they bound themselves to Baal-Peor and ate sacrifices (offered) to the dead", words which commemorate the defection of the children of Israel to the cult of Baal Peor and its sacrificial feasts (Nu. xxv 1 ff.). This cult, though especially blameworthy here, seems to reflect a common Canaanite practice, elsewhere perhaps not so licentious. In the Aqht legend, the duties of a model son are enumerated and among them is that he (C. GORDON, *UH*, p. 182, 2 Aqht i, 32-33, and compare ii, 4-5, 21-22) ... *spu . ksmh . bt . b'l* 33) [— *m*]*nth bt . il* "eats his (i.e. the father's) *meal* in the house of Baal, his [por]tion in the house of Il." H. L. GINSBERG (*ANET*, p. 150, col. 1) translates "*Consumes his funerary portion in* Baal's house, (Even) his *portion in* El's house." [2]) It is doubtless possible to see here another instance of the Canaanite mortuary

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[1]) Cf. the writers article in the *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* xv (1953), pp. 311-314. In the Aqhat tale (2 Aqhat v 7-8) the legendary figure Dan'el is shown sitting at the gate and ... *ydn / dn . almnt . ytpṭ . tpṭ. ytm*, "he judges the cause of the widow, adjudicates the case of the orphan." With this compare Ps. lxviii 6.

[2]) W. F. ALBRIGHT (*Bull. of the Amer. Schools of Orient. Research*, 94, 1944, p. 35, no. 38) also translates *ksmh* as his "funerary offering," connecting the word with the Accadian *kispu* in meaning, although not identifying the two etymologically, at least directly.

ritual which has been so plausibly used by H. CAZELLES [1]) to elucidate the difficult passage of Dt. xxvi 14. In that text the Israelite farmer declares he has not eaten of the first fruits at a repast where a special share was offered to Baal, the god of dying and reviving vegetation.

In Ps. cviii 13, as in Ps. lx 13, if we are not to change עזָרת מצר to עזרַת מצר, i.e. to make it a construct form in a metaplastic phrase such as שמחת בקציר—and such a solution is not appealing—it may be then that we have a Phoenician form of the feminine noun, which did not drop the ending ת—as is true in the Hebrew עֶזְרָה. Such a vestige of Phoenician influence in the Psalms would not be surprising; for other examples and other views cf. GESENIUS, *op. cit.* § 80*g*.

In Ps. cxviii 10b, 11b and 12b we read בשם יהוה כי אמילם "in the name of the Lord I crush (Hipfil of *mll*) them." This is another case, besides those already known from Ps. xlix 16 and Gen. xviii 20, where the verb is placed at the end of the clause when the emphasizing proclitic particle *kî* is used. This same usage is attested in Ugaritic by a number of examples, e.g., 2 Aqht v 15 *gm. lâṭth . ḳyṣḥ*, "aloud he cries to his wife." Cf. C. GORDON, *UH*, p. 65, § 9.13 and for analogous uses of *kî* cf. GESENIUS, op. cit., § 148*d*, § 159*ee*.

In Ps. cxliv 12 to the end, the word-picture of the blessings of sons and daughters, of grain, sheep and small cattle, and of absolute security, which are the king's plea for the people, are a perfect echo to the words of king Azitawaddu in the Karatepe inscription (*Portal* ii 7 f.) "may there be in all my days abundance and blessing and pleasant dwelling and tranquillity of heart for the Dananians (his people)"; and in iii 7 f. "And this city shall possess grain and wine, and this people who shall dwell therein, shall possess cattle and sheep and grain and wine, and they shall procreate very much and they shall be exceedingly mighty ..." etc. On the other hand, it is interesting and typical that whereas Azitawaddu, like other Oriental kings, boasts of his unequalled conquests (Cols. i and ii), and of his inherent and shining personal qualities of justice, wisdom and goodness (i 12-13), the Israelite king in a spirit of faith says (Ps. cxliv 2) that God is his shield and refuge, that *He* subjects

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[1]) H. CAZELLES, "Sur un rituel du Deuteronome, *Revue biblique* 55 (1948), pp. 54-71.

peoples to him, and then in humility (v. 3 ff.) he reflects on the nothingness of man, whose days are but a passing shadow.

These last lines are but a reminder that, although we must constantly comb the ancient literature of the extra-biblical world in order to grasp clearly the thoughts and to feel deeply the true emotions of Israel, still those thoughts and those emotions are even far more sublime in spiritual content, as compared with her neighbours', than the language in which they are clothed is similar to theirs.

ANMERKUNGEN ZU 1. SAM VIII 16 UND XVI 20.

VON

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Es besteht unter den neueren Auslegern bis zur Zürcher Bibel mit geringen Ausnahmen [1]) Einstimmigkeit darüber, dass 1 Sam. viii 16 das Nebeneinander von *baḥūrēkäm* und *ḥᵉmōrēkäm* nicht ursprünglich sein könne. Da LXX ein βουκόλια hat, wird nach dem Vorgang von CAPELLUS[2]) für *baḥūrēkäm* entweder *biḳrēkäm*[3]) oder aber *bᵉḳarkäm*[4]) gelesen, weil der Plural von *bāḳār* sehr ungewöhnlich ist und sich innerhalb des Alten Testaments nur an zwei sehr jungen Stellen mit Sicherheit nachweisen lässt [5]). Freilich wird diese Konjektur weder durch Tg. noch durch S. bestätigt, aber für sie kann die inhaltliche Überlegung geltend gemacht werden, dass bereits vv. 11 und 12 von den Rechten die Rede war, die der König sich über die Söhne anmassen wird, demzufolge v. 16 kein Platz mehr dafür ist[6]). Aus diesem Grunde wird der Text auch von denen geändert, die keine Verschreibung aus *biḳrēkäm* annehmen [7]).

Trotz der allgemeinen Zustimmung, die diese aus LXX gewonnene Konjektur gefunden hat, wird man fragen müssen, ob sie genügend begründet ist. Zunächst darf man nicht übersehen, dass LXX noch stärker von M. abweicht; sie hat nach *jiḳaḥ* für *ʿāśāh* ein ἀποδεκατώσει eingesetzt [8]), das sicher nicht alter Text ist, weil nach dem Aufbau des Satzes dann die Zehntpflicht auch für die *ʿᵉbādīm* und *šᵉpāḥōt* gelten

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[1]) Vgl. z.B. P. A. H. DE BOER, *Research into the Text of I Samuel I-XVI*, 1938, S. 63.

[2]) *Critica Sacra*, p. 247 (Zitat nach H. SMITH, *ICC*, 1912).

[3]) O. THENIUS, *KeH*, 1842; J. WELLHAUSEN, *Text*... 1871; C. F. KEIL, *KD*, 1875; K. BUDDE, *SBOT*, 1894, *KHC*, 1902; W. NOWACK, *HK*, 1902; P. DHORME, *EB*, 1910; H. SMITH, *ICC*, 1912.

[4]) A. KLOSTERMANN, *SZ*, 1887; S. R. DRIVER, *Notes*, 1913; A. B. EHRLICH, *Randglossen*, 1910; A. SCHULZ, *EH*, 1919; F. DELITZSCH, *Lese- und Schreibfehler*, 1920; R. KITTEL, *HSAT*, 1922; *BH*. 1937, M. REHM, *Echterbibel*, 1949. Ohne ausdrückliche Entscheidung, ob Singular oder Plural, H. GRESSMANN, *SAT*, II, 1, 1921; A. BRUNO, *Epos*..., 1935.

[5]) 2 Chr. iv 3 und Neh. x 37. Am. vi 12 ist sicher korrumpiert.

[6]) Z.B. THENIUS, KEIL, NOWACK, SMITH.

[7]) W. CASPARI, *KzAT*, 1926 *berōt*. F. WUTZ, *Systematische Wege*, 1937 *hᵉḥōlēkäm*.

[8]) Allein WUTZ folgt LXX auch hierin.

müsste, ausserdem die Esel sonst nicht unter den zehntbaren Tieren genannt werden [1]). Die Entstehung eines solchen ἀποδεκατώσει ist von dem *ja'śor* in vv. 15 und 17 her leicht zu begreifen, ebenso aber auch, dass nun ein *baḥūrēkäm* als unmöglich empfunden werden musste [2]).

Weiterhin muss wohl darauf geachtet werden, dass das A. T. da, wo es — wie hier — von Einzeltieren redet, für Rind durchgängig neben *ḥᵃmōr* die Bezeichnung *śōr* gebraucht; *bāḳār* ist in dieser Verbindung verhältnismässig selten. Ich nenne Gen. xii 16, xxiv 35, xxxiv 28, xlvii 17; Ex. ix 3; Num. xxxi 28, 30, 32-34; 1 Sam. xxvii 9. An allen diesen Stellen ist dazu *bāḳār* mit *ṣo'n* zu einer Einheit zusammengenommen und dadurch von den *ḥᵃmōrīm* abgesetzt, die ihrerseits wieder oft mit *gᵉmalīm* oder *sūsīm* [3]) zusammengestellt werden [4]). Die einzige Ausnahme bildet 1 Chr. xii 41, wo zwar bei *bāḳār* das *ṣo'n* fehlt, wenngleich auch hier neben den *ḥᵃmōrīm* die *gᵉmalīm* und die *pᵉrādīm* genannt werden. Freilich ist zu beachten, dass in der Fortsetzung des Verses *bāḳār* als Schlachtvieh erwähnt wird, so dass das erste *bāḳār* eine gedankenlose Auffüllung des Verses sein kann. An sich beweist diese junge Stelle auch nichts weiter, als dass später das Bewusstsein für die Eigenart des Wortes verloren gegangen ist; das ist ja auch der Grund dafür, dass in der späteren Zeit Pluralformen von *bāḳār* gebildet werden können.

Wenn man also viii 16 eine Form des Nomens *bāḳār* lesen will, müsste man entweder den Zusammenhang ändern und dieses *bāḳār* zu dem *ṣo'n* von v. 17 ziehen [5]), oder wenigstens mit dem *ja'śor* v. 17 verbinden [6]), was aber auch Schwierigkeiten macht.

Unter dieser Voraussetzung wäre weiterhin zu fragen, wie das folgende *wᵉ'āśāh limla'ktō* zu verstehen ist, zu welchem Werk also Esel und Rinder gemeinsam eingesetzt werden sollen. Verpflegungszwecke scheiden selbstverständlich aus, weil der Esel nicht zu den schlachtbaren Tieren gehört. Wenn bei der Belagerung Samarias ein Eselskopf den Preis von 80 Silbersekeln erreicht [7]), beweist das nur die unge-

[1]) Vgl. dazu Ex. xiii 13, xxxiv 20.

[2]) Zum Charakter der LXX vgl. DE BOER, *a.a.O.*, S. 68.

[3]) Gen. xii 16, xxiv 35, xlvii 17; Ex. ix 3; 1 Sam. xxvii 9.

[4]) Wobei es unerheblich ist, dass Gen. xlvii 17 die einzelnen Glieder der Reihe gegeneinander vertauscht sind.

[5]) BRUNO (*Epos...*, S. 58) nimmt folgende Umstellung vor: v. 14, 15a, 13, 15b, 16. Abgesehen davon, dass diese Umstellung aus dem Zusammenhang nicht zu begründen ist, schafft sie auch in unsere Frage keine Erleichterung.

[6]) Wie WUTZ es in Nachfolge von LXX konsequent tut.

[7]) 2 Reg. vi 25.

heure Not, die zu unvorstellbaren Verhältnissen führt. Eine Verwendung in der königlichen Landwirtschaft scheint durch die Vorschrift ausgeschlossen, dass Rind und Esel nicht zusammen pflügen dürfen. Wenn die dahingehende Bestimmung sich auch erst Deut xxii 10 findet, ist sie doch dort so unmotiviert, geht auch über die einschlägigen Festsetzungen so weit hinaus [1]), dass man in ihr sehr altes Gut sehen muss. Ausserdem stellte der Vers, wenn er so verstanden wird, tatsächlich eine unerträgliche Wiederholung zu v. 12 dar. Das Wahrscheinlichste wird es also sein, dass es sich hier um Arbeiten handelt, die von den vv. 11-13 genannten regelmässigen Tätigkeiten unterschieden sind. Dann ist an Bauvorhaben des Königs zu denken, von denen im Vorhergehenden noch nichts gesagt war. [2]) Unter dieser Voraussetzung ist noch einmal zu fragen, ob sich M. nicht ein befriedigender Sinn abgewinnen lässt.

Wenn ich recht sehe, ist das Königsrecht nach folgendem Gedankengang aufgebaut. Zunächst wird davon geredet, dass der König einzelne Söhne des Volkes fest einstellen wird, damit sie ihm beim Aufbau seiner Wehrmacht in den verschiedenen Funktionen Dienst leisten. Das schliesst natürlich nicht aus, dass hierbei auch an die Aufsicht bei Fronarbeiten gedacht ist, die der König verlangen wird. Das passt zu der Angabe 1 Reg. ix 22 (etwas verändert 2 Chr. viii 9) [3]), wonach die Israeliten nicht zu fronen brauchten; ihnen war der Militärdienst und die Beamtenstellen vorbehalten. Wenn BEGRICH [4]) recht hat, beweist der Gebrauch des Wortes *śar* schon eine vorgeschrittene Entwicklung. Die Aussage 1 Sam. viii wird dadurch etwas verdunkelt, dass ein inhaltliches Missverhältnis zwischen v. 12a und b zu bestehen scheint; doch ändert sich damit nichts daran, dass es sich hier um israelitische Söhne handelt, die der König — ebenso wie die Töchter — fest in seinen Dienst nimmt. Ihre Zahl wird nicht allzuhoch anzusetzen sein. 1 Reg. ix 23 gibt 550 solcher Aufseher an [5]). Weiterhin spricht das Königsrecht davon, dass der König

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[1]) Vgl. Lev. xix 19.

[2]) Zu *mᵉlāʾkāh* im Sinne einer Arbeit bei einem Bauvorhaben vgl. etwa 1 Reg. v 30, xi 28; Hag. i 14; 1 Chr. xxii 15; 2 Chr. xvi 5, xvii 13, xxxiv 13; Neh. iv 16, vi 3.

[3]) Das zweimalige *śar* in verschiedener Verbindung zeigt, dass hier auch an zivile Tätigkeit zu denken sein wird (vgl. KEIL, *KD*, 1875). Die Chronik hat das nicht mehr verstanden und darum das *w* vor *śālīšāw* weggelassen.

[4]) *ZAW* 1940/41, S. 14.

[5]) 1 Reg. v 30 sind es 3300 (vgl. die abweichenden Zahlen in LXX). Die niedrigere Zahl hat wohl die grössere Wahrscheinlichkeit.

bestimmte Besitzteile des Volkes enteignen wird, um eine Besoldungsgrundlage für seine Beamtenschaft, d.h. die fest bei ihm Beschäftigten zu haben. Aber auch das, was im Besitz des freien Bauern verbleibt, steht nicht mehr zu seiner uneingeschränkten Verfügung, denn er hat die landwirtschaftlichen Erträgnisse seines Eigentums zu verzehnten. Das Recht des Königs beschränkt sich aber nicht auf die dinglichen Abgaben. Auch über die Knechte und Mägde des freien Besitzers kann er verfügen, sehr wahrscheinlich zu gelegentlichen Fronarbeiten [1]). Nun wird er aber bei den Knechten und Mägden nicht Halt machen, sondern sogar die *baḥūrīm* zu solchen Dienstleistungen heranziehen. Das stellt freilich den stärksten Eingriff in die persönliche Freiheit der israelitischen Familie dar. Wir haben es also bei den einzelnen Angaben des Königsrechtes nicht mit einer — ich möchte sagen — fallenden, sondern einer steigenden Klimax zu tun, bei der die schwerste Belastung am Ende steht. V. 17 ist wohl eher als späterer Nachtrag oder als Auffüllung anzusehen [2]).

Dass Übergriffe, wie sie hier vorausgesetzt werden, trotz grundsätzlich anderer Bestimmungen, im Rahmen des Möglichen lagen, zeigt 1 Reg. xi 28. Der Ephraimit Jerobeam ist ein *gibōr ḥajil*, ein freier Grundbesitzer [3]). Als der Millo von Jerusalem gebaut wird, sieht ihn der König bei der Arbeit. So wird man das *ʿośeh mᵉlāʾkāh hū'* [4]) zu verstehen haben. H. Kaupel hat zu Neh. ii 16 den Sinn von *ʿośeh hamelāʾkāh* dahin bestimmt, dass hier Verwaltungskörperschaften gemeint seien [5]). Abgesehen davon, dass mir das nicht sicher zu sein scheint, steht 1 Reg. xi inhaltlich 1 Sam. viii so viel näher, dass *mᵉlāʾkāh* auch hier die Handarbeit bedeuten muss, die bei einem Bauvorhaben geleistet wird.

Von hier aus scheint mir das Nebeneinander von Söhnen und Eseln in unserm Text einen guten Sinn zu bekommen. Zunächst ist darauf zu verweisen, dass ix 2 Saul ebenfalls ein *baḥūr* genannt und dass er

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[1]) Dagegen, dass hier ausschliesslich an die Arbeit in der königlichen Landwirtschaft zu denken ist, spricht wohl die Überlegung, dass der eigene Landbesitz des Königs kaum erheblich gewesen sein dürfte.

[2]) Es scheint, als habe *ʿᵃbādīm* v. 17b dieselbe schwebende Doppelbedeutung wie 1 Reg. ix 22 (vgl. dazu A. Klostermann, *SZ*, 1887, I. Benzinger, *KHC* 1899). Dass hier nur von *ṣoʾn* die Rede ist, könnte u.U. die Besitzverhältnisse weiter Kreise der Bevölkerung in einer frühen Zeit wiederspiegeln.

[3]) Vgl. gegen diese Deutung allerdings J. van der Ploeg, *OTS* IX, 1951, S. 58f.

[4]) LXX ἀνὴρ ἔργων; auch das setzt voraus, dass er schon vorher eine Tätigkeit ausgeübt hat, die ihm seiner Herkunft nach nicht zukam.

[5]) *Biblica* 21 (1940), S. 40-44.

ausgesandt wird, die verlorenen Eselinnen seines Vaters zu suchen. A. SCHULZ hat eine Verwandtschaft der Saul- und Davidgeschichte darin gesehen, dass beide bei einer Hirtentätigkeit eingeführt werden. Wenn man dafür auch Gen. xxxvi 24 (Anah hütet die Esel seines Vaters Zibeon) anführen kann, scheint das nicht richtig. Die Symbolik, die 1 Sam ix und x sicher vorhanden ist, wird in anderer Richtung zu suchen sein.

Es muss hier zum Verständnis Jdc v 10 herangezogen werden. Seit BURNEY [1]) ist es weithin zugestanden, dass der Zusammenhang gestört und v 12 an den Anfang zu stellen ist [2]). V. 10 enthält eine Aufforderung zur Tapferkeit [3]), die sich an drei verschiedene Klassen des Volkes richtet. An zweiter und dritter Stelle werden die genannt, die auf den Matten sitzen — also, die nach Alter oder schwacher Gesundheit nicht mehr zum Kriegsdienst verpflichtet sind [4]) — und die, die auf den Wegen gehen — also die ärmeren Volksteile, die nur sich selber bringen. Eine Notwendigkeit, mit RUDOLPH [5]) oder GRETHER [6]) eins dieser Glieder zu tilgen, sehe ich nicht. Die zuerst Genannten, die auf den weissrötlichen Eseln reiten, werden durch den Zusammenhang eng an die Gebieter und die Freiwilligen v. 9 angeschlossen [7]). Sie sind daher als solche zu bestimmen, die durch Herkunft oder Vorzüge zu besonderer Leistung oder Führerstellung qualifiziert sind. Ausdruck dafür ist das Reiten auf den Eseln. Welche Bedeutung diesem Zug Gen. xlix 11 und Sach. ix 9 [8]) zukommt, braucht nicht besonders erwähnt zu werden. Wohl aber möchte ich hier Jdc x 4 [9]) und xii 14 heranziehen. Es fällt auf, dass das Reiten auf den Eseln nur von den männlichen Nachkommen, nicht von den Töchtern ausgesagt wird, obwohl es nicht ungewöhnlich war, dass eine Frau von Stand auf einem Esel ritt [10]). Daher wird man bei dieser

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[1]) *The Book of Judges with introduction and notes*, 1920.

[2]) So auch E. SELLIN (*Prockschfestschrift*, 1934); O. GRETHER, *Das Deboralied* (*BFTh*, 1941).

[3]) Zu dieser Übersetzung von *śīḥū* vgl. GRETHER (*a.a.O.*, S. 40, Anm. 1); SELLIN schlägt die Lesung *ḥīšū* „eilt" vor.

[4]) Es wäre zu erwägen ob von hier aus Licht auf die schwierige Stelle xvii 12 — *bāʾ baʿᵃnāšīm* — fallen könnte.

[5]) *Eissfeldtfestschrift* 1947, S. 201.

[6]) *A.a.O.*, S. 40.

[7]) Dabei ist es unerheblich, ob diese Beziehung erst nachträglich hergestellt ist. Zur Ursprünglichkeit von v. 9 vgl. GRETHER, *a.a.O.*, S. 38.

[8]) Es kommen alle drei für Esel gebräuchlichen Ausdrücke nebeneinander vor.

[9]) Die von K. BUDDE, *KHC*, 1897 vorgeschlagene Streichung des Satzes „die auf dreissig Eselsfüllen ritten" erscheint unnötig.

[10]) Jos. xv 18; 1 Sam. xxv 20.

Angabe nicht an besondere Vornehmheit oder hervorstechenden Reichtum zu denken haben [1]), sondern eher daran, dass diese Söhne alle gut geraten und zu besonderen Führungsaufgaben geeignet waren. Entfernt verwandt damit dürfte sein, wenn Sinuhe von seinen Söhnen stolz berichtet, dass sie starke Männer und ein jeder der Bezwinger seines Stammes wurden [2]).

Nach dem Gesagten scheint mir der Text von 1 Sam. viii 16 in Ordnung zu sein und einen guten Sinn zu geben. Der schwerste Eingriff des Königtums in die angestammten Rechte, zugleich seine grösste Hybris, wird darin liegen, dass er Männer und auch Tiere zu Fronarbeiten presst, deren Recht und Pflicht der Dienst bei den Kriegen Jahwes war. Hinsichtlich der Entstehung dieses sogenannten Königsrechtes wird man folgern dürfen, dass sie in die ganz frühe Königszeit fällt, in der die alten Vorstellungen noch lebendig sind.

Dieselbe Auseinandersetzung, das Ringen zwischen Altem und Neuem, findet sich auch 1 Sam. xvi 20. Hier scheint der Esel textlich schwierig zu sein. M. muss in seiner überlieferten Gestalt als „ein Esel, beladen mit Brot" aufgefasst werden [3]). Das wird aber nur von Keil und zuletzt von Rehm beibehalten. Schon Thenius hatte auf die Härte des Ausdrucks aufmerksam gemacht [4]). Die Versuche, einen ursprünglichen Text zu ermitteln, gehen in verschiedener Richtung. Auf der einen Seite findet man in *ḥᵃmōr* ein verschriebenes Zahlwort und ersetzt es durch *ḥᵃmišāh* — dafür könnten graphische Überlegungen geltend gemacht werden — oder durch *ʿᵃśārāh* [5]). Für das letztere wird auf xvii 17 verwiesen, indessen ist diese Parallele nur scheinbar, weil mindestens xvii 12-21 überlieferungsmässig einen ganz anderen Zusammenhang darstellt. Auf der anderen Seite schliesst man sich LXX an. LXX^{AB} gibt *ḥᵃmōr* durch γομορ wieder, das entweder eine Umschreibung für *ʿomär* [6]) oder für *ḥomär* [7]) sein könnte [8]). Beides macht Schwierigkeiten. Abgesehen davon, dass Brote gezählt und nicht mit einem Hohlmass gemessen zu werden pflegten, wäre

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[1]) So M. Noth, *Bertholetbfestschrift*, 1950, S. 412.

[2]) H. Gressmann, *AOT*, 1926, S. 57.

[3]) Wie es Tg. mit *ṭᵉmīn* auch ausdrücklich wiedergibt.

[4]) Zu dem Ausdruck, den man erwarten sollte vgl. 1 Sam. xxv 18, 2 Sam. xvi 1.

[5]) So Wellhausen, Nowack, Driver, Smith, Schulz, Gressmann, Kittel (*HSAT*). H. Tiktin (*Kritische Untersuchungen*, *FRLANT*, NF 16, 1922), Zürcher Bibel. Ähnlich, wenn auch ohne Zahlenangabe, Caspari.

[6]) Ex. xvi 16, 18, 22, 32, 33, 36.

[7]) Ho iii 2; Hes. xlv 11, 13, 14.

[8]) De Boer (*a.a.O.*, S. 68) denkt auch an Transkription eines unübersetzten *ḥᵃmōr*.

ʿomär [1]) ein ziemlich geringes, *ḥomär* dagegen ein so grosses Mass, dass ein Mann allein es nicht zu tragen vermochte [2]). Die lukianische Recension verbindet LXX und M. derart miteinander, dass sie ὄνον καὶ ἐπέθηκεν αὐτῷ γομον ἄρτων übersetzt. Das alles erweckt von vornherein kein günstiges Vorurteil für den von LXX gebotenen Text und die an ihn anknüpfenden Wiederherstellungsversuche [3]).

Es ist aber garnicht so unmöglich, den Text in seiner heutigen Gestalt befriedigend zu erklären. Saul hatte David von seinem Vater Isai angefordert. Die Gaben, die Isai mitschickt, haben den Charakter begleitender Geschenke. Nun schickt Isai aber einen jungen wehrfähigen Mann, einen gut qualifizierten Krieger zu seinem König [4]). Was liegt da näher, als die Annahme, dass er ihn so ausstattete, wie ein Krieger gehobenen Standes ausgestattet wurde, der sich zum heiligen Kriege stellte. Dazu gehört einmal der Esel, das Reittier der Vornehmen; dazu gehören auch die Lebensmittel. Sie sind im Grunde weniger als Huldigungsgaben für den König aufzufassen; dafür wären sie in der Tat sehr gering. Und so idyllisch, treuherzig, wie man dann voraussetzen müsste, ist die Geschichte garnicht. Es braucht nur auf den höfischen Stil in v. 16 hingewiesen zu werden. Die Gaben dienen vielmehr zur Verpflegung des Mannes, den Isai auf eigene Kosten, sozusagen als Freiwilligen, dem König zur Verfügung stellt [5]). Auch der Krieger, der am heiligen Kriege teilnahm, hatte sich ja selbst zu verpflegen [6]). Die Verhältnisse haben sich insofern geändert, als jetzt das, was früher Gott gestellt wurde, dem König gegeben wird. Dadurch nimmt diese Gabe nun den Charakter eines Geschenkes an. Dass die Verhältnisse hier noch im Fliessen sind, und Vorstellungen anklingen, die später selbst im Judentum nicht mehr verstanden wurden, spricht wiederum für sehr frühe Entstehung dieses Erzählungsstückes. Die einzige Änderung, die nötig wäre, um den Text zu glätten, ist, dass man vor *läḥäm* ein *w* copulativum einfügt.

Diese Erklärung dürfte sich auch dadurch empfehlen, dass durch sie eine andere textliche Schwierigkeit eine ausreichende Erklärung

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[1]) Das nach SMITH aus *ʿᵃśārāh* verschrieben sein soll.
[2]) Worauf EHRLICH mit vollem Recht hinweist.
[3]) Z.B. THENIUS, EHRLICH, BUDDE, und, wenn auch zurückhaltender, KLOSTERMANN.
[4]) Vgl. dazu xvi 18.
[5]) Ähnlich auch KLOSTERMANN.
[6]) Vgl. G. v. RAD, *Der Heilige Krieg im alten Israel*, 1952, S. 35 Anm. 60.

findet. Ich meine das zweimalige *jaʿᵃmod lᵉpānīm* v. 21 und v. 22, das ja zu mancherlei Überlegungen und auch Streichungen Anlass gegeben hat. Auch hier zeichnen sich die fliessenden Verhältnisse einer frühen Zeit ab. Zunächst tritt David in den Dienst Sauls als ein Freiwilliger; er wird dem König als dem von Gott Gesalbten überlassen. Als Saul seine Eignung für den Hofdienst erkennt [1]), fordert er mit denselben Worten, dass David ganz in seinen Dienst trete, also königlicher Offizier werde.

Ich hoffe, dass es gelungen ist, zu beiden Stellen die Notwendigkeit einer Änderung mit LXX in Frage zu stellen und einige Gesichtspunkte zur Lösung des textkritischen wie des exegetischen Problems beizutragen.

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[1]) Zu *māṣāʾ ḥen bᵉʿēnē pᵉlonī* vgl. H. J. Stoebe, *VT* II, 1952, S. 245.

A COMPARISON OF THE CHRONOLOGICAL DATA OF ISRAEL AND JUDAH

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A comparison of the chronological data of the rulers of Israel and Judah from reign to reign reveals certain phenomena which are of the highest value in a reconstruction of Hebrew chronology. From the disruption to Jehoshaphat in Judah and Jehoram in Israel such a comparison produces the following results:

Excess years for Israel	Israel, official years			Judah, offic. years
B.C. 931		Jeroboam 22	Rehoboam 17	
			Abijam 3	
			Asa 41	
0	22		2d	22
		Nadab 2		
1	24		3d	23
		Baasha 24		
2	48		26th	46
		Elah 2		
3	50		27th	47
		Zimri Omri 12		
4	62		38th	58
		Ahab 22		
5	66	4th		61
			Jehoshaphat	
6	84		17th	78
853 B.C.		Ahaziah 2		
7	86		18th	79
		Jehoram		

The striking feature in the above tabulation is the increase in the totals of regnal years in Israel over those of Judah of one year for

every reign. Since the totals of regnal years in a nation employing the nonaccession-year system increase by one year for every reign over absolute time and over the totals of regnal years in a nation employing the accession-year system, we thus have evidence that during the above period Judah employed accession-year reckoning while in Israel the nonaccession-year system was used.

It will be noticed that on this pattern the 12 years of Omri's reign have been counted from the 27th year of Asa, when he defeated Zimri and took the throne (1 Kings xvi 10, 15-18). The synchronism of 1 Kings xvi 23, of Omri's accession in Asa's 31st year, applies to the beginning of his sole reign over all Israel, after the elimination of Tibni. In the next area to be discussed mention will be made of two more instances where synchronisms are given in terms of the beginning of the sole reign but where lengths of reign are reckoned from the beginning of joint or overlapping reigns.

The reign of Ahab brings us to a point where contact is made with Assyrian history and where an absolute date may thus be secured for Hebrew chronology. Shalmaneser III mentions the participation of Ahab in the battle of Qarqar, in the 6th year of his reign, the eponymy of Daian Assur, 853 B.C., and the payment of tribute by Jehu in Shalmaneser's 18th year, 841. In 853, therefore, Ahab was still alive and in 841 Jehu was already upon the throne. During this twelve-year period Israel was ruled by Ahab's sons Ahaziah and Jehoram. The length of Ahaziah's reign was 2 years (1 Kings xxii 51) and Jehoram's reign was 12 years (2 Kings iii 1). Since Israel at this time employed the nonaccession-year system, Ahaziah's 2 official years would be one actual year and Jehoram's 12 official years equal 11 actual years, or a total of 12 years—exactly the interval between the participation of Ahab in the battle of Qarqar in Shalmaneser's 6th year and the payment of tribute by Jehu in Shalmaneser's 18th year. It is clear, therefore, that Ahab must have died in 853 and Jehu must have begun his reign in 841, and these absolute dates for Hebrew history are thus secured from the established dates of Assyria.

It will be noticed that from the disruption of the monarchy to the death of Ahab is 84 official years for Israel and only 78 years for Judah. But it was also noticed that official years reckoned according to the nonaccession-year system are always one year higher for each reign than absolute years. The actual years from Jeroboam to Ahab would thus be as follows:

	Official years	Actual years
Jeroboam	22	21
Nadab	2	1
Baasha	24	23
Elah	2	1
Omri	12	11
Ahab	22	21
Total	84	78

From the disruption to the death of Ahab in Jehoshaphat's 17th year (1 Kings xxii 51) is therefore, 78 years for both Israel and Judah, and the date of the disruption can thus be fixed at 931 B.C.

The accuracy of 931 as the date of the disruption has been called in question by Professor ALBRIGHT who has set forth his own date of 922 for this event. [1]). To secure this date ALBRIGHT creates a chronology of his own for this period based on the statement in 2 Chron. xvi 1 that Baasha built Ramah in the 36th year of Asa and involving the following adjustments in the data of Kings for the period here under discussion:

	Old Testament	ALBRIGHT	Adjustment
		a. Lengths of reign	
Rehoboam	17	8	9 years
Omri	12	8	4 years
Ahab	22	20	2 years
		b. Synchronisms	
Abijah	18th of Jeroboam	8th of Jeroboam	10 years
Asa	20th of Jeroboam	10th of Jeroboam	10 years
Jehoshaphat	4th of Ahab	4th of Omri	12 years
Nadab	2d of Asa	13th of Asa	11 years
Baasha	3d of Asa	14th of Asa	11 years
Elah	26th of Asa	37th of Asa	11 years
Zimri	27th of Asa	38th of Asa	11 years
Omri	31st of Asa	38th of Asa	7 years
Ahab	38th of Asa	5th of Jehoshaphat	8 years
Ahaziah	17th of Jehoshaphat	24th of Jehoshaphat	7 years
Joram	18th of Jehoshaphat	1st of Jehoram	7 years

It will be noticed that these adjustments in the biblical data are made in an area where the internal evidence reveals an amazingly exact and harmonious pattern, and where the adjustment of any one item by even a single year, whether synchronism or length of reign, would destroy the harmony of the basic chronological scheme. The violent adjustments proposed by ALBRIGHT can in no sense be regarded as an improvement upon the biblical data nor do they provide

[1]) *BASOR*, no. 100 (Dec., 1945), p. 17.

a scheme of Hebrew chronology which is to be considered more in harmony with absolute time. The amazing harmony of the data in Kings provides a strong argument for their basic accuracy.

ALBRIGHT makes the claim that his date of 922 for the disruption "has the tremendous advantage over THIELE's of agreeing with the Tyrian chronology as transmitted to us from Menander of Ephesus by Josephus" [1]), and he points to ROWTON's alleged "striking confirmation of the date for the Division of the Kingdom, 922 B.C." [2])

What "tremendous advantage" does ALBRIGHT's date of 922 derive from its purported agreement with the Tyrian chronology and what is the "striking confirmation" that ROWTON is supposed to have provided for that date? ROWTON declares that, "The absolute dates derived from the Tyre king-list are based on the statement that Carthage was founded in the 7th year of Pygmalion. The best classical sources date the founding of Carthage in 814, very probably on the authority of Timaios who is known to have had access to the chronicles of Tyre either directly or through Menander, and probably therefore obtained his data from the same source as the one we are concerned with here. The absolute dates thus obtained are at least approximately correct". [3])

ROWTON's "approximately correct" "absolute dates" for the Tyrian kings depend upon 1) the accuracy of the date 814 for the founding of Carthage, 2) the accuracy of Josephus' synchronism of the founding of Carthage in the 7th year of Pygmalion, and 3) the accuracy of the years of the Tyrian kings as preserved by Josephus.

It should be noted that although the claim is made that the date 814 for the founding of Carthage is based on "the best classical sources", there is strong evidence against the accuracy of that date. Dionysius of Halicarnassus [4]) declares that Timaios of Sicily placed the founding of Rome "at the same time as the founding of Carthage, that is, in the thirty-eighth year before the first Olympiad", which would be 814. Cicero [5]) placed the founding of Carthage 65 years (or perhaps

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[1]) W. A. ALBRIGHT, "Alternative Chronology," *Interpretation*, January, 1952, p. 10.

[2]) *BASOR*, No. 126, p. 30. For ROWTON's supposed confirmation of ALBRIGHT's date see his "The Date of the Founding of Solomon's Temple," *BASOR*, No. 119, pp. 20 ff.

[3]) *Ibid.*

[4]) *Antiq. Rom.*, i. 74.

[5]) *Republic*, II. 23, 42.

60 years according to the mutilated manuscript) before the founding of Rome, which would be 818 (or 813), and 39 years before the first Olympiad, or 815. Velleius Paterculus [1]) said Carthage was founded 65 years before Rome, or 818, and Servius [2]) put the figure at 70 years (60 in some manuscripts), which would be 823 (or 813). And Pompeius Trogus [3]) set the figure at 72 years before the founding of Rome, or 825.

More to the point is a recently published text [4]) which mentions Ba'li-ma-AN-zêri, Balezoros II of Tyre, as having paid tribute together with Jehu of Israel to Shalmaneser III in his campaign to the coastland in 841 B.C., and which thus helps to throw some light on the correct date for the founding of Carthage. According to Josephus' Greek text of *Contra Apion* Balezoros reigned 6 years and was followed by Mettenos who ruled 9 years. NIESE, however, in his critical edition of *Contra Apion*, following Eusebius and Theophilus, gives the reign of Mettenos as 29 years. Mettenos was followed by Pygmalion, in whose 7th year, according to Josephus, Carthage was founded. If Timaios' date of 814 for the founding of Carthage is correct, then the reign of Balezoros would have been from 835-829 on the basis of a nine-year reign for Mettenos, or 855-849 on the basis of a twenty-nine year reign. Since, however, Balezoros paid tribute to Shalmaneser in 841, it is clear that neither of these dates can be correct and that either Timaios' date of 814 for the founding of Carthage is in error or Josephus' data for the Tyrian kings are incorrect. It also seems quite clear that Josephus' figure of 9 years for the reign of Mettenos is more nearly correct than the figure of 29 years accepted by NIESE.

On the basis of a nine-year reign for Mettenos, the reign of Balezoros may be dated to 844-838 B.C., if Carthage was founded in 823, or 846-840 if the date was 825. Either of these dates would comply with Josephus' data of the above mentioned Tyrian kings and with SAFAR's newly-published inscription. The above important evidence is a definite indication that the date of 814 employed by ALBRIGHT

[1]) I. 6. 4.
[2]) *Ad Aeneid*, I. 12, 267.
[3]) Justinus, *Epitome Pompei Trogi*, 18. 6, 9.
[4]) F. SAFAR, "A Further Text of Shalmaneser III", *Sumer*, 7, (1951), pp. 11, 12, Col. iv, 10-12. See also J. LIVER, "The Chronology of Tyre at the Beginning of the First Millennium B. C.", *Israel Exploration Journal*, 2 (1953), pp. 113-120.

following ROWTON for the founding of Carthage is not correct and that any argument based on such a reconstruction of the Tyrian chronology is invalid. ALBRIGHT's chronology of the Hebrew kings, therefore, instead of possessing such a "tremendous advantage" over my chronology because of its agreement with his dating of the kings of Tyre, possesses instead the tremendous disadvantage of being in agreement with an impossible chronology.

Without an absolute date for the fall of Carthage, Josephus' synchronism of the founding of Carthage in the 7th year of Pygmalion is of little value toward the establishment of absolute dates for the Tyrian kings, no matter how accurate that synchronism might be.

Josephus ties in the years of the Tyrian kings with those of the Hebrews by two synchronisms for the founding of Solomon's temple. In one place he states that this took place in the 11th year of Hiram [1]) and in another place that it took place in his 12th year [2]). The Bible places it in the 4th year of Solomon (1 Kings vi 1).

Josephus twice gives the interval between the erection of Solomon's temple and the founding of Carthage as 143 years and eight months [3]). On this authority ROWTON places the founding of the temple at "145 years before the founding of Carthage" [4]) and it is thus that he secures his date of 959 for that event. Any uncertainty inherent in the date 814 for the founding of Carthage must therefore abide in the date 959 for the founding of Solomon's temple, regardless of the accuracy or inaccuracy of the other data involved.

It should be noticed, however, that Josephus' date for the founding of the temple would be much earlier if based on his data for the Israelite kings and their correlations with Assyrian chronology. Josephus' data for the kings of Israel provide a total of 160 years from the 4th year of Solomon to the death of Ahab. Using the absolute Assyrian date of 853 as the year of Ahab's death, we would on this basis secure 1013 B.C. as the date for the founding of the temple — 54 years earlier than ROWTON's date. Certainly the date 853 for the 6th year of Shalmaneser III as based on the Assyrian eponym lists is much more reliable than is 814 for the founding of Carthage as based on the authority of Timaios. And there is no evidence that

[1]) *Ant.*, VIII. 62.
[2]) *Ag. Ap.*, I. 126.
[3]) *Ag. Ap.*, I. 108, 126.
[4]) ROWTON, *op. cit.*

Josephus' data for the Tyrian kings are any more reliable than are his data for the Hebrew kings. There is, therefore, no reason for placing any confidence in ROWTON's date of 959 as accepted by ALBRIGHT for the founding of Solomon's temple.

Up to this point ROWTON has been following data supplied by Josephus, but to secure the year of the disruption of the Hebrew monarchy he now forsakes Josephus who gives 80 years as the length of Solomon's reign [1]) and employs the biblical number of 40 years (1 Kings xi 42). But what evidence is there that this number is not approximate rather than absolute, associated as it is with so long a list of forties — the wilderness sojourn (Deut. i 3; ii 7; Josh. v 6), Othniel (Judges iii 11), Deborah (Judges v 31), Gideon (Judges viii 28), the Philistine oppression (Judges xiii 1), Eli (1 Sam. iv 18), Saul (Acts xiii 21), and David (2 Sam. v 4; 1 Kings ii 11; 1 Chron. xxix 27), and to what extent does the use of this figure 40 as the length of Solomon's reign contribute to the "tremendous advantage" of the date 922 over my date of 931? When one begins with an uncertainty (814 for the founding of Carthage), when one adds to it a number of additional uncertainties, and when one subtracts from it still another uncertainty, how can all this provide such completeness of certainty for the year 922? What more can be claimed for such dates thus arrived at than is claimed by ROWTON himself, namely, that "the absolute [sic] dates thus obtained are at least approximately correct"? The date 931 for the disruption certainly has much more to commend it than does 922.

ALBRIGHT's latest effort to fix more definitely the dates of the Bubastite pharaohs [2]) with the hope of throwing some light on contemporary Hebrew chronology involves too much of vague uncertainty, unwarranted conjecture, and inconclusive approximations to justify any modification in the dates provided for the Hebrew kings by a careful consideration of the biblical data and synchronizations with established dates in Assyrian history.

Another area where a comparison of the chronological data for Israel and Judah produces certain interesting and significant results is the period of Amaziah and Azariah in Judah and of Jehoash and Jeroboam II in Israel. Beginning with the simultaneous accessions of Jehu and Athaliah the regnal years are as follows:

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[1]) *Ant.*, VIII. 211.

[2]) W. F. ALBRIGHT, "New Light from Egypt on the Chronology and History of Israel and Judah", *BASOR* No. 130, pp. 4-11.

Excess years for Israel	Israel, official years			Judah, official years	Excess years for Judah
		Jehu 28	Athaliah 7		
			—	7	
	28	—	Joash 40		
		Jehoahaz 17			
	45	—			
		Jehoash 16	—	47	
	61	—	Amaziah 29		
12	88	27 th	—	76	
		Jeroboam 41	Azariah		
	102	—	38th	114	12
		Zachariah 6 mo.			
	103	—	39th	115	12
		Shallum 1 mo.			
	103	—	39th	115	12
		Menahem			

The striking feature in the above tabulation is the fact that beginning with the reign of Jeroboam II there is an excess of 12 regnal years in Israel over Judah and from the time of Azariah onward there is an excess of 12 years in Judah over Israel. Or, compared to a given norm, there is an excess of 12 years for the regnal totals of Israel beginning with Jeroboam II and in Judah there is an excess of 24 years over that norm beginning with Azariah.

Since the accession of Amaziah took place in the 2d year of Jehoash (2 Ki. xiv 1) and Jehoash ruled 16 years, the first 14 years of Amaziah overlap the last 14 years of Jehoash. Amaziah ruled a total of 29 years and was succeeded by Azariah in the 27th year of Jeroboam (2 Ki. xv 1). Since the first 14 of Amaziah's 29 years overlapped the last 14 years of Jehoash, and since Amaziah's 29th and last year coincides with Jeroboam's 27th year, the last 15 years of Amaziah must overlap the last 15 of these 27 years of Jeroboam and Jeroboam's first 12 years must, therefore, overlap the reign of his father Jehoash.

Inasmuch as Amaziah terminated his reign in the 27th year of Jeroboam's reign of 41 years, Jeroboam must have reigned 14 years after Amaziah's death. Jeroboam's successor was Zachariah who began his rule in the 38th year of Azariah (2 Ki. xv 8). Since the death of Amaziah took place only 14 years before the 38th year of Azariah, Azariah must have begun his reign 24 years before the death of Amaziah. It is this overlap of 24 years of Azariah's reign with that of his father Amaziah and the coregency of 12 years of Jeroboam

with his father Jehoash that are responsible for the twelve excess years in the regnal totals of Israel compared with Judah at the time of Jeroboam II and for the twelve year excess in Judah as compared with Israel at the time of Azariah. The biblical data for both of these reigns give the total number of years for each of these kings, including the overlapping years with the previous ruler, but the synchronisms are given in terms of the beginning of the sole reign as was the case with Omri. It is the failure to take this point into consideration that has given rise to so much difficulty in the endeavor to reconstruct the chronology of this period.

An important verification for these overlapping reigns of 12 years in Israel and 24 years in Judah is found in a comparison of the regnal totals of Israel and Judah with the contemporary chronology of Assyria.

Albright has called attention to the existence of an excess of 24 years for this century in the regnal totals of Judah which he suggests can be eliminated entirely by reducing the biblical datum of each king for this period [1]). There is, however, no need of rejecting these numbers of the MT once the coregency of Azariah with Amaziah is recognized.

The existence of these overlapping reigns at this period in Judah and Israel finds strong support in the military and political situation then existing (2 Ki. xiv 7-29; 2 Chron. xxv 5-27). Amaziah having started on his expedition against Edom with a large contingent of Israelite troops to assist him on his campaign, dismissed the Israelites and single-handedly gained a great victory over Edom. Upon his return, however, he found the Israelites strongly incensed against him because of the summary dismissal of their troops. His victory over Edom having gone to his head, Amaziah sent a challenge of war to Jehoash. The latter demurred, but seeing that Amaziah was insistent upon a test of arms, Jehoash gathered his forces for an invasion of Judah. Before setting out on this campaign, the results of which he could not forsee, it would have been only a matter of prudence to place Jeroboam upon the throne. Judah was invaded and a great victory was gained. Amaziah himself was captured, Jerusalem was taken, a large part of its northern wall was destroyed, the temple and palace were stripped of their treasures, and many of the people were carried off as hostages. It would have been only natural for Judah at

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[1]) *BASOR*, No. 100, p. 19.

this point, without a ruler and thoroughly disgusted with their captive king for his foolhardy course in plunging his nation into this unnecessary and disastrous war, to elevate his young son Azariah to the throne. Amaziah lived on for another twenty-four years, and although he did not rule, these years were included in the official length of his reign.

The unusual datum of 2 Ki. xiv 17 that Amaziah lived fifteen years after the death of Jehoash is of interest in this connection. It was probably recorded to indicate the fact that Amaziah was kept captive in Israel till the death of Jehoash, whereupon he was allowed to return to Judah, to live but not to reign for 15 years till his death.

As to the record of 2 Ki. xiv 19 concerning the conspiracy against Amaziah and his assassination at Lachish, I have been reminded by Prof. John L. McKenzie, that this statement might be similar to the "generally admitted foreshortening of perspective in the biblical notice of the murder of Sennacherib (4 Kgs xix 37) [1])".

The above reconstruction would place Amaziah's war against Edom in the year 793 B.C., his challenge to Jehoash somewhat later in the same year, the beginning of Jeroboam's coregency in 793/92, the invasion of Judah by Jehoash in 792, and the capture of Jerusalem, the seizure of Amaziah and the beginning of Azariah's coregency in either 792 or 791, depending upon whether Azariah began reckoning his 52 years on the throne with an accession-year or a first year. In an ordinary coregency the initial year of the coregent was termed the first and not the accession year. In this case, however, Judah probably regarded Azariah as ruling in his own right and thus his initial year on the throne would have been termed his accession year, which would have been 792/91, with 791/90 as his first official year. The death of Jehoash and the beginning of Jeroboam's sole reign took place in 782/81. Amaziah also was released that year from his captivity and died fifteen years later, in 767. That was the 27th year since Jeroboam first began to reign and that is the synchronism given for Azariah's accession (2 Ki. xv 1).

Still another indication of the existence of these overlapping reigns is found in certain peculiarities in the closing formulas of the reigns of Jehoash and Amaziah. In the case of Jehoash the usual closing formula is found in 2 Ki. xiii 12, 13. Occurring at this place, it has long been a source of perplexity since the closing part of the chap-

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[1]) *Catholic Biblical Quarterly*, XIV, 301.

ter in which it is found deals with additional acts of the king whose reign it was to have brought to a close, and a second closing formula in almost identical language is found in ch. xiv 15, 16, inserted in the record of Amaziah of Judah (ch. xiv 1-22). The *Seder Olam*, Kimḥi, and others have offered the suggestion that the occurrence of these two closing formulas implies that Jehoash had associated his son Jeroboam with himself on the throne.

In the closing formula of Amaziah's reign in 2 Ki. xiv 22, after the customary mention of the king's successor — usually the last item in the formula — the statement occurs that Azariah, the record of whose reign does not begin till ch. xv 1, built Elath and restored it to Judah. Concerning the occurrence of this phrase at this unusual place, SUMNER declares that it is either a most idle and meaningless statement or it has a significance which has not yet been perceived and suggests that it is difficult to avoid the suspicion that it alludes to the fact that Azariah had been elevated to the throne before the death of his father took place [1]).

A careful consideration of the above reconstruction reveals the fact that it solves at once the many difficulties in this part of the biblical narrative. It solves the perplexing chronological problems, it explains the remarkable datum of 2 Ki. xiv 17, it clears up the perplexities connected with the unusual closing formulas for the reigns of Jehoash and Amaziah, and it gives the reason why the people of Judah would make the sixteen-year old Azariah king instead of his father. Each of the above lines of evidence contains elements pointing to the above coregencies. Taken together the testimony appears to be quite conclusive.

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[1]) Karl Chr. W. F. BÄHR, *The Books of the Kings*, comment on 2 Ki. xiv 21 v. by W. G. SUMNER in *A Commentary on the Holy Scriptures*, ed. John Peter LANGE.

SHORT NOTES

BERICHTIGUNG

In meinem *Biblisch-Aramäischen Wörterbuch* (KOEHLER-BAUMGARTNER, *Lexicon* etc. S. 1045ff.) muss ich die folgenden Ausfälle berichtigen:

S. 1051a ist hinter אמר einzuschieben
*אִמַּר: he. אִמֵּר, n.m. ::BASOR 86, 25f.; Suğ. Ab 4, äga. u. palm. אמר, ja. u. cp. אִמַּר, sy. (ܐܡܪ), und. עמברא (MG 77); fem. אִמַּרְתָּא ja. cp.; > ܐܡܪ, Frae. 107f.; ut ph. אמר, ug. *ʾmr* LW < ak. *immeru* (Zimm. 50)?: pl. אִמְּרִין: Lamm (als Opfertier) *lamb* (as sacrificial victim) Esr. 6, 9-17 u. 7, 17 (iuxta דִּכְרִין). †

S. 1057a ist im Stichwort בית die letzte Zeile ausgefallen:
pe.: pf. בָּת die Nacht verbringen *pass the night* Da 6, 19. †

In der Einleitung S. xxxii ist im zweiten Absatz, Z. 6 vor „die nab." einzuschieben: „für die Elephantinepapyri Cowley", und entsprechend S. xlviii.

Basel. W. BAUMGARTNER

YÂD IN THE SHEMITTA-LAW

The modern lexicographers, BROWN, BUHL, ZORELL, and especially KÖHLER, find no problem attaching to the sense of *yâd* Dt xv 2 [1]). They do not even take issue on the alternatives weightily discussed

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[1]) FRANCIS BROWN [S. R. DRIVER, C. A. BRIGGS], *Hebrew and English Lexicon* (Oxford 1952 = 1907) 389 under *yâd* says only "the creditor is *ba'al maššêh yâdô*", but under *maššeh* p. 674 "every possessor of a loan of his hand shall renounce what he lends to his neighbour"; this view is ascribed to S. R. DRIVER, *Deuteronomy*[3] (Edinburgh 1902) 175, which in turn credits GESENIUS. GESENIUS-BUHL, *Handwörterbuch*[17] (Berlin 1949 = 1915) 842 under *šmṭ*: "*maššêh yâdô*, das Handdarlehen, d.h. das Recht der Schuldforderung Dt xv 2 (falls nicht š[âmôṭ] m[it] *yâdô* z[u], verb[inden]; l[ies] dann *maššêh* u[nd] str[eich] *'ašër y*[*aššêh*] *b*[*erêʿêhû*]". F. ZORELL,

by GESENIUS [1]). *Šâmôṭ kol ba'al maššêh yâdô* is generally rendered "every possessor of a loan of his hand shall release". GESENIUS disapproves referring the suffix of *yâdô* to the creditor, either in the sense (supposing *maššêh*) "every holder of a loan will release his hand", or taking "the loan of his hand" as "what his hand gave as loan". He favors rather a composite notion as in German *sein Handlehen* = *sein Darlehen*, based on either of two alternatives: 1) "loan confirmed by *handshake*" as Esr. x 19 they gave their hands that they would break up evil marriages; Job xvii 3 who will pledge himself to me by handshake?; 2) "loan sealed by *handwriting*" as Tob. i 17 sub *chirographo* dedit illi memoratum pondus argenti (LXX has only i 14 "I *deposited* with Gabael ten talents of silver"). FÜRST-RYSSEL further clarify that the loan of a *hand* is an *immediate* one, excluding the notion of deposit or pledge (*Gegennahme*) which *maššeh* of itself has [2]).

More recently HORST has sustained at some length that *yâdô* cannot possibly refer to the *creditor* but means the debtor "der seine Hand hat beleihen lassen" [3]). Here it is claimed that *maššeh* is a true participle and true hifil, not simply convertible with qal; "hand" is the handshake of the debtor as his guarantee; *ba'al* quite alone means "creditor". "The creditor shall release the one who used his handshake to get a loan". Moreover, precisely as distinguished from *lwḥ*, *nš'* involves lending against pledge, or rather any form of contracting indebtedness which involves a pledge or guarantor, *nôšeh*; and this pledge is in first instance the debtor himself taken into custody by the creditor [4]). It is therefore the debtor himself who is to be released from custody in the shemitta-year, and MENES' brilliant conjecture solves the dilem-

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Lexicon hebraicum et aramaicum (Rome 1946) 292 associates with Dt xv 2 *maššêh yâd* the particular sense "commodatum" under the general rubric *yâd* "manus dans", whence often "facultas dandi" as Lv. v 7. 11; xii 8 "manus eius non invenit" = prae paupertate non potest dare. LUDWIG KÖHLER, *Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti Libros* (fasc. 6, Leiden 1950) 362 does not give this occurrence of *yâd* at all.

[1]) WILHELM GESENIUS, *Thesaurus philologicus criticus linguae hebraeae*[2] (Leipzig 1839) 2, 920. The version "every holder of a loan will release his hand" is given by J. H. MAI in Maimonides *Hilchuth Schemittah wejobel* (Frankfurt 1708) 92; JEAN LECLERC, *Mosis Prophetae libri quinque*[2] (Amsterdam 1735) 1, 895; ERNEST F. ROSENMÜLLER, *Scholia in Vetus Testamentum*[3] (Leipzig 1824) 2, 526.

[2]) FÜRST-RYSSEL, *Handwörterbuch*[3] (Leipzig 1876) 1, 792.

[3]) FRIEDRICH HORST, *Das Privilegrecht Jahwes, rechtsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zum Deuteronomium*, Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des A. und N.T. 45 = 28 (Göttingen 1930) 59; 63.

[4]) HORST, *Privilegrecht* 61, modifying A. JEPSEN, *Untersuchungen zum Bundesbuch*, Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom A. und N.T. 41 (Stuttgart 1927) 44; ARMIN ABELES, "Der Bürge nach biblischem Recht" *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums* 30 (1922) 279-294; 31 (1923) 35-53; especially 39.

ma of whether the "release" was cancellation or merely extension of the debt [1]).

Koschaker has devoted a tome to the (late) cuneiform usage of guarantor, and specifically "in the hands" (*ina qâtâ*) of the creditor [2]). This hand-gesture is a formality, not of contracting a loan, but of the guarantor surrendering himself into the *custody* of the creditor [3]). This usage is strikingly attested in mediaeval Europe [4]). It may be considered universal, since it is found also in Job xvii 3; Prov. vi 1; xi 15; xvii 18; xxii 26, and in Greek law [5]). In the Old-Babylonian documents the guarantor himself is designated as *qâtu* "hand"; Koschaker does not comment on the anomaly of far *older* documents preserving the abbreviated form of a locution which in its more primitive form is found 1500 years later [6]). He regards the "hand" here as token not of promise but of physical strength (Sumerian *ŠÚ* = hand; strength) and work-capacity (vornehmstes Werkzeug). The *custody* however is purely symbolic, and the *actual* hand-gesture which the vocable implies may have already fallen into desuetude in Hammurabi's time, as in the modern Slavic *rękojemstwo*.

Another Old-Babylonian document VS-VII-98 refers the "*withdrawing* of the hand" *ga-ti* ... *na-aš-ḫa-at-ma* to the *release* (*shemitta*!) of the debtor [7]). In Assyrian documents the guarantor is called *bêl qâtâ* [8]); compare *ba'al* [*maššêh*] *yâdô!* The nature of the hand-gesture is vaguely hinted in four Babylonian phrases: *qât-su ina lib-bi te-el-li* "his hand goes up"; and *našû* "raise", *nadânu* "give", *maḫâṣu* "shake"

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[1]) Abram Menes, "Die vorexilischen Gesetze Israels", *B.Z.A.W.* 50 (Giessen 1928) 81.

[2]) Paul Koschaker, *Babylonisch-assyrisches Bürgschaftsrecht: ein Beitrag zur Lehre der Schuld und Haftung* (Leipzig 1911) 219, with examples from Nebukadnezzar, Neriglissar, Cyrus, Cambyses, Darius; defends the sense of "into" for *ina* (ordinarily "from").

[3]) This act may be performed by the debtor himself, delivering himself into the custody of the creditor if he fails to pay: Koschaker, *B-A Bürgschaftsrecht* 104, Ev Mer 13 = BR-III-9.

[4]) Reference given to Puntschart, *Schuldvertrag und Treugelöbnis des sächsischen Rechts im Mittelalter* (Leipzig 1896); Siegel, *Handschlag und Eid im deutschen Rechtsleben*, 9; Gierke, *Schuld und Haftung im älteren deutschen Recht* (Breslau 1910); Dąbkowski, *Rękojemstwo w prawie polskiem* (1904) 44.

[5]) Partsch, *Griechisches Bürgschaftsrecht* (Leipzig 1909) 45: *engyêtês* "guarantor", *en* + Homeric *guía* "hand".

[6]) Koschaker, *B-A Bürgschaftsrecht* 15.

[7]) Koschaker, *B-A Bürgschaftsrecht* 25. Note on p. 46 the curious (late) use of "foot" also in guarantees: the debtor "vouches for his foot (*pu-ut ŝe-pi-ŝu*) in the hands of N."

[8]) Koschaker, *B-A Bürgschaftsrecht* 240.

hands. Where these verbs are followed by *pû-tu* "front; *for*", it may be taken as "palm", i.e. upraised hand, as the *palmata*, *paumée* of Old French guarantors; or more probably the *object* is sufficiently implied in the verb, and *pûtu* is used without object, as (the Germans claim) one says in English "I'll warrant for." or "I'll answer for." as a complete sentence meaning *for it* [1]).

Applying these interesting data to the Hebrew cognate *yâd* would justify the sense *Handlehen* as a loan "guaranteed by the hand of the debtor". But we find more significant in KOSCHAKER's analysis the fact that the guarantor is delivered (symbolically, he *assumes*) into the custody of the creditor. This recalls vividly WEIL's contention that the *pledge* for a loan was a person subject to the debtor, his slave or son [or self, why not?] turned over by him into the custody of the creditor to work out the debt [2]). He takes *maššeh* not as "loan" (formerly defended by deriving *nš'* from Akkadian *râšu* "creditor" as in Aramaic), but as "pledge" [i.e. instrument of the action *nš'*]; *nš'* is not "to lend" but "to make a contract which involves receiving [pledge acc.] and lending [to, *bᵉ*-]". The analogy of KOSCHAKER's *našû pût* might tempt to regard *maššêh yâdô* as "his hand-raising" i.e. his *pledge*, the pledge turned over *to* him; but it is awkward to refer the suffix of *yâd* not to the one who raised his hand but to the one who holds the "hand-raising" i.e. pledge.

It seems best therefore to retain WEIL's sense for *maššeh* and render "every holder of a pledge *at his disposition* (*yâdô*) shall release what he has received-by-pledge-loan-contract with his brother". This rendition is obviously supported by CAZELLES "Tout prêteur, détenteur d'un gage 'massa' qu'il aura obtenu en gage de son prochain", though for stylistic motives he absorbs *yâd* in "détenteur" [3]). Lexically, therefore, *yâd* is "power" [4]), referring to the temporary dominion or control exercised by the holder of a pledge.

Rome ROBERT NORTH

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[1]) KOSCHAKER, *B-A Bürgschaftsrecht* 220, on the authority of MÜLLER and RHODOKANAKIS.

[2]) H. M. WEIL, "Gage et Cautionnement dans la Bible" *Archives d'Histoire du Droit Oriental* 2 (1938) 171; 188; 196; 237.

[3]) HENRI CAZELLES, *Le Deutéronome* (Paris 1950) 70.

[4]) Compare Dt. xvi 17; xxxiv 12; Ez. xlvi 5. 11; 2 Sam. viii 3; Job xxvii 11; and according to HORST, *Privilegrecht Jahwes* 63, also in Lv. xxv 35 "hand" is symbol of "power, dominion, independent disposition". Talmudic examples of this sense of *yâd* are cited from *Qiddušin* 3b and *Gittin* 64b in LEVY-FLEISCHER-GOLDSCHMIDT, *Wörterbuch über die Talmudim und Midraschim* (Berlin 1924) 2, 220.

ISAIAH LVII 17 — הַסְתֵּר וְאֶקְצֹף AND THE DSIa VARIANT

It is sometimes assumed that the irregularity of the MT reading וְאֶקְצֹף could be cured by the substitution of a strong *waw* for the weak one [1]). It is difficult, however, to see how the reading or its substitute differ in principle from admittedly irregular cases where a finite verb with וְ or וַ prefixed follows the infinitive הָלֹךְ, which is preceded by a finite tense from the same stem [2]). *Biblia Hebraica* recommends the emendation of אֶקְצֹף (וְ) to the infinitive absolute. TORREY, on the other hand, regards the MT reading וְאֶקְצֹף as a double reading, the verb in the first person being, in his opinion, inferior to the infinitive absolute וָקָצֹף, which lay before the Greek translator [3]).

The DSIa reading ואהסתר ואקצופה suggests that syntactically the correct choice might be between הַסְתֵּר וָקָצֹף and וָאַסְתֵּר וָאֶקְצֹף, either reading being satisfactory from the point of view of strict exegesis. The first would be adverbial to קצפתי ואכהו, whereas the second reading would relate to the withdrawal of God's favour and to His enduring anger *after* the chastisement of Israel. The second reading would, if anything, be slightly superior, since it would allow for a lapse of time between the punishment of Israel and God's resolve to heal and comfort him (v. 18).

G. R. DRIVER has suggested that the DSI reading may represent אסתר corrected to הסתר by the insertion of a *hê* after the *aleph* [4]). The difficulty with this explanation is that it does not account for the *waw* prefixed to the word in DSI. The *waw* could be due to dittography or could perhaps be explained in some other way to be an error, but in that case the syntactical irregularity of the MT reading would, on the view taken by the present writer, reappear.

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[1]) *E.g.*, S. R. DRIVER, *Tenses*, Oxford, 1892, p. 216, note 4; E. KÖNIG, *Syntax der Hebräischen Sprache*, Leipzig, 1897, § 366 t.

[2]) S. R. DRIVER, *Notes on the Hebrew text etc. of the Books of Samuel*, Oxford, 1913, p. 160, where the emendation of the second finite verb to the corresponding infin. abs. is recommended in the following cases: Josh. vi 13; 1 Sam. xix 23; 2 Sam. xiii 19, xvi 13 and at p. 56 — Isa. xxxi 5; so M. LAMBERT, *Traité de Grammaire hébraïque*, Paris, 1946, p. 265, note 1, and *Biblia Hebraica*.

[3]) *The Second Isaiah*, Edinburgh, 1928, p. 436.

[4]) *J.T.S.* (*N.S.*) vol. ii, 1951, p. 18; J. T. MILIK, *Biblica xxxi*, 1950, p. 212, assumes, without discussing the point, that the reading represents a finite verb.

On balance it would not seem impossible, therefore, that the DSI reading represents a genuine alternative tradition and that the *waw* and *aleph* of the first word may have been superimposed on a reading consonantally identical with the MT reading, for the purpose of ensuring the transmission of that tradition.

It remains to be noted that despite the resemblance which the MT reading bears superficially to the construcion ונגף ... נגף ונרפו in DSIa xix 22, the two are syntactically distinct [5]).

Manchester ARIE RUBINSTEIN

UNE VISITE AU CAIRE

En Octobre 1953, j'ai pu me rendre en Egypte pour une courte visite dans le but de sonder sur place les possibilités de recherches éventuelles. Les relations entre ce pays et la Terre-Sainte, particulièrement étroites à l'époque où fleurit la communauté de Qoumrân, me donnait l'espoir de trouver là-bas quelques lumières sur les questions que soulèvent l'existence et la nature de cette dernière.

Mon attention était surtout attirée vers le centre karaïte du Caire; il a conservé, jusqu'à notre époque, *l'Ecrit de Damas*. Les trésors de la communauté karaïte au Caire (comme, d'ailleurs, des autres communautés) ont souvent intéressé des chercheurs qui, pour se les procurer, ont parfois appliqué des méthodes peu honnêtes et peu loyales. Malgré ce pillage répété on peut encore aujourd'hui trouver chez des personnes privées de précieux manuscrits.

Une étude des traditions conservées dans cette communauté karaïte, le plus grande qui existe encore actuellement et dont les origines locales remontent très haut, pouvait aussi donner des résultats. Aujourd'hui, ces traditions ne sont pas comprises des Karaïtes eux-mêmes. En voici un exemple qui m'a frappé dès le debut de mon séjour: en 1948 un catéchisme karaïte a été publié au Caire en arabe sous le titre מרה צדק. L'éditeur, M. David LICHAA, Karaïte très érudit, que j'ai interrogé sur ce terme, m'a donné à peu près la réponse suivante: „J'ai choisi comme titre l'expression *Maître de Justice* parce qu'on l'emploie chez nous couramment. Personne ne

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[5]) The change of subject implied by the Niph'al form (whether infin. abs. or finite tense) precludes the clause being from adverbial. It must also be borne in mind that נגף spelt defectively could be a cognate accusative — נֶגֶף.

sait pourquoi on a une propension pour cette expression ni à qui s'applique ce titre". J'ai montré à M. LICHAA la prière *Et qu'Il nous envoie le Maître de Justice pour ramener le cœur des pères vers les fils* (*VT*, II, 348) et je lui ai demandé de qui il s'agissait ici. La réponse fut: „Je ne sais pas. Peut-être du Messie?". Les découvertes de Qoumrân étaient absolument inconnues de M. LICHAA et des autres Karaïtes. Mon récit sur ce sujet fut pour eux une véritable révélation.

J'ai demandé M. LICHAA qu'il cherche dans les anciens ouvrages les passages contenants le terme *Maître de Justice*. Quelques jours plus tard, il attira mon attention sur le passage de Osée (X 12) contenant l'expression: וְיוֹרֶה צֶדֶק לָכֶם *celui qui vous enseignera la justice*. Il est intéressant de remarquer que le verset suivant possède l'expression: פְּרִי־כָחַשׁ *le fruit de mensonge*.

Le catéchisme susdit mérite l'attention à un autre point de vue. Il donne sous une forme très abrégée [1]) les articles de foi dans une rédaction différente de celle qui est généralement répandue. Celle-ci provient, dans sa forme définitive, de Eliyahu Baṣiacï (mort en 1490). BAṢIACÏ était élève du fameux rabbin Mordecai Comtino et possédait une érudition considérable, mais il avait perdu le sentiment et la compréhension de l'essence du Karaïsme. Par sa tendance à tout niveler, il a détruit les anciens mœurs et usages, l'ancienne législation canonique, l'ancien calendrier, etc. (MANN, *Texts and Studies*, Vol. II, *Ḳaraitica*, Philadelphia, 1935, 297-302, 447, 684, 698-701; M. FRANCO, *Essai sur l'histoire des Israélites*..., Paris, 1897, 33, 34). Comme c'était un esprit très puissant, son influence sur la direction du développement ultérieur de la doctrine karaïte fut considérable.

Heureusement, la rédaction des articles de foi conservée au Caire nous a gardé une tradition plus ancienne et, par conséquent, plus originale. D'après la rédaction mise au point par Baṣiacï, le Messie doit être de la race de David, ce qui est contraire aux anciennes croyances karaïtes (*REJ*, *69*, 129; *70*, 70-72) sur le Messie de la race d'AARON. La rédaction du Caire va plus loin et ne contient pas un seul mot sur le Messie, comme si cette question n'existait pas ou était définitivement résolue.

Un autre article de la rédaction du Caire qui traite la question des prophètes, met, parmi les premièrs, les Septante. C'est une donnée qui à ma connaissance n'avait pas été signalée jusqu'ici et mérite

[1]) Le texte complet a été publié précédement aussi au Caire.

d'être étudiée de près. On sait que la traduction des Septante a été faite en milieu égyptien hellénisé, milieu qui a donné Philon. Rappelons-nous aussi les conclusions aux-quelles B. REVEL (*JQR*, New Series, III, 396, 394) était arrivé dans son étude sur la législation canonique karaïte: „... Philo thus influencing, not only the theological views of the first Karaite philosophers (Benjamin Nahawendi and his followers), but also their interpretation of biblical laws and their practices". „The allegorical method of interpretation, characteristic of Philo, was popular also among the Karaites ...", „... the fact ... that *in most of Philo's deviations from Tradition the Karaites hold the same view*, points to some kind of dependence of the latter on Philo, or to common descent from a particular tradition. The former view gains in probability ...". Dans ces conditions la position des Karaïtes sur le „prophétisme" des Septante s'explique parfaitement.

Mon autre informateur fut un érudit âgé, M. Elie Baroukh MASSOUDA. Il m'a montré une note prise par lui à la fin du XIXe s. lors de sa visite à la synagogue de Ben Ezra à Fostat. Sur l'arche contenant les rouleaux de l'Ecriture, figurait le texte de *Chema*. Ce n'était pas la rédaction habituelle: שְׁמַע יִשְׂרָאֵל יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ יְהוָה אֶחָד: בָּרוּךְ שֵׁם כְּבוֹד מַלְכוּתוֹ לְעוֹלָם וָעֶד: mais la rédaction telle qu'elle est employée par les Karaïtes: שְׁמַע יִשְׂרָאֵל יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ יְהוָה אֶחָד: אֶחָד אֱלֹהֵינוּ גָּדוֹל אֲדֹנֵינוּ קָדוֹשׁ וְנוֹרָא שְׁמוֹ לְעוֹלָם וָעֶד: Actuellement cette inscription n'existe plus. Elle a été probablement enlevée lors de la reconstruction totale de la synagogue il y a un demi-siècle (Richard J. H. GOTTHEIL, *JQR*, XIX, 507-508). Comme le relate GOTTHEIL, les Karaïtes ont participé aux frais de rénovation et ont le droit d'y brûler de l'huile. Pendant ma visite à la synagogue de Ben Ezra j'ai vu les Karaïtes du Caire qui m'accompagnaient allumer les lampadaires en versant quelques monnaies au gardien.

Dans l'histoire officielle de la synagogue mise à la connaissance du public par les responsables, on lit que: „ ... about 900 years ago, the great Rabbi, Abraham Ben-Ezra left Jerusalem for Egypt where he accidently found the signs of Moses and where he built this Synagogue in his name".

Parmi d'autres précieuses informations qu'il m'a fournies, une surtout mérite l'attention: M. MASSOUDA connait personnellement la petite communauté de Hitt, dernier reste d'un grand centre karaïte de Mésopotamie. Comme le relate M. MASSOUDA, les Karaïtes de Hitt gardent jusqu'ici l'usage hémérobaptiste et, deux fois par jour,

avant chacune des deux prières quotidiennes (le matin et le soir), ils se plongent entièrement dans l'Euphrate.

Semblable forme de purification par immersion totale dans la rivière a été notée au début de XIXe s. chez les Karaïtes européens (Halicz près de Lwòw) par Joseph ROHRER (*Bemerkungen auf einer Reise von der Türkischen Gränze* ..., Wien, 1804, 111): „Dieser nähmlich hütet sich eben so sehr, wie jeder andere Karaime, einen Mitbruder sterben zu sehen, weil er sich sonst verunreinigt glaubt, und daher, der herkömmlichen Sitte nach, sogleich zu dem Dniester laufen, und im Flusse sich bis gegen den Kopf versenken muss. Vom diesem peinlichen Gesetze sind selbst die Weiber dieser Secte nicht ausgenommen; auch sie müssen sich im Flusswasser so weit untertauchen, als es ihnen möglich ist, ohne von der Gewalt des Stromes fortgerissen zu werden".

Je n'ai malheureusement pas pu consacrer plus d'une dizaine de jours à cette enquête quoique la communauté karaïte du Caire puisse être l'objet de fructueuses recherches sur les questions posées par les dernières découvertes.

En effet, c'est au Caire que se conserva très longtemps, jusqu'aux temps modernes, la tradition d'une liaison étroite du Karaïsme avec les Esséniens. Richard POCKOCKE (*Voyages* ... Tome second, Paris, 1772, p.51, *Etat de la Religion en Egypte*) en parle dans les termes suivants:

„Ce sont les anciens *Esseniens*, qu'on appelle aujourd'hui *Charaims*, de *Mekra*, qui est le nom qu'ils donnent aux cinq livres de Moyse, dont ils observent strictement la lettre, ne faisant aucun cas des traditions écrites".

Cette liaison, oubliée par la suite, fut rappelée au XIXe s. par quelques savants et surtout, à plusieurs reprises, par Kaufmann KOHLER. Les dernières découvertes ont appuyé ces points de vue. Les recherches dans les sources karaïtes et surtout les observations faites sur place dans les plus anciennes communautés existants encore au Caire et à Hitt peuvent contribuer à jeter quelque lumière sur de nombreuses questions encore obscures.

POST-SCRIPTUM

La présente note était déjà envoyée à l'impression quand, au début de Février 1954, M. Ernest MAINZ a eu l'amabilité de me faire parvenir son article *The Credo of a fourteenth century Karaite* (*Proceedings of*

the American Academy for Jewish Research, vol. XXII, 1953, pp. 55-63). L'auteur publie le texte complet des articles de foi, que je mentionne, dans la rédaction d'Israël ben Samuel ha-Ma'arāvī et le munit d'un commentaire. Notons à ce sujet que le *Geschichte des Karäerthums* attribué par M. MAINZ à JOST est en réalité l'œuvre de Julius FÜRST.

M. MAINZ est très frappé par l'absence de toute mention du Messie dans le texte. Il explique cela par l'inclination à la flatterie de la part des Karaïtes qui n'ont pas voulu irriter les Fatimides ayant des aspirations messianiques. L'auteur oppose cette pusillanimité des Karaïtes à l'héroïsme de Maïmonide qui a eu le courage civil d'exprimer toujours en toute franchise ses convictions. Mais, à la même page, M. MAINZ tombe en contradiction avec lui-même. Il note qu' Aaron ben Eliya, contemporain d'Israël, ne mentionne pas par un seul mot le Messie dans son ouvrage fondamental *Ets Ḥayim*. Est-ce que Aaron était aussi tellement troublé par la peur, quoiqu'il habitât loin de la sphère de pouvoir des Fatimides et de leurs successeurs (son activité a eu lieu à Nicomédie, en Asie Mineure, d'où provient son surnom Nicomedi et il est mort à Constantinople en 1369)?

Est-ce-que, avant de recourir à ces procédés traditionnels et faciles (pusillanimité, „faussetés" de FIRKOWICZ, etc.), il ne serait pas plus utile d'étudier la question du Messie dans la littérature karaïte? Il fallait au moins consulter les ouvrages de Qirqisānī qui ne peuvent être inconnus à qui touche de près ou de loin le Karaïsme. L'auteur, quoiqu'ayant vécu à l'époque de l'apogée de la puissance des Fatimides, n'hésitait pas à soulever ce sujet dangereux. Dans son *Kitab al-Anwar* (composé vers le milieu du X-ème siècle) Qirqisānī cite une opinion des Karaïtes selon laquelle le Messie „est déjà arrivé et passé" (publié par L. NEMOY dans le VII-ème volume de *H. U. Coll. Annual*, p. 395).

La passivité proverbiale des Karaïtes dans les affaires les concernant a encouragé non seulement HARKAVY, DEINARD et STRACK, mais même des auteurs considérés comme objectifs et sérieux, à enraciner dans le monde les points de vue et les opinions les plus étranges et les plus absurdes sur le Karaïsme. Tout de même, n'est-il pas temps pour ceux qui s'occupent de ce sujet de l'étudier en profondeur?

Paris S. SZYSZMAN

A CASE OF ABBREVIATION RESULTING IN DOUBLE READINGS

It is the accepted opinion that the O.T. makes sometimes use of abbreviations of the Tetragrammaton [1]). יהוה is presented in certain cases by יה or even by one letter only י, or ה. Abbreviations of this kind have given rise to misreadings and variants in translation which were caused by the contraction of the letters י or ה with the preceding word. Copyists sometimes understood those consonants to be indications of the possessive pronoun 1st pers. or 3rd pers. fem. respectively [2]). On the other hand textual differences were caused by the copyists' or translators' readiness to interpret the possessive pronouns י and ה as abbreviations of the divine name where nothing of the kind was intended in the text [3]). Both these sources of misinterpretation are a by-product of the scripta continua.

Under favourable circumstances the abbreviation of the Tetragrammaton could result in a number of parallel readings as in the instance quoted below.

The MT of Ex. xv 2 עזי וזמרת יה ויהי לי לישועה [4]) and its Samaritan equivalent עזי וזמרתי ויהי לי לישועה [5]) appear to be variants of an original עזי וזמרתי יהוה ויהי לי..

We assume that יהוה was shortened to 'י and that by means of regressive haplography in the Sam. version this letter was embodied in the suffix of the preceding noun, whereas in MT this same suffix was severed from its noun and amalgamated with the abbreviated

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[1]) F. Perles, *Analekten zur Textkritik des A.T.*, 1895, pp. 12, 16 f., 92; idem, *Neue Folge*, 1922, pp. 1-11, F. Delitzsch, *Lese- und Schreibfehler im A.T.*, N. H. Torczyner, *Proverbia*, 1947, pp. 73-81 (Hebrew).

[2]) Ez. xxii 3, עליה, lege (וה)יה על,

Jer. vi 11 חמת יהוה, G: θυμόν μου,

Jona i 9 עברי אנכי, G: Δοῦλος κυρίου ἐγώ εἰμι.

Dr. I. L. Seeligmann has drawn the writer's attention to the last two passages.

[3]) Ex. xii 42 הלילה הזה ליהוה (ל)שמרים lege (ל)ליל שמרים.

Num. xvi 11 על יהוה (ל) ואהרן lege עלי ואהרן.

Judg. xix 18 אני הלך יהוה (ל) ואת בית lege ואת ביתי אני הלך.

[4]) Comp. Ps. cxviii 14.

[5]) A. v. Gall, *Der Hebraeische Pentateuch der Samaritaner*, 1918, p. 45 registers the following variants from Samaritan mss. וזמרתיה; וזמר.תיה; וזמרתי.ה; וזמרת.יה.

Musil, *Sieben Samaritanische Inschriften aus Damaskus* (Sitzungsber. der kaiserl. Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosoph.-histor. Klasse, Bd. CXLVII, Abhdl. I) lists a Samaritan Inscription which quotes in abbreviated form the verse עזי וזמרתי ויהי לי לישועה. These words are inscribed there in the following manner: עזי : ז : וי : לי : ליש : This points to a complete omission of the Tetragrammaton.

divine name by a process of progressive haplography. This abbreviation could be pronounced and written יה, under which form it is found in the present text of MT.

At some time in the history of the text arouse the necessity to indicate that the abbreviation יה stood for the Tetragrammaton. It might be conjectured that the full spelling was then added in the margins. This marginal note got eventually into the text proper as it is quoted now in Isa. xii 2 עזי וזמרת יה יהוה ויהי לי לישועה. יה and יהוה are but alternative readings of the same word.

Now DSIa brings the original wording עוזי וזמרתי יהוה היהא לי.. employing a perfect form (א)היה instead of the apocopated imperfect with consec. waw, ויהי. But a second hand added above the line and between וזמרתי יהוה a ה [1]). The letter may have been inserted to square the DSIa text with MT, though using a different word-division. But more probably it represents an abbreviation of the Tetragrammaton by the letter ה which the reviser of DSIa found in his copy [2]).

If our assumption is correct the divine name was transmitted in this one verse in four different ways: י׳; ה׳; יה; יהוה. The shortest form י׳ would be represented (haplography assumed) by the Sam. (Ex. xv 2) and the conjectured original of MT עזי וזמרת י׳ ויהי לי... The abbreviation by ה׳ was preserved in the copy before the second hand of DSIa; whereas יה has remained in the present MT version of Ex. xv 2. — In two instances, the present second hand of DSIa and the MT of Isa. xii 2, the full reading and an abbreviation were registered at the same time: עוזי וזמרתי ה יהוה היהא לי לישועה and עזי וזמרת יה יהוה ויהי לי לישועה respectively.

We are now able to distinguish seven stages of the textual development of the verse treated above:

DSIa first hand ע(ו)זי וזמרתי יהוה היהא (ויהי).

The text before DSIa sec. hand ע(ו)זי וזמרתי ה׳ היהא (ויהי).

The conject. original of Sam. Ex. עזי וזמרתי י׳ ויהי.

The present Samaritanus (by regressive haplography) עזי וזמרתי ויהי.

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[1]) M. Burrows edit., *The Dead Sea Scrolls of St. Mark's Monastery*, vol. I, 1950, plate XI.

[2]) The abbreviation of the Tetragrammaton by ה might have caused the following "variants" in the Greek translation.

Num. x 34 (36) וענן יהוה עליהם G: καὶ ἡ νεφελη ἐγενετο ὀκιάζουσα.

Ex. v 2 מי יהוה אשר אשמע בקלו G: τίς ἐστι.....

A somewhat similar case is to be found in 2 Chron. xxxvi 23 where the MT reads יהוה אלהיו עמו instead of יהי אלהיו עמו in the parallel passage, Ez. i 3. G: translate in both passages: ἔσται ὁ θεὸς αὐτοῦ μετ' αὐτοῦ. (Esdr. ii 3: ἔστω...).

MT Ex. (by progressive haplogr.) עזי וזמרת יה ויהי.

MT. Isa. (by progressive haplogr. and double reading) עזי וזמרתי יה יהוה ויהי.

DSIa first hand (double reading) ע(ו)זי וזמרתי ה׳ יהוה היהא.

S. TALMON

ALEXANDER JANNAEUS AND THE ARCHANGEL MICHAEL

The episode here referred to, pictured as occurring in the reign of the Hasmonaean priest-king Jannaeus, has not, I think, been rightly understood by modern scholars. The reason for this will appear presently. The passage is in the book of Enoch, in that most familiar one of the Dream-Visions which gives a miniature of Hebrew-Jewish history from Adam to the author's own day, a picture in which animals take the place of human beings (chapters lxxxv-xc).

The Israelites are represented as sheep; the shepherds in charge of them are angels; the hostile nations are wild animals and birds of prey. The Hasmonaean kings are depicted as rams, their *horns* symbolizing world-power. There is a "great horn," whom it is important to identify, since the date of his reign is shown to be approximately that of the author of the book.

The Maccabean uprising is given the briefest possible introduction, in the sentence which constitutes xc 6. In the next following verse, the Maccabees and their faithful adherents are shown to have had little support from their people.

Verse 8: After the death of Judas, in battle, conditions are worse than ever, truly desperate; also, the renegates now have the power in their hands (1 Macc. ix 23-27).

Verse 9: The first horns appear; presently they are "cast down" by the enemy, this plainly referring to the treacherous capture and murder of Jonathan and Simon.

A new actor now appears on the scene, the Great Horn. It cries to the sheep, and their eyes are opened; sheep and rams all run to it. Such a united flock had not been seen before. The wild beasts and birds of prey were still tearing and devouring the sheep, but when they attack the mighty ram and attempt to break its horn, their triumph is at an end; "they had no power over it" (*verse* 12). Hyrcanus' reign did indeed end in glory.

The author's historical sketch does not end with the great horn,

however; it soon becomes evident that there is still another "ram", whose reign is given brief but very important mention in verses 13, 14, and 16 (verse 15 is misplaced, the result of a readily recognized scribal error. It originally formed the beginning of verse 18).

The wild beasts and birds of prey assemble to break the horn of "that ram", and are so nearly successful that the ram cries for help; whereupon Michael comes down from heaven and gives effective aid (*verse* 14). The triumph nevertheless is not complete. The enemies are driven back, but are not destroyed nor even perceptibly weakened. Conditions *in Israel* are so bad that Michael's report, which he carries up to heaven (*verse* 17), decides the Lord of the Sheep to make an end of this present world, and to announce the Day of Judgment (*verses* 18-20).

Here is a chapter of Hasmonaean history which has not hitherto been recognized as a part of Enoch's vision. It has been lost to sight simply because commentators and other interpreters have not given the great horn his due.

When, in xc 13, "that ram" is mentioned, a better translation would be: "*a certain* ram" (DALMAN, *Grammatik*, § 20, 4), the true meaning of the pronoun being shown by the context. It had just been said, in the preceding verse, that the enemy "had no power over" the *great* horn. Here, on the contrary, is a ram whose horn is in such imminent danger *from the very same enemy* that he must cry out for help! A new actor has come on the scene, as would be inferred also from the introductory formula, "And I saw". The reading of the original text was הַהִיא קַרְנָא, and it would not have been misunderstood.

According to the details of the preceding interpretation (which at least is faithful to the Ethiopic text) the great horn can only be John Hyrcanus, the view now prevailing among the interpreters of the vision (see SCHÜRER, *Geschichte*, III 199, below). The "ram" introduced in xc 13 is very obviously Hyrcanus' second son, Alexander Jannaeus, whose disastrous reign covered the years 103-76. His many and bloody wars were a grievous burden, he himself was disliked, and he made the Pharisees his bitter enemies.

The mention of aid given by the archangel Michael refers to one of the most dramatic recoveries in all Hebrew-Jewish history, the saving of Palestine, and a marvelous turn of fortune in Jannaeus' favor, his chief conquest following close upon his utter discomfiture!

Ptolemy Lathyrus, who shared the throne of Egypt with his

mother Cleopatra, daughter of Ptolemy Philometor, invaded Palestine, defeated the forces of Alexander Jannaeus, and wrought such slaughter as the land had hardly ever seen. Jannaeus' aim, like that of his father, had been to restore the territory of Israel to the extent which it had in the days of David and Solomon; now, it was not only the border territories that he had lost, the holy land itself was in foreign hands!

The victor, however, was not permitted to take advantage of his smashing conquest. Cleopatra, seeing that her son was becoming too powerful, came to the scene with an army that overmatched his. Ptolemy withdrew, first to Gaza then to Cyprus, taking his army out of the land. "Cleopatra had all Palestine in her possession" (SCHÜRER I, 278). Though advised to annex it to Egypt, she finally took the advice of one of her trusted generals, a Jew named Ananias, to make an alliance with Alexander and take her armies back to Egypt (Josephus, *Antt.* xiii, 13, 2).

If ever in the history of nations a momentous turn of events seemed to demand the explanation of divine intervention, this was such a time! In the progress of the Vision, Michael came down and helped that ram (*verse* 14); and there is yet more to be said, for added to the rescue of all Israel was a personal triumph.

When Jannaeus found himself free, he set out at once to regain what had been lost, and met with signal success from the first. The most important conquest of his reign was that of the Phoenician cities, ending with the capture of Gaza after a siege which had lasted a year. There is an interesting personal touch in the words of xc 14: Michael "*showed him* that he had come down to help him". Jannaeus did, indeed, extend the borders of his realm even beyond what his father had gained.

No conquests, however, could make this reign acceptable to the people; it had seemed hardly endurable (Josephus, *ibid.*, § 5). The capture of Gaza took place in the year 96. Immediately thereafter we see Jannaeus fighting with mercenaries against his own people, while in particular he instituted a wholesale slaughter of the Pharisees (doubtless referred to in Enoch xlvii 1-4). It was in the atmosphere of such scenes that the author of the book saw the Day of Judgment close at hand.

The date of the book is thus made quite certain, within narrow limits. This is a noteworthy gain, for Enoch is an important literary landmark, its date carrying with it the date of Jubilees, pro-

bably also that of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs. The most likely time would seem to be soon after the year 96, when it was already clear that prince and people were hopelessly at enmity, and that "the blood of the righteous" (xlvii 2) was being shed in ever increasing flow. Every part of Enoch xc 13-16 fits perfectly the reign of Jannaeus, and the central feature is the wonderful rescue wrought by Michael in that day.

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SOME LEXICAL MATERIAL IN THE JUDEAN SCROLLS

Ever since the appearance of the Judean Scrolls scholars have naturally recognized, among other things, that they contain lexical material of great importance, some of which is capable of shedding light on obscure passages in Biblical and post-Biblical texts. The following few notes, gleaned mainly while I was engaged in investigating some piyyuṭim, may be of some interest in this respect.

I. מִקֵּץ, קֵץ

As far as is known it was I. LÉVI who first drew attention to the meaning of קֵץ as "time" which occurs in the Damascus Document [1]). The late Prof. SUKENIK, on his own account, called attention to קֵץ as denoting "time" when it occurs in the Judean Scrolls [2]).

In *Hymns from the Judean Scrolls* [3]) I have accordingly translated קץ חרון as "time of fury" [4]) and in a foot-note [5]) I quoted an expression drawn from Yannai [6]) in support of this translation. To this quotation I would now add the following:

ותתן לנו ... את יום הכפורים הזה קץ (ו)מחילה וסליחה [7]), "And thou has given us ... this Day of Atonement as a time for pardon and forgiveness" [8]).

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[1]) H. H. ROWLEY, *The Zadokite Fragments and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, Oxford 1952, p. 71.

[2]) See *Megilloth Genuzoth*, First Survey (Jerusalem, 1948), where a number of Talmudical and Biblical passages as well as passages from the Damascus Document are quoted in support of this meaning. *B.D.B.* (p. 893) gives only "end" to קֵץ.

[3]) Published by the Manchester University Press, 1950.

[4]) P. 15.

[5]) P. 20, n. 48.

[6]) A *paṇyṭan* of great stature, who it is thought lived in Palestine in the 6th century. His work was edited from a vast number of Genizah fragments by M. ZULAY under the title *Piyyuṭê Yannai*. For additional information about Yannai see my article "The Piyyuṭ, with special Reference..." in the *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, Vo. 34, No. 2, (Manchester, March, 1952), pp. 469-476.

[7]) See the following note.

[8]) From the *Ne'ilah* Prayer for the Day of Atonement, entitled אתה הבדלת, an

נא קרב קץ לא יום ולא לילה "Draw near now the time which is neither day nor night" [1]). יהי רצון מלפניך ... שיהא הקץ הזה קץ תכלית לשבי עמך, "May it be the desire before thee . . . thatthis time be the time in which the end of the captivity of thy people be brought about" [2]).

יקרב קץ וזמן "May the time and season draw near" [3]).

וקץ קבעת להושע, "And thou hast fixed a time to be delivered"([4]).

The meaning of קץ in the above liturgical sources, which are by no means exhaustive, as well as many passages in the Judean Scrolls and the Damascus Document should call for a reconsideration of Biblical passages other than those given by SUKENIK (see p. 211 n. 2) in which it occurs. I would suggest the following for reconsideration:

קץ כל בשר בא לפני, (Gen. vi 13). The accepted translation is "The end of all flesh is come before me", but the rendering "The time of all flesh...", namely, the time of the destruction of all flesh, would perhaps not be out of tune with that which follows in the same verse: "And behold, I will destroy them with the earth". Indeed, the Septuagint supports this rendering. Ibn Ezra seems also to have

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early composition of about the 3rd century A.D. In the ordinary Prayer Book this reads ... קץ ומחילה ..., but it is obvious that the waw-conjunctive here is a later insertion, made apparently when the early meaning of קץ "time" had been forgotten. The reading without the waw-conjunctive is attested by the version found in the Prayer Book of Sa'adyah Gaon (*Siddur R. Sa'adyah Gaon* ed. by DAVIDSON, ASSAF and JOEL, Jerusalem, 1941), p. 262. In *Sedher R. 'Amram Gaon* we read קץ ומחילה, which is again doubtless an "emendation" by some later copyist. In *Maḥazor SHaDHaL* we find קץ סליחה ומחילה, the order reversed, but still without the waw-conjunctive after קץ. I am indebted to Dr M. ZULAY of Jerusalem for checking these references for me.

[1]) *Piyyuṭe Yannai*, *Madhor ha-mesuppaqîm* by M. ZULAY (Berlin, 1938), p. 364. It is interesting to note that on p. 39 we read קרב יום אשר הוא לא יום ולא לילה, "Draw near the *day* which is neither day nor night". See, however, ZULAY's foot note where he quotes *Maḥazor Rumaniah* which reads here too ... קרב קץ.

[2]) Dr ZULAY was good enough to draw my attention to this passage taken from the second *Baqqashah* by Sa'adyah Gaon which appears in his *Siddur* on p. 77. One would like to note here that the Arabic translation (in Hebrew caracters) of this *Baqqashah* which has been made by Sa'adyah himself (see JOEL's Introduction to the *Siddur*, p. 14, n. 5) reads ... אן יכון הדא אלוקת וקת תקצי אגל שעבך

[3]) A *piyyuṭ* (a *Zulath*) by Shemu'ēl ha-Shelishî drawn from the Oxford MS. 2718/6, fol. 17a, which I possess in Photograph and which I hope will shortly be published in the *Journal of Manchester University Egyptian and Oriental Society*. (The first folio from this MS. appeared in the *V.T.*, vo. III, No. 2, 1953, p. 167).

[4]) In a *Qerobhah* (a liturgical composition intended to be interwoven in the prayer known as שאינה עשרה) for the seventh day of Passover by R. Joseph Al-Baradani, ed. in *Genizah Studies* III, p. 133, by DAVIDSON (New York, 1928). As to the composer of this *Qerobhah*, see pp. 109-110.

taken it in this sense when he explains these words by הגיע קץ אידם, "The time of their calamity is come" [1]).

קרב קצנו מלאו ימינו כי בא קצנו, (Lam. iv 18), may be rendered with some advantage "Our time is near, and our days are fulfilled, for our time is come" [2]). Here again the Septuagint supports this rendering.

Other Biblical passages in which מקץ occurs also need to be reconsidered, and it would appear to me that in some instances at least its meaning approximates to "at the beginning", "the opening". Here are a few examples:

Jer. xxxiv 14, where we read "מקץ seven years let ye go every man his brother an Hebrew which has been sold unto thee, and when he hath served thee six years, thou shalt let him go free from thee". It is obvious that מקץ means here "at the beginning". Indeed, the passage itself indicates that; this Hebrew servant is to serve, as we see, only six years after which (which can not but be at the beginning of the seventh year) he is set free [3]).

"מקץ of (every) seven years thou shalt make a release" (Deut. xv 1) Here again מקץ can not mean "at the end of", for release is observed the whole of the seventh year [4]). Ibn Ezra rightly explains here מקץ as מתחילת השנה [5]).

II. חלכה

This obscure word (found in Ps. x), which is usually translated "hapless", "unfortunate" [6]), occurs in the plural, חלכאים, a number of times in the hymns of the Judean Scrolls [7]). SUKENIK rightly pointed out that the context denotes here "wicked people". (In two cases it is parallel with רשעה). In my note to this word I quoted the

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[1]) Cf. in this connection בעת אידם (Ez. xxxv 5). יום איד occurs many times in the O.T.

[2]) Note that here, as is the case in Gen. vi 13 quoted above, the verb. בוא is mentioned in connection with קץ. The same thing is to beobserved also in Ez. vii 2 and 7.

[3]) Cf. Ex. xviii 2, where we read "If thou buy an Hebrew servant, six years he shall serve, and in the seventh he shall go out free". Cf. also Deut. xv 12.

[4]) Cf. ... "The seventh year, the year of release" (Deut. xv 9).

[5]) This as it would appear is against the interpretation of the Talmud (see Gitt. 32 ab. See also Nachmanides on Deut. xv 1). It is worthy of note here that Ibn Ezra would apply this meaning to מקצה in Deut. xv 28 and to קץ in Ps. cxix 96. The translation of the last passage which is otherwise obscure will therefore be "I have seen a beginning to every end".

[6]) See *B.D.B.* v. חלכה.

[7]) See *Megiloth Genuzoth* Second Survey, (Jerusalem, 1950), plate VIII, ll. 8-9 and plate IX, l. 21.

Arabic *ḥalaka*, "be black", which may perhaps support this meaning [1]). To this I would add now: ונפל בעצומיו חלכאים אין הרשע נופל עד שתמלא סאתו " 'And the חלכאים may fall by his strong ones' (Ps. x 10) — the wicked does not fall until his measure is full" [2]).
חלכאי מדיני חנקם בזדוני [3]). The reference here is obviously to the vicious and quarrelsome [4]) Egyptians whom God has drowned in the waters of the Red Sea [5]).

III מקוה

In a note [6]) on this word, which I have translated "abode", I wrote: "... It (the meaning of "abode") is also in keeping with the spirit of the verse in which it is found and with that of the verses following". I would now add the following in support of this probable meaning: תחת אשר חטאו ליהוה נוה־צדק ומקוה אבותיהם יהוה (Jer. l 7), where נוה־צדק seems to be parallel to ומקוה אבותיהם.

אם אקוה שאול ביתי בחשך רפדתי יצועי (Job xvii 13), where אקוה seems to be parallel to דפדתי. (שאול // בחשך; ביתי // יצועי).

See Kimḥi's *Sēpher ha-Shorashîm* v. קוה (p. 452), where he explains אם אקוה שאול ביתי (Job xvii 13) thus אם אבנה שאול ביתי לפי שהבנין יעשה בנטות הקו in support of which he quotes קו לקו (Is. xxviii 10), rendering it בנין אחר בנין .

Prof. G. R. Driver in a private communication to me has drawn my attention to מקוה which occurs in 1 Chron. xxix 15. Here both the Septuagint and the Vulgate seem to suggest the meaning I have given to it.

University of Manchester M. Wallenstein

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[1]) *Hymns from the Judean Scrolls*, p. 18, n. 27.
[2]) *Midrash Tehillim* to Ps. x 10.
[3]) In a *Yozēr* (a sort of a liturgical composition) for the Seventh Day of Passover, by Joseph Al-Baradani which describes the going out of the Jews from Egypt and the destruction of Pharaoh and his followers in the sea. See Davidson's *Genizah Studies* III, (New York 1928), p. 97.
[4]) For the meaning of מדיני, cf. Targ. Yer. Ex. xv 12.
[5]) זדוני, instead of זדינים, for the sake of the rhyme. Cf. המים הזדינים (Ps. cxxiv 5). Cf. also Ex. xiv 28. (It is a well known paytanic device to allude to a part of a Biblical phrase implying the whole of the phrase).
[6]) On קוה see P. A. H. de Boer's interesting article in *OTS x*, pp. 225-246 (1954).
[7]) *Hymns from the Judean Scrolls*, p. 16, n. 6.

NOTE ON THE TEXT OF AMOS V 7

Amos v 7 is a problem text for translator and exegete alike. The Hebrew rendering in the plural does not fit the context. Most modern commentaries attempt to solve the problem by suggesting that the verse *is* out of context and should be read before verse 10 [1]).

The Greek text simply renders the verse with a singular subject [2]): κύριος ὁ ποιῶν εἰς ὕψος κρίμα καὶ δικαισύνην εἰς γῆν ἔθηκεν. The second part of the verse is an exact translation of the Hebrew, omitting the final *waw* to make the verb a singular. If the first half-verse were retranslated into Hebrew, it should read as follows: יהוה עֹשֶׂה לְמַעֲלָה משפט.

The Greek translator read יהוה instead of הה at the beginning of the verse. The Greek verb has no connection with anything that can be made of the Hebrew. Failing to decipher the Hebrew, the translator falls back on a neutral expression which is parallel to the next verse. The third word is much closer orthographically to the Hebrew but has a quite different meaning [3]). The Greek agrees basically with the Hebrew rendering of the rest of the verse with the exception mentioned above.

The elements common to both Hebrew and Greek are: ה ה -----ל-ע-ה משפט. The Hebrew editor seems to have considered the text faulty and attempted to correct it by drawing upon vi 12a. The Greek translator more correctly understood the meaning of the verse [4]). But he did not know the meaning of the verb [5]) and so erred in the division of the letters at the end of it [6]).

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[1]) So Harper, G. A. Smith, Edgehill, Weiser, and Maag. Others (Robinson, Meinhold, H. Schmidt) take it to be the remains of another „word" from Amos which has been inserted here.

[2]) This is the reading in A. Rahlfs, *Septuaginta*, supported by QL + ὁ θεὸς A. The κύριος does not appear in BC and is simply noted in Swete's edition. Ziegler in the Göttingen Septuagint vol. XIII follows Ralphs' reading.

[3]) The Greek is probably the better rendering, since the Hebrew shows signs of being derived from vi 12b. Budde and Maag accept the Greek rendering and translate, „die das Recht auf den Kopf stellen".

[4]) I.e. in understanding a singular subject and in reading ל-ע-ה as למעלה. To accept הה as a corruption of יהוה is not to suggest that this is an abbreviation, but that it is a corruption in which *jodh* and *waw* have fallen out.

[5]) פכי (פכה) — occurs only in Ezekiel xlvii 2. It is no wonder that the translator failed to recognize it.

[6]) εἰς ὕψος is obscure and difficult to explain, but מלמעלה is both meaningful and appropriate. This explanation, of course, assumes a Hebrew text which did not write a final *mem* with a special form.

If we may assume, then, that the Hebrew has mechanically transmitted a substantially correct orthography, although it misunderstood the meaning of the verse, while the Greek has grasped the overall meaning, the text may be reconstructed as follows:

יהוה פִּכָּה מִלְּמַעְלָה משפט וצדקה לארץ הִנִּיחַ

"It is Jahweh [1]) who pours out justice from above and who [1]) grants righteousness to the earth".

Read in this way the verse is a statement that Jahweh is the source of justice and righteousness in the earth. It fits the context admirably. The reading finds further support from the parallels in the hymnic portions of Amos which contrast God's high dwelling with the earth beneath [2]).

Rüschlikon — Zürich JOHN D. W. WATTS

DIE ESELSÖHNE VON SICHEM ALS BUNDESGENOSSEN

In einer Behandlung einiger Texte aus Mari hat DOSSIN (*Syria* XIX 1938 p. 108 f.) darauf aufmerksam gemacht, dass das Schlachten [3]) eines Esels bei jenen Amoritern Gleichwertigkeit mit einem Bundesschluss innehatte. Die Beobachtung hat ALBRIGHT dazu veranlasst, in seinem Buch *Archaeology and the Religion of Israel* 1946² p. 113 vorzuschlagen, im Ausdruck *bny ḥmwr* in Gen. xxxiv u. ö. ,,a picturesque expression for 'Members of a Confederacy' " zu sehen, und die Sichemiten haben also einen amoritischen Bund weitergeführt.

Diese Auffassung scheint mir durch eine minäische Tempelweihinschrift bestätigt, *RÉS* V (1929) Nr. 2831 (p. 171). Da lesen wir von den Göttern einiger Stämme, und zwar Stämme, die gewisse

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[1]) Cf. L. KÖHLER, ,,Syntacta II and III", in *V.T.*, Vol III, pp. 84 and 188 for an explanation of such a construction.

[2]) Cf. ix 6a and iv 13b.

[3]) ED. NIELSEN, Ass and Ox in the Old Testament", *Studia Orientalia Ioanni Pedersen*, 1953, pp. 268 ff, hat sich stark gegen die herkömmliche Auffassung dieses Schlachtens als Opfer geäussert, denn s. E. war in der ganzen semitischen Welt der Esel ein unreines Tier. Die Frage muss doch wohl insofern hingestellt werden, als z. B. das von ROBERTSON SMITH-STUEBE, *Die Religion der Semiten*, 1899, p. 225 f., dargebotene Material nicht berücksichtigt worden ist.

Verhältnisse, sicher auch kultischer Art, zu einander pflegten. Der Ausdruck dafür ist:

kl ʾlʾlt ʾšʿbm	alle Götter der Stämme,
dʾlm wšymm wḫblm wḥmrm	die von einem Gott und Herrn und einem Bund und Pakt sind.

Die beiden ersten Wörter der letzten Zeile sind wohlbekannt, und aufgrund des Parallelismus kann die Übersetzung des zweiten als sicher gelten. Die beiden letzten hat man verschiedentlich gedeutet. In seinen Bemerkungen bei der Textausgabe hat RYCKMANS das richtige mit √ *ḫbl* getroffen, cf. arabisch und hebräisch. Das Wort *ḥmrm* hat er mit „une alliance (?)" übersetzt, wohl wegen des Parallelismus. Und er scheint mir das richtige gefunden zu haben, wenn das Wort im Lichte des oben erwähnten Materials gesehen wird. Sowohl im südarabischen als im hebräischen ist „Esel" also nicht nur nomen proprium [1]), sondern auch ein in sich den kultisch-sozialen Gedanken von Bund einschliessender Begriff. Die Frage von der Geschichtlichkeit der Chamor-Überlieferungen im A.T. scheint mir hierdurch in neues Licht versetzt, wenn man sich des sichemitischen Bundeskultus erinnert, aber die Folgerungen betreffs des religiösen und politischen Lebens Israels in der Frühzeit sollen hier nicht erörtert werden.

Hellerup FOLKER WILLESEN

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[1]) Zur Verwendung des Wortes als nom. pers. im südarabischen, siehe RYCKMANS, „Les noms propres sud-sémitiques", *Bibliothèque du Muséon*, vol. 2, 1934-5, das Register zur Sache.

REVIEWS

GÉZA VERMÈS, *Les Manuscrits du désert de Juda*, Desclée et Cie, éditeurs, Tournai (Belg.) 1953. 216 pages et 9 illustrations hors-texte.

C'est un ouvrage de vulgarisation de bon aloi que G. VERMÈS nous présente en synthétisant l'état actuel de la science sur les Manuscrits du désert de Juda.

Ce volume comporte deux parties: l'une examine les problèmes que posent les découvertes du désert de Juda et comprend six chapitres très nourris. L'autre groupe de façon pratique les traductions des divers textes publiés jusqu'à ce jour, y compris le Document de Damas, ou Document Sadocide. De brèves notes servent de commentaire aux endroits plus difficiles; elles soulignent en général de façon suggestive les rapprochements avec la littérature rabbinique et apocryphe, trop rarement avec le Nouveau Testament.

Le premier chapitre revient sur la grotte découverte au printemps de 1947 et reprend par le détail l'histoire des tractations pour l'achat des manuscrits de la fouille de la grotte et de la ruine de Qumrân tant de fois racontées. Ces palinodies finiraient par être fastidieuses si l'Auteur n'avait ajouté quelques détails et surtout les découvertes de manuscrits dans les grottes de la région de Qumrân en 1952; s'il n'incluait également dans son exposé les trouvailles de Murabba'at et même l'expédition belge du Khirbet Mird aux premiers mois de 1953, sous la direction de M. DE LANGHE de l'Université de Louvain. Tout ceci n'est donc pas bien nouveau, mais les lecteurs auxquels s'adresse l'Auteur lui seront tout de même reconnaissants d'avoir dressé à la fin de son chapitre un tableau nécessairement provisoire mais pratique présentant le catalogue des manuscrits bibliques et non bibliques, leur lieu d'origine, leur propriétaire, et, le cas échéant, l'édition.

Mais, c'est surtout à partir du chapitre III jusqu'au chapitre VI que cet ouvrage présente de l'intérêt, non seulement pour le grand public, mais aussi pour les spécialistes qui trouveront là des observations intéressantes et quelquefois suggestives.

Dans l'impossibilité de tout examiner dans le détail, bornons-nous à quelques remarques plus spécialement en rapport avec nos propres recherches.

Tout le chapitre III, sur la Communauté de Qumrân, constitue un véritable effort de synthèse où l'auteur examine et compare tout ce qu'on peut savoir de la vie commune des sectaires, de leur organisation et d'après les Documents de Damas et la Règle de Qumrân. Il s'est efforcé de souligner les ressemblances et les différences qui se font jour dans ces deux Documents et il voit, avec raison, un développement dans la Règle par rapport au

document de Damas qui semble réfléchir un état antérieur de la secte. Je partage aussi cette manière de voir. Nous sommes arrivés à des conclusions semblables en examinant les problèmes des lieux de culte et des sacrifices dans un article de *RHR*, d'octobre 1953. L'absence de la mention du banquet dans le document Sadocide pourrait être dûe au hasard ou au mauvais état de conservation des fragments du Caire. Mais ce que nous savons de la spiritualisation des sacrifices à Qumrân nous invite à penser que le banquet n'existait pas à Damas. On pourrait noter une semblable évolution dans la communauté des biens, plus stricte à Qumrân qu'à Damas, dans le célibat de rigueur à Qumrân alors que le mariage existe à Damas, etc....

Venons-en à quelques détails. A propos de la désignation „Fils de Sadoq", il ne semble pas que l'Auteur ait parfaitement saisi la portée de cette appellation qui paraît bien s'opposer à celle des prêtres-rois des Hasmonéens qui, à partir de Jonathan Macchabée surtout, se donnaient le titre de „prêtres du Dieu Très Haut", en référence à Melchisédech, ce prêtre-roi antérieur à l'institution de la royauté et du sacerdoce (cf. A.J. xvi, vi, 2, Jub. xxxii 1, cf. xxxvi 16, As. de Moïse vi 1 „Sacerdotes summi Dei", Ps. cx 1-4). Par contre, je crois avec l'Auteur qui a suivi ici HABERMANN, que les „*Rabbim*" désignent non l'ensemble de la communauté, mais une classe supérieure, les membres agrégés, tandis que les „hommes de la communauté" comprendraient postulants, novices et confrères. On attendait que l'Auteur apporte quelques précisions sur le „*maskil*" que l'on trouve dans le Manuel en iii 13, ix 12, 21 et dans le CDC xii 21-22 (ce dernier passage est dans un texte mutilé). Je pense avec l'Auteur qu'il faut traduire ce terme par „Instructeur" et non pas simplement par „homme entendu" (et je partagerais volontiers l'avis de BROWNLEE, *BASOR*, déc. 1953, pp. 12 et 13 pour qui les termes „*Rabbim*" et „*Maskilim*" que l'on trouve dans Daniel xii 3, 10 sont une application aux Hasidim de la prophétie du Serviteur Souffrant d'Is. liii). Je suppose que G. VERMÈS est d'accord pour identifier le „*maskil*" au „*mebaqqer*" de CDC xiii 7 qui doit instruire („yaskil") les „Rabbim", ou au „Paqîd qui est à la tête des Rabbim" en DSD vi 14.

On aurait sans doute aimé quelques précisions sur le „Législateur" (p. 101), le „mehoheq" du Document de Damas. Identifié au Docteur de Justice, il joue véritablement le rôle d'une nouveau Moïse. C'est ce que montre l'organisation même de la secte en camps, comme jadis dans le désert, la place qu'y tient la mystique du désert principalement dans la Règle, et surtout l'application au Docteur de Justice de Num. xxi 18 où il est question de Moïse.

Nous sommes d'ailleurs à nous demander si les 40 ans qui séparent „la disparition du Docteur de la Communauté" de la mort de „tous les hommes de guerre qui ont marché avec l'Homme de Mensonge" en CDC xx 14-15 n'ont pas une valeur symbolique, tout comme les 390 ans qui séparent les origines de la secte de la captivité de Babylone.

390 ans + 40 ans = 430 ans, la durée du séjour en Egypte d'après Ex. xii 40. L'auteur du document sadocide ne s'intéresserait qu'au séjour dans le désert qui a duré 40 ans, cf. Ez. v 6-7, Am. V 25. Mais ils ont ici

valeur typologique et semblent désigner le temps qui sépare la mort du Docteur de Justice de l'âge messianique.

Les chapitres IV et V donnent une grande place aux problèmes du cadre historique où se situent les documents de Qumrân et l'activité du Docteur de Justice. Il faut dire tout de suite ici que G. VERMÈS a abandonné ses positions de la *Nouvelle Revue Théologique* d'avril 1951, où il datait les Hymnes entre 70 et 90 ap. J.C., le Commentaire quelques décades plus tard. Les précisions archéologiques successives et complémentaires apportées par les fouilles de Kh. Qumrân l'ont amené sans doute à faire volte-face. Je suis d'accord avec lui pour dire que les événements visés par le Document de Damas sont tous d'époque hellénistique: p. 81. Je ne suis pas trop éloigné de G. VERMÈS [1]) en situant la mort du Docteur vers 90 et je penserais volontiers que l'absence de toute mention du Docteur dans le Manuel de Discipline laisserait supposer qu'il est déjà mort, puisqu'il n'y joue aucun rôle dans l'administration de la communauté de Qumrân.

Le commentaire d'Habacuc d'après le P. VERMÈS aurait été composé antérieurement à la prise de Jérusalem en 65-63 av. J.C., en raison des allusions aux Kittim identifiés aux Romains. Les derniers prêtres de Jérusalem seraient les Asmonéens de Jean Hyrcan à Aristobule II. Le Prêtre impie recouvrirait Jonathan, prêtre bon devenu impie en prenant le gouvernement d'Israël et en se vendant, pour ainsi dire, à l'ennemi. Je suis d'accord avec l'auteur pour convenir que plusieurs traits pourraient s'appliquer à ce personnage et en particulier le guet apens qui l'a fait tomber à Ptolémaïs dans les mains de Tryphon, qui l'a finalement mis à mort. Mais il faut bien convenir qu'il est à tout le moins étonnant que le Commentaire d'Habacuc ne mentionne pas les tentatives de Simon pour libérer son frère et que, corrélativement, le Ier livre des Macchabées, si précis pour cette époque, ne signale pas les mauvais traitements qui, dans cette hypothèse, lui auraient été infligés. D'ailleurs, ce personnage n'épuisant pas à lui seul les allusions du Commentaire, l'Auteur n'hésiterait pas à emprunter certains traits à Alexandre Jannée (p. 96 note 33) et surtout à Simon Macchabée.

Après la mort de Jonathan, il resterait encore quelqu'un à punir: cf. DSH x 3 et xi 14. Ce serait Simon, „dont l'ignominie a dépassé la gloire" et qui est mort à la forteresse de Dôk près de Jéricho au cours d'un banquet où on l'enivra. C'est Simon aussi qui serait allé dans la demeure d'exil „abeith geloutho" du prêtre impie pour le prendre le jour de Kippur. Je suis prêt à admettre que l'éloge dithyrambique que l'auteur du Ier livre des Macchabées fait de la dynastie asmonéenne et de Simon en particulier ne peut servir à éclairer d'une lumière directe le Commentaire. L'auteur de 1 Macchabées est en effet un admirateur quelque peu partial de la dynastie, peut-être son historiographe, tout comme celui du commentaire en est l'ennemi attitré. Mais vraiment je ne vois aucun critère qui permette de dire que c'est à Jonathan plutôt qu'à Simon qu'on doive attribuer telle ou telle allusion du Commentaire. „Marcher dans les voies de l'ivresse" indique, si nous comprenons bien, quelque chose d'habituel dans la vie du

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[1]) cf. p. 81 mais cf. aussi p. 103.

grand Prêtre et non pas quelque chose d'accidentel, comme c'est le cas pour Simon: cf. 1 Macch. xvi 16.

Par ailleurs, je ne vois strictement rien qui permette de déceler plusieurs personnages sous ce prêtre impie. Tout laisse croire au contraire que, d'un bout à l'autre, c'est le même. Et il faut dire que dans cette hypothèse comme dans d'autres hypothèses semblables, on comprend mal, même dans un milieu fermé, la haine farouche de quelqu'un qui écrirait en 65 av. J.C. contre des ennemis déjà morts, tels Jonathan ou Simon, ayant vécu deux générations avant. On comprendrait mieux cette haine de la part d'un contemporain; car c'est un contemporain de l'écrivain que le Prêtre Impie, tout comme „l'homme au visage dur" de Dan. viii 23 est le contemporain de l'auteur de cette apocalypse.

Enfin, les récentes fouilles de Qumrân (C.R. du P. DE VAUX au congrès de Copenhague) ont permis d'établir que le monastère a été fondé vers 100 av. J.C., sous Alexandre Jannée. Il y a peut-être là plus qu'un hasard ou une coincïdence, il faut y voir un nouvel indice pour identifier le Prêtre Impie du Commentaire à ce prêtre roi persécuteur des Pharisiens en particulier.

Le P. VERMÈS reconstitue ainsi l'histoire de la secte: en 152 av. J.C., rupture des Sadoquites; entre 142-134 av. J.C., sous Simon, mort du Docteur de Justice et exode à Damas, retour des exilés après Pompée (?) en Palestine, à Qumrân.

Avec l'Auteur, je situerais aussi volontiers la première rupture des Sadoquites, un groupe de prêtres hiérosolymitains, lorsque Jonathan accepte le souverain sacerdoce en 152. C'est à cette époque déjà que je serais tenté de placer le départ en Damascène d'un groupe de prêtres et de laïcs avec le Docteur de Justice comme fondateur.

Vers 100 av. J.C., une persécution violente menée par Alexandre Jannée, le Prêtre Impie, conduit au désert de Juda les descendants de Hasidim restés en Judée. Ils y construisent le monastère de Qumrân. On retrouve au début du moins le Docteur de Justice aux prises avec le prêtre impie. On ne sait où placer exactement le „lieu de son exil"? Est-ce la Damascène, Qumrân, où quelque coin perdu de la Judée? Au cours du premier siècle av. J.C., à une date difficile à préciser, peut-être déjà sous Alexandra, retour en Palestine, à Qumrân, des exilés de Damas.

Le chap. VI expose trop brièvement les idées religieuses de la secte. Je trouve regrettable, à cause surtout du public auquel il s'adresse, que l'Auteur n'ait pas esquissé la théologie de la secte, en fonction des apocryphes et du N.T. Il y avait beaucoup à dire sur l'eschatologie, sur la doctrine de l'immortalité et ses relations avec la Sagesse, etc.

Enfin, la deuxième partie comprend les traductions des textes publiés. Faute de place, d'un mot disons qu'il faut remercier l'auteur pour ses traductions en général excellentes qui ont profité des hésitations de ses prédécesseurs. Celle du doc. de Damas, en particulier, me paraît être en progrès sur les traductions françaises. L'Auteur n'a pu utiliser pour le „Commentaire", celle de KARL ELLIGER, désormais indispensable. Sa bibliographie rendra service car tout ce qui a paru d'important y est signalé. Je n'y ai pas trouvé cependant l'article important de A. DUBARLE „Une source du

livre de la Sagesse?" *R. S. Th. Ph.* t. XXXVII, 1953, ni celui de W. D. DAVIES sur la „Connaissance" dans les documents et Mt. xi 25-30, dans *The Harvard Theological Review*, vol. XLVI, 1953.

Cette longue recension prouve l'intérêt que nous avons porté à cet ouvrage. Tel qu'il est il rendra service. Les traductions en particulier resteront toujours valables, même si la quantité des documents qui restent à publier vient modifier tel ou tel point d'une synthèse nécessairement provisoire.

Paris, Février 1954. M. DELCOR

O. PARET, *Die Bibel. Ihre Ueberlieferung in Druck und Schrift.* 2. erg. Aufl. Stuttgart, Priv. Württ. Bibelanstalt, 1950. 216 S. 8°. DM 7,80.
E. WÜRTHWEIN, *Der Text des Alten Testaments. Eine Einführung in die Biblia Hebraica.* Mit 40 Abbildungen. Stuttgart, Priv. Württ. Bibelanstalt, 1952. 176 S. 8°. DM 4,70.

The Stuttgart Bible Society has long been holding a unique position in the publication of scholarly editions such as NESTLE's N.T., KITTEL-KAHLE's O.T., and RAHLF's LXX. Of late it has extended further help to students through SCHMOLLERS' N.T. Concordance and an O.T. Concordance (in preparation). The books under review are advances in the same direction. The former, written by a layman, addresses the general public, the latter facilitates the use of Biblia Hebraica (BH³).

Prof. PARET, an architect who has also studied ancient history and classical archeology, often lectured during Hitler's later period on the reliability of the Bible, hoping to fortify propaganda-harrassed Christians in Germany. This he did well, as his book indicates. He begins with present endeavours to modernize Luther's Bible and takes his readers back from this starting point to the Greek and Hebrew originals. There is a final chapter on Bible illustrations. More than half of the book consists of plates, and his conclusion is that the Bible is the most faithfully transmitted of all ancient books. We cannot but congratulate both author and publishers on their achievement.

WÜRTHWEIN's book is in four chapters. The first concerns the Hebrew text (1. Schrift und Schreibmaterial, 2. The Masoretic text, 3. The Samaritan Pentateuch), the second and third deal with the versions, and the last with textual criticism. Within a brief space the author manages both to give solid information and to explain the abbreviations used in BH³. In spite of their brevity the treatment is always adequate. As a book and especially a text book, his work deserves high praise.

He agrees completely with the principles of BH³ and this implies an endorsement of P. KAHLE's view that the four codices on which the edition is based are faithful representatives of Ben Asher's text (p. 31). There is no hint that other authorities question his conclusions. The bibliography mentions KAHLE's article in *Vet. Test.* I, 1951, pp. 161 ff., but not J. L. TEICHER's *The Ben Asher Bible Manuscripts* (*J. J. S.* II, pp. 17 ff.) to which the former is a reply. After thorough examination of the colophons on which KAHLE bases his judgment TEICHER suggests that they may have little connection with the codices under which they are found, because

colophons were frequently copied from MSS of a quite different type. Reviving doubts of earlier students he writes "None of the four codices can be regarded as representing diverse stages in the development of the Ben Asher Masoretic activity" (p. 25). Apart from the information that the Cairo codex of the earlier and later prophets is complete KAHLE's article contains no fresh argument nor attempts at any point to meet TEICHER's objections. I am not in a position to contribute to the dispute, but it is obvious that much, even the justification of BH³ in its present form, depends on the issue involved. Similarly W.'s statement that there exist numerous Genizah fragments dating from the sixth to eighth centuries (p. 16) unquestioningly repeats KAHLE's without taking into account TEICHER's assertion that their real date is three centuries later (*J. J. S.* I, 1949, p. 158, cf. *Vet. Test.* I, p. 128). KAHLE's theory of the origin and nature of the LXX is given full consideration (pp. 49-52). Here W. suspends judgment on KAHLE's views, but mentions that they have been contested (*T.Z.* 5, 1949, pp. 1 ff. to which there can now be added *The Recovery of the Original Septuagint. A Study in the History of Transmission and Textual Criticism* in *Actes du Premier Congrès de la Fédération Internationale des Associations d'Études Classiques*, Paris, 1951, pp. 165-82). He merely states that a priori considerations appear to favour KAHLE's theory. His readers should however have been informed that the article quoted attempted to show that KAHLE's argument does not hold when confronted with the facts, especially as his selective use of authorities is open to grave doubts. The contention that Philo's exposition discredits the "aberrant" Bible quotations actually unknown to him and of a much later date (*Philo's Bible*) has been widely accepted by reviewers, among them by G. D. KILPATRICK (*J.T.S.* 1951, p. 88) who is otherwise in close agreement with KAHLE's position. This fact should not be withheld in later editions or translations. On the other hand, KAHLE's impossible dating of the translation of the Pentateuch in the first century B.C., a suggestion made to leave room for a hypothetical pre-LXX translation (p. 50) is not accepted by W. (p. 42), but he does not correct his equivocal use of the term "standard text": on p. 50 for the oldest form of the LXX, on p. 51 for the text of "the Christian Church". To make sense this term could only be applied to a form of text such as the Byzantine of the N.T.

W. furthermore identifies himself so completely with BH³ that he fails to realize that serious misgivings have been felt about the app. crit. of this edition which, except for the alignment of the text to that of the Ben Asher codices, is its only original contribution. Scholars in this as in many other countries support the views of NYBERG, ORLINSKY, ZIEGLER and others that the use made of versions and other devices for emendation are open to serious objection. A young student should be told plainly that not all is well with BH³. Additional information on these disputable points would greatly add to the merits of W.'s solid achievement of which the fine selection of MSS reproduced forms no mean part.

Cambridge PETER KATZ

BOOK LIST [1])

ARVID BRUNO, *Jeremia*, eine rhythmische Untersuchung, Stockholm 1954, 283 pp. Swed. Kr. 25.—.

Index to Religious Periodical Literature, 1949-1952. American Theological Library Association, 1953. (50 East Huron Street, Chicago 11, Ill.). ix + 220 pp. $ 5.00 paper, $ 6.00 cloth.

F. A. W. VAN 'T LAND en A. S. VAN DER WOUDE, *De Habakuk-rol van ʿAin Faṯḥa*, tekst en vertaling. Assen 1954. 32 pp. Dutch guilders 1.90.

J. T. NELIS, *Daniel* uit de grondtekst vertaald en uitgelegd, Roermond en Maaseik 1954. 133 pp. Dutch guilders 5.78, inscr. price: 5.10.

E. NIELSEN, *Oral Tradition*, London 1954 ("Studies in Biblical Theology" 11). 108 pp.

TH. H. ROBINSON and F. HORST, *Die zwölf kleinen Propheten*, 2 verb. Aufl. Tübingen 1954. x + 275 pp. D.M. 19.80, Hlw. D.M. 22.60.

A. VAN SELMS, *Marriage and Family Life in Ugaritic Literature*, London 1954. 163 pp. Cloth 20/-.

B. H. STRICKER, *De grote zeeslang*, Leiden 1953. 28 pp + 8 fig. With a summary in English.

Z. VILNAY, הארץ במקרא, Jerusalem (Isr.) 1954. 60 pp. With illustrations.

L. H. VINCENT, *Jérusalem de l'Ancien Testament*, avec la collaboration graphique du M. A. STEVE, tome I: *Archéologie de la ville*, Paris 1954. xii + 371 pp., 111 fig. et 101 planches. Prix: 10.000 fr. 10% réduction pour les anciens souscripteurs à *Jérusalem antique* (1912).

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[1]) The mention of books in this list neither implies nor precludes subsequent review at length.

PROBLEMS AND SOLUTIONS

BY

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The present article falls into four parts: in the first certain difficult words and phrases in *Koheleth* and *Esther* are discussed, in the second and third some curious translations in the LXX are examined, and in the fourth the principle of assonance is invoked to explain the use of homonyms in the Old Testament.

1. ECCLESIASTES and ESTHER

(i) Ecclesiastes

i 15: מעות לא־יוכל לְתִקֵּן

All the ancient Vss and the parallel verb, as well as the context, demand a passive rather than an intransitive form of the verb; hence לְתָקֵן (GRAETZ) or לְהִתָּקֵן (SIEGFRIED) have been proposed. May not לְתֻקַּן 'to be made straight' be read, on the assumption that the punctuators have missed the infinitive construct form of the Pu'al in consequence of its extreme rarity [1])? The Pi'ēl occurs elsewhere as the transitive form of this verb, which supports this suggestion.

ii 3: לִמְשׁוֹךְ בּיין את־בשרי 'to sustain my flesh with wine'.

Modern commentators generally reject this interpretation of משך, but it seems to be justified by Aramaic and Arabic usage; thus literally *muskatu(n)* is explained as *mâ yumsiku-ʾlʾabdâna mina-ʾlǧadâʾi wa-ʾššarâbi* 'what (in the way) of a meal and drink sustains bodies' [2]) and metaphorically intellectual stimulus is ascribed to בעלי אגדא מוֹשְׁכִין לבו של אדם כמים 'masters of homiletic discourse

[1]) The only possible instance in the strong verb is יָסַד, which however may be a perfect tense (Zec. viii 9); the sole one from a weak verb is עָנוֹת (Ps. cxxxii 1).

[2]) In *Lisânu-ʾlʿarab* XII 377-8 (s. VAN DER PALM as cited by ROSENMÜLLER, *Scholia* IX ii 61).

sustaining a man's heart (*i.e.* understanding) like water' [1]). This double tradition confirms the M.T. and removes the need for emendation [2]).

iii 15: והאלהים יבקש את־נרדף

This clause has long been misunderstood (s. J. b. Sir. v 3) and indeed can hardly yet be said to have been satisfactorily explained; the anarthrous נרדף after the accus. את is awkward and the sense of both בקש and נרדף is not clear. Simply to read אֶת־הַנִּרְדָּף (LXX and Aq. w. 1 Heb. Ms; cp. Symm., Vulg. and Pesh.) indeed removes the grammatical difficulty but leaves its cause unexplained; how can the article have been lost? Another suggestion may then be hazarded, that the original text may have been אוֹתוֹ נִרְדָּף and that the rarity of the construction [3]) and perhaps the use of an abbreviation in the archetype whence the M.T. descends (*i.e.* writing את׳ for אותו) may have caused the mistake. Read thus, the clause may be translated 'and God claims it (*sc.* each moment, present and future), as it passes on'. The use of בקשׁ 'sought' as meaning 'required' is not unknown (*e.g.* 2 Sam. iv 11, Is. i 12) and the transition to 'claimed' is not difficult, even if this sense is not actually found in the O.T.; but it seems to be implied in the renderings of two of the ancient Vss. (Syroh. Vs., *tbʿ*; Targ., תבע).

The meaning of נרדף is not so easily discovered; but there is no reason why the Heb. רדף may not have followed the same semantic development as the Arab. *radafa* 'followed'; accordingly נִרְדַּף 'followed one another in succession' may be postulated on the analogy of *tarâdafa* 'followed one another as a continuous series', whence *ridfu(n)* 'what follows, result' (Freytag) and *alrâdifâni* 'night and day (as following one another)' (Wehr) [4]). Here then נרדף will refer to each succeeding moment of the future as it becomes present and of the present as it becomes past.

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[1]) In Bab. Talm. *Ḥăgîgāh* 14a (s. Delitzsch, *Kohelet*h 241).

[2]) The idea underlying משך in this figure of speech is not unlike that in *tenere* in *tribus rebus animantium vita tenetur* (Cicero, *dND* i 54).

[3]) Cp. לעיני הגוים רבים 'in the eyes of the nations (and that) in their masses' (Ezek. xxxix 28) and בבתיכם ספונים 'in your houses (and that) roofed', when the house of God is still unbuilt (Hagg. i 3). Adjectives and participles used thus predicatively are not merely descriptive but emphasise the circumstances.

[4]) Cp. Montgomery in *JBL* XLIII, p. 242.

This same usage may be found also in the difficult passage in which Job, having declared his confidence that God will rise up to vindicate him in his controversy with his three friends, turns on them and says:

'my spirits [1]) fail in my bosom
when you say: 'What a series of events befalls him!'
and 'The cause of it all [2]) lies in him.'
Be afraid of the sword for yourselves;
for the sword sweeps [3]) away all iniquity [4])

(Jb. xix 28-30) [5]). In other words, in spite of his assurance, Job became dispirited when his friends asserted that he was the author of his own misfortunes; but he recovered himself in a moment and triumphantly warned them to beware lest the sword might be turned against them and destroy them in their iniquities.

What the Preacher then means is that God claims every moment of time as it comes into existence, reaches fruition and then passes by.

iii 18: לראות שהם־בְּהֵמָה הֵמָּה להם

There is an overloading of pronouns in this sentence and little if any point in בהמה 'cattle'; I cannot therefore help wondering whether it ought to be read לראות מַשְׁהֵם־בָּהֶם הַהֵמָּה להם 'to see what they are in themselves, whether they are (true) to themselves'. In the first clause the preposition is ב׳ *essentiae* and in the second ל׳ of norm. Possibly the M.T. represents a conflation of two originally distinct recensions of one and the same thought; or בהמה is a mere dittograph.

iv 1: ואין להם מְנַחֵם 'and none comforting them'.

The repetition of this phrase twice in the same verse is suspicious, and it can hardly be right in reference to oppressors in place of those whom they oppress; hence HORST (following HAHN) reads ואין להם מְנַקֵּם 'and none taking vengeance on them'. The simplest emendation,

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[1]) Literally 'reins'.
[2]) Literally 'word, matter'.
[3]) Altering חֵמָה into חֲמָה (s. K.-C. § 67*aa*) from *חָמַם 'swept away'; the Acc. *ḥamāmu* 'to gather in' the harvest (LANDSBERGER *AI* 31 2 iv 54, 33 3 i 1-12; s. *Fauna* 133) or reeds (KUPPER, *ARM* III, 79, R. 5-6), Syr. *ḥam*(*m*) 'swept' and Arab. *ḥamma* 'swept; explored' suggest such a Hebrew verb, which reproduces a figure of speech found elsewhere in the O.T. (Is. xxviii 17).
[4]) K.-C. § 142*b* for order of words.
[5]) Deleting 'that you may know that (there is) a judgment' as a pious gloss.

however, and one involving no alteration of the consonants, is to read ואין להם מִנַּחֵם 'and none avenging himself on them' [1]); and this has also the advantage that it preserves the play on different parts of the same root which is characteristic of the whole verse. The use of the same root with different senses in neighbouring clauses is not uncommon (*v. infr.*).

iv 5: אכל את־בשרו 'eating his own flesh'.

Whatever this expression may connote, ROSENMÜLLER [2]) doubts whether *'âkilu nafsihi sui ipsius exesor*, which GESENIUS [3]) cites as an Arabic phrase meaning 'wretched' or the like in illustration of the Hebrew idiom, actually exists, and I can find no reference to it in the dictionaries. Can anyone confirm it?

v 14: שֶׁיֵּלֶךְ בידו

The form of the verb as thus pointed is not intended as a jussive form [4]); it is a *forma mixta* offering a choice of שֶׁיֵּלֶךְ (HITZIG w. LXX, Symm., Pesh., Targ.) and שֶׁיּוֹלִיךְ (EURINGER w. Vulg.). How many other such peculiar forms can be similarly explained?

v 16: כל־ימיו בחשך יֹאכֵל 'all his days he shall live' or 'spend in darkness'.

On the first translation כל־ימיו is in the accus. case indicating duration of time and יאכל is elliptical for יאכל לחמו 'he shall eat his bread' as again perhaps in לא אכל בטובה 'he ate not (his bread) = he lived not in prosperity' [5]) (Jb. xxi 25, where בטובה is parallel to בנפש מרה and therefore not the object of, but a qualifying adverb to, the verb). On the second translation כל־ימיו is the direct object of the verb, which is used metaphorically as in *'akala 'umurahu* 'he consumed his life' (LANE), *i.e.* he completely spent his life in such

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[1]) Cp. מתנחם לך להרגך (Gen. xxvii 42) for the preposition and הִנָּחֲמָתִי (Ezek. v 13) for the form (s. KAUTZSCH-COWLEY, *Hebr. Gramm.*, § 54 c); s. n. on Esth. ix 16 (*infra*).

[2]) In *Scholia* IX ii 108.

[3]) In *Thes. Ling. Hebr.* 90.

[4]) Or a Hi. with retraction of the tone in consequence of the prefixed relat. particle (DRIVER, *Tenses*[3], 77).

[5]) Cp. Am. vii 12 (ואכל־שם לחם ושם תנבא).

and such a way [1]). The variant ילך is due to a scribe's ignorance of a rare Hebrew but common Arabic idiom.

Ibid.: וְכָעַס הרבה

If יאכל is not altered to וָאֹפֶל (BOETTCHER) or וָאֵבֶל (SPOHN), as the LXX suggest, but is retained, then וְכָעַס הרבה must be altered to וְלוֹ כַעַס הרבה, on the assumption that לו has fallen out by haplography.

At the end of the verse one MS. (Kenn. 109) has כסף וקצף; the additional noun must be כֹּסֶף* or the like, which the Acc. *kusup libbi* 'heart-break' and the Aram. כְּסוּף 'shame' will explain [2]) and which will here have the same sense as the Eg.-Arab. *kasfatu(n)* 'disappointment, frustration' [3]).

vii 7: הָעשֶׁק יהולל חכם ויאבד את־לב מַתָּנָה

In the first clause the usual translation of עשֶׁק is 'extortion' or 'oppression' (R.V.; s. B.-D.-B.); but this is one of the passages where it is rendered 'calumny' or the like by the ancient Vss. (LXX συκοφαντία, Vet. It. and Vulg. *calumnia*) as an Aramaism after '*šaq calumniatus est, incusavit* (BROCKELMANN) [4]). Which is right here is difficult to say; but 'slander' is perhaps slightly more likely than 'oppression driveth a wise man mad'.

In the second clause the absence of the definite article makes the text suspicious [5]) and the common translation almost certainly incorrect, compelling the view that מַתָּנָה conceals a determined, not indeterminate, qualifying term; if so, the final ה must conceal a pron. suffix, as several of the ancient Vss. suggest. I therefore follow them in reading מְתָנָה or מָתְנוֹ (= מָתְנֹה) ויאבד את־לב 'and it (*sc.* a false accusation) destroys a' or 'his stout heart' [6]) (cp. LXX, Aq. and

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[1]) Cp. Arab. *'akala rauqahu* 'he ate his life' = 'he became extremely aged' (LANE).

[2]) Cp. נכסף in Zeph. i 2 (s. *JBL*, LV, 101 and *Orient.* XII, 62-3).

[3]) SPIRO, *Arab.-Engl. Dict.*, p. 376.

[4]) Cp. Is. xxx 12, lix 13, Ps. lxxiii 8 (s. VAN DER PLOEG, *Oudtest. Stud.* V, p. 142-5).

[5]) All instances of את with an undetermined noun are suspect (s. KAUTZSCH-COWLEY, *Hebr. Gramm.*, § 117 d).

[6]) Cp. זרע כחו 'the arm of his strength' = 'his strong arm' (Is. xliv 12) for the form of the expression.

Theod.'s καρδίαν εὐτονίας αὐτοῦ and Vet. It.'s *cor fortitudinis eius* as well as Vulg.'s *robur cordis illius*, which is merely a paraphrase of the same expression). This Hebr. מְתָנָה* or מֹתֶן* 'strength' (whence the du. מָתְנַיִם 'loins' as denoting what is *par excellence* the strong part of the body is formed) is derived from the √ *MTN*, whence the Arab. *matuna* 'was stout, steady' and *matânatu*ⁿ 'sturdiness' come; the M.-Hebr. מָתוּן 'prudent' (as 'having a strong head'), which GRAETZ invokes here, is without doubt a cognate word.

vii 14: על־דברת שלא ימצא האדם אחריו מאומה 'in such wise that no man may find any fault with him' (Symm.), if the Heb. מצא אחרי may have the same sense as the Syr. *'eškaḥ bāṭar* 'found fault with' [1]). Similar idioms are the Acc. *arki* . . . *šasû* 'to call after, accuse (a person)', [2]) and the Aram. יקום . . . בעד 'he rises up behind, finds fault with her' [3]).

viii 10: ובכן ראיתי
רשעים קֹרְבִים וּבָאִים מָקוֹם קדוש
יְהַלְּכוּ וְיִשְׁתַּבְּחוּ בעיר אשר כן־עשו

'and then I have seen
'wicked men, approaching [4]) and entering [5]) the holy place [6]),
'walk about and boast [7]) in the city that they have done right'
as the emended text may be translated [8]).

The confusion in the M.T. has been caused by supposing that the first line deals with the wicked and the second with righteous men, in consequence of taking אשר כן־עשו as 'they that have done right' (R.V.) and making it the subject of the two preceding verbs instead of translating it 'that' or 'because they have done right' and treating it as dependent on יִשְׁתַּבְּחוּ [9]); this error in turn has led to the conse-

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[1]) BURKITT in *J.T.S.* XXIII, [1922] 24.
[2]) Cp. Targ.'s אמרו עלך מלין בישין at Jer. xii 6.
[3]) KRAELING, *A.P.* 2 7, 7 21 (where the editor has missed the idiom).
[4]) BURKITT in *JTS* XXIII, 25-6.
[5]) HERTZBERG a. PODECHARD w. Pesh. (cp. LXX's εἰσαχθέντας).
[6]) Cp. Symm. and Vulg.
[7]) CAPPEL, *Crit. Sacr.* 249-50 (w. Vss.).
[8]) Cp. Lam. i 10, where there is a similar thought.
[9]) The use of אשר as a conjunction is common enough, when it means 'that' (Eccl. v 4, 17, vii 21) or 'because' (Eccl. iv 9, vi 12, x 15).

quential alteration of this verb, which has the support of the principal Vss. (LXX, Aq., Symm., Vulg.) and many Hebrew MSS., into יִשְׁתַּכְּחוּ, which is an otherwise unknown form and is supported only by the Targum [1]).

ix 13: וּגְדוֹלָה הִיא אֵלָי 'and it is great in my eyes'.

The use of גָּדוֹל to describe a story of unrewarded wisdom is strange; may דְּגוּלָה 'remarkable' [2]) perhaps be read? As too אל seems nowhere else to connote 'in the eyes of', the alteration of אֵלָי into לִי (EHRLICH, assuming that א has been dittographed) seems to be justified; and this preposition goes well with a pass. participle [3]).

ix 15: וּמָצָא אִישׁ מִסְכֵּן חָכָם

The usual emendation of מָצָא (of which the subject is hardly likely to be the indefinite third person, as this is here somewhat awkward after מלך, which immediately precedes) is נִמְצָא (HERTZBERG w. Vulg., Pesh., Targ.); but may not the true reading have been מָצֹא (= מָצוּא), here misunderstood as not being found elsewhere in the O.T.? If so, it anticipates the well-known post-Bibl. מָצוּי 'found' in the sense of 'present' and is thus the first instance of this idiom. An unknown form is more likely to have been missed than one in common use.

x 1: יבאיש יַבִּיעַ שֶׁמֶן רוֹקֵחַ

Objection is generally taken to יַבִּיעַ on the ground that הִבִּיעַ 'made (water) to gush forth' is nowhere used *in malam partem* in the O.T. While, however, it is obviously identical with *naba'a* (*aqua*) *scaturivit*, it may be identified also with *nabaǧa* (*caput*) *furfuribus laboravit*, which shows another form of the root with a somewhat different

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[1]) The ordinary Targum has איתנשין 'they were forgotten' (LAGARDE), but one MS. is said to have אתנשיאו 'they were lifted up' (DE-ROSSI, *Var. Lect.* III, 257 *ad finem*).

[2]) Cp. דָּגוּל מרבבה 'more regarded, admired than a myriad' (Ct. v 10) and נִדְגָּלוֹת (celestial) 'phenomena' (Ct. vi 4, 10).

[3]) Cp. Eccl. v 12 (s. BROWN-DRIVER-BRIGGS, *Hebr. Lex.*, 514a).

sense; further, it is also akin to, if not directly cognate with, *baǧǧa* and *bâǧa* (*sanguis*) *efferbuit*, whence *bauǧâ'u(n) odor et aromatis fragrantia* is derived, as also with *baǧâ* (*vulnus ulcusve*) *sanie sorduit* (FREYTAG), and these last words supply a sense obviously suitable to the present context [1]). The underlying $\sqrt{B^{\text{c}}}$ or $\sqrt{B\,\check{G}}$ denotes any kind of gushing, boiling or fermenting, so that the clause means that dead flies [2]) 'make an apothecary's unguent(s) to stink (and) ferment'. Deletion of the verb is *rhythmi causa* undesirable and alteration of the text, even of the vocalization of the verb, is hardly necessary.

x 10: אִם־קֵהָה הברזל והוא לא־פָנִים קִלְקַל

If the transitive vocalization of קֵהָה is retained, the subject is any one of the craftsmen mentioned in the previous clause; since then the following הוא implies a different subject, this will be the ברזל and the passive קִלְקַל must be read (Targ., Hebr. Mss.).

BUDDE's alteration of לא־פנים into לא־לְפָנִים [3]) (cp. Vulg.'s *ut non prius*) is generally rejected on the ground that לפנים 'formerly' cannot mean 'previously'; but it has very nearly this sense in בקר לפנים ואחר תויך 'first enquire and afterwards blame' (J.b. Sir. xi 7), which justifies the proposed emendation [4]). This in turn gets rid of the impossible suggestion that פנים 'face' can denote the 'edge' of an axe or a sword [5]).

x 19: והכסף יַעֲנֶה את־הכל 'and money answers, is answerable for everything', *i.e.* provides everything; everything has its price and can be bought.

There is a similiar use of ענה in אענה את־השמים והם יענו את־הארץ והארץ תענה את־הדגן . . . והם יענו את־יזרעאל 'I will answer for the heavens, and they will answer for the earth; and the earth shall answer for the corn . . . . , and they shall answer for Jezreel' (Hos. ii 23-4); in other words, each in the chain will be responsible for seeing that the next will do its duty, so that Jezreel may be supplied with all that it wants.

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[1]) Cp. אבעבעת 'boils' (Exod. ix 9, 10).

[2]) I.e. זבוב מת or זבובים מתים 'dead flies' (SPOHN) for זבובי מות 'deadly flies', as in M.T.

[3]) Cp. Ps. cxlvii 10 for the position of the negative particle.

[4]) Cp. Phoen. לפנים 'formerly' (Karatepe ii [38] 3).

[5]) In אנה פניך מעדות 'whither is thy face set?' (Ezek. xxi 21) the sword is personified, as the commands addressed to it show; similarly הימיני and השמילי do not imply that it has a right and a left hand!

x 20: ובחַדְרֵי משכבך

The sing. ובחֶדֶר משכבך must surely be read with some Vss. (Vet. It., Targ.) and several Hebr. Mss.; the parellel sing. מַדָּע 'place of repose' [1]) supports such a form.

xii 3: וחָשְׁכוּ הראות בארבות 'and those that look out of the window shall be darkened' (R.V.).

This rendering barely makes sense; for, while the idea of being darkened is applicable to the eyes, it is scarcely so to those who see with them; and חשך 'was darkened' does not express a conception *eiusdem generis* with and therefore parallel to בטל 'ceased'. Is it not, then, an error for וחָשְׁכוּ 'and they shall cease, stop', which is used thus absolutely in a few other passages? [2]).

xii 4: וְיִחָשׁוּ כל־בנות השיר or וְיִחֲשׁוּ (for וְיִשַּׁחוּ) [3]) 'and all the daughters of song are silent'.

The parallel צִפּוֹר shows beyond all doubt that בְּנוֹת הַשִּׁיר connotes neither 'notes' (WILDEBOER) nor 'songs' (ZIRKEL) but 'song-birds' (ELSTER) [4]); and this interpretation of the phrase in turn suggests that צִפּוֹר here means not any 'bird' but some specific bird, presumably a 'sparrow' (cp. LXX's στρουθίον), as it normally does when contrasted with other birds [5]). Thus the twittering sparrow will symbolize the chatter in the house, while the songsters stand for the young men and maidens who sing as they go about their daily tasks; neither can be clearly heard or enjoyed by the old man.

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[1]) THOMAS in *JTS*, NS I, 177.

[2]) Is. (xiv 6) liv 2, lviii 1.

[3]) GRAETZ, *Kohelet*, 135-6 and KAMENETZKY in *ZAtW* XXIV, 239 w. Vet. It. (cp. Vulg.).

[4]) GINSBERG supports this interpretation by citing בר זמירא from an Aramaic version of Aesop's fables (LANDSBERGER, *Sophos* 3-4, *2*, 1-2, where however it describes not a bird but a cricket); but the parallel Syriac version has *k a ḏ z m a r* 'when it sang' (LEFEVRE, *Esope*, 4-5 iii, 1-2). The Ugar. *b n t h l l* 'daughters of song', if it is thus rightly translated, as a term describing swallows (D. II ii 25) may also be compared. Further, as *z m a r* is applied in these fables also to the song of birds, *e.g.* swans and partridges (LEFEVRE, *ibid.*, 2-7 ii, 2 *2* 3,90 xl 6), the allusion in עת הזמיר הגיע (Ct. ii 12) may after all be to the song of birds and not to the pruning of vines.

[5]) E.g. Ps. lxxxiv (LXX στρουθίον, Vet. It. and Vulg. *passer*), Prov. xxvi 2 and Hos. xi 11 (s: GUNKEL, *Psalmen*, p. 370).

xii 9: ואזן וחקר תִּקֵּן משלים הרבה

The LXX's κόσμιον suggests that תִּקֵּן ought to be read תִּקֶּן or תִּקּוּן 'arrangement' [1]), when the sentence will mean 'and he pondered and sought out the ordering of many proverbs'.

xii 11: דברי חכמים כדרבנות וכמשמרות נטועים
בַּעֲלֵי אֲסֻפּוֹת נתנו מרעה אחד

The interpretation of the enigmatic בעלי אספות depends largely on recognizing that it does not belong to the first line (where, as *Bibl. Hebr.* prints it, it spoils the balance of the lines) but to the second line; consequently it does not qualify משמרות נטועים but is parallel to דברי חכמים, of which therefore it amplifies the sense (Ewald). It cannot, however, mean 'members of collections' (Ewald), since בעל 'lord, owner' denotes the dominant partner in, not a subsidiary member of, any group to which it is prefixed. Further, the Bibl. אסף 'collected' takes not only things but also persons as its object, and אֲסֵפָה 'assembly' refers to persons while אֲסֻפִּים 'collections' designates things; and the post. Bibl. אֲסֻפּוֹת 'assemblies (of scholars)' may well reflect ancient usage, even if it is not independent of the present passage. There is therefore no reason why אֲסֻפּוֹת may not here too denote 'assemblies' of people. At the same time neither verb nor noun from this root seems ever to be applied to literary collections. I therefore take the verse as meaning:

'the words of the wise are like goads or like nails driven home;
they are the rulers of assemblies, given of one shepherd',

in other words, they stimulate like goads and stick in the memory like nails driven firmly into a beam or plank [2]); they are 'masters' or 'rulers of assemblies' in that they dominate the minds of those that hear them [3]). Somewhat in the same way Cicero says that *domina rerum, ut vos soletis dicere, vis eloquendi* 'the force of speech is, as you are wont to say, mistress of events' [4]) and Quintilian declares that *hoc est quod dominetur in iudiciis, haec eloquentia regnat* 'this (*sc.* emotional

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[1]) Cp. Ps. x 17, where there is a similar error in the M.T. (Buhl; s. Driver, *Semitic Writing*², p. 206).

[2]) Cp. Prov. xxii 18 (as restored after Amenemope's proverbs).

[3]) Cp. Is. xvi 8 for בעל 'owner' in the sense of 'master, ruler' and xli 15 for its application to a thing.

[4]) In *dND* II lix 148.

power) it is that dominates the law-courts, this sort of eloquence has the mastery' [1]). Thus בַּעֲלֵי אֲסֻפּוֹת means more or less the same thing as *domina rerum* and *quod dominetur in iudiciis*; and 'the words of the wise' gain their force not from the form in which they are expressed but from the fact that 'they have been given by one shepherd', *i.e.* that they are derived from a common source, however many wise men may have uttered them, whether delivered by the king or inspired by God [2]).

(ii) Esther

i 6: חור | כרפס ותכלת

The text is here in disorder, if only because these words hang in the air; and the ancient Vss. imply something like '<and the hall was adorned with hangings of> white and violet linen'. Further, the *pāsēq* between the first two words gives a hint of something here also wrong; obviously כרפס חור ותכלת 'linen of white colour and violet colour' must be read, since חור describes not a stuff but a colour, as in בלבוש ... תכלת וחור 'in raiment . . . of violet and white colours' (Esth. viii 15).

ii 20: כאשר היתה בְּאָמְנָה אתו 'as she was during nurture' or 'upbringing with him'.

The absence of article or pronominal suffix with בְּאָמְנָה as vocalized is peculiar; ought not בְּאָמְנָהּ 'during her upbringing with him' to be read with several Vss. (LXX, Vulg., Targ. I and II)?

iv 5: אשר הֶעֱמִיד לפניה

I suspect a conflation of two alternative recensions or readings, namely משר עָמַד לפניה and הָעוֹמֵד לפניה; for the Q. form of the verb is implied in several Vss. (LXX, Pesh., Targ. II) and seems to offer a preferable sense.

iv 13: אל־תדמי בנפשך להמלט בית המלך מכל־היהודים 'think not with thyself that thou shalt escape in the king's house more than all the Jews' (R.V.).

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[1]) In *Inst. Orat.* VI ii 4; cp. VI iv 4 (*perpetua dominatur oratio*) and VIII iii 62 (*non enim satis efficit neque, ut debet, plene dominatur oratio si usque ad aures valet*).

[2]) Cp. Gen. xlix 24; Ps. xxiii 1 and lxxx 2, where רֹעֶה is applied to God.

This, the customary, translation implies so awkward an ellipse of a preposition before בֵּית הַמֶּלֶךְ that, although such an idiom is well known [1]), commentators prefer to read בְּבֵית הַמֶּלֶךְ (HAUPT w. LXX, Vulg., Targ. I, which imply it but do not necessarily require it). I suggest, however, translating the clause 'think not within thyself of the king's household's escaping more than all the Jews', *i.e.* 'do not imagine that the Jews of the royal household will be more likely to escape than all the other Jews in the kingdom'. Mordecai's messengers naturally suppose that Esther's thoughts will at once fly to her compatriots in the royal household and tacitly assume that בית המלך will mean only these, and not the whole vast staff of the royal palace, to a woman of her loyalty.

v 9: ולא־קם ולא־זָע מִמֶּנּוּ 'he stood not up nor moved for' or 'trembled before him' (R.V.).

Here זָע מִמֶּנּוּ is usually interpreted in the light of מן־קדם אלהה or זאעין ודחלין מן־קדמוהי 'trembling and fearful before him' or 'before his God' (Dan. v 19, vi 27); but, while verbs of fearing introduce the person feared by מן or מפני (*e.g.* פחד, ירא, גור, נבהל), those of trembling or writhing seem to prefer מפני (*e.g.* רגז, נוע, חול); is not then the Hebr. זוּעַ here to be explained not so much after the Arab. *zâ'a* 'was afraid' as after the Arab. *zâǧa* 'deviated' (*Hava*)? What annoyed Haman was not that Mordecai did not tremble before him but that he 'neither rose up nor stood aside from, made way for him' as he entered the gate to pass through it.

vii 9: אשר דִּבֶּר טוב למלך 'who spake good for the king'.

All commentators agree that this translation can hardly give the sense intended; for there is no question of Mordecai's having spoken good for the king, whatever that may mean. Can the sense be 'who managed well for the king', *i.e.* who has so skilfully managed the affair of the plot against the king's life? This use of דִּבֶּר = *dabbara* 'arranged, managed, settled' is not so extreme an Arabism as it may at first sight seem to be; for the usage has been plausibly discovered in two or three other passages of the O.T., one possibly in this very book [2]).

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[1]) *E.g.* Ru. i 9, Esth. i 9, ii 9.

[2]) Jud. xviii 7 and Esth. i 22 (DRIVER a. JUNKER in *ZAtW* LV, p. 71), Is. viii 10 and lviii 13 (EITAN in *HUCA* XII-XIII, p. 58, 83).

ix 16: שאר היהודים . . . נקהלו ועמוד על־נפשם ונוֹחַ מאיביהם 'the rest of the Jews . . . gathered themselves together and stood for their lives and had rest from their enemies'.

Objection has rightly been taken to ונוֹחַ מאיביהם because it contradicts what immediately follows and also anticipates a similar statement which comes shortly afterwards. Following REUSS' *pour se venger*, therefore, which the sense requires, commentators have conjecturally restored ונִקוֹם מאיביהם (BERTHEAU) or וָנָקוֹם (STEUERNAGEL) 'and took vengeance on their enemies'. Is not ונִחוֹ<ם> מאיביהם 'and avenged themselves on their enemies' preferable? It postulates the loss only of a single letter by haplography, and the error can easily be explained as due to the rarity of this use of the verb [1]).

ix 30: וַיִּשְׁלַח ספרים

The masc. form of the verb is probably wrong, as the implied subject is not Mordecai but Esther, but the restoration of the fem. וַתִּשְׁלַח (HAUPT) involves an alteration of the consonantal text which is not supported by the ancient Vss. [2]); and this last objection militates with equal force against the proposal to read וְנִשְׁלַח (EHRLICH; cp. iii 13). May not וַיִּשָּׁלַח or וַיִּשָּׁלְחוּ 'and there were sent' (cp. Vulg.'s *et miserunt* and Pesh.'s *šaddarū* 'and they sent') be suggested? If either is accepted, the error will have been caused by the rarity of the Ni. of this verb [3]).

x 2: פְּרָשַׁת גדלת מרדכי אשר גדלו המלך

The only philologically justifiable sense of פְּרָשַׁת גְּדֻלַּת seems to be 'decree of greatness', *i.e.* 'patent of nobility', which the cognate Acc. *parās/šu* 'to determine (facts), decree (punishment)' suggests [4]). The Syr. *praš* 'separated, set aside, assigned; offered (a gift), paid

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[1]) Cp. נִגּוֹף (Jud. xx 39) for the form and אֲנָחֵם מצרי (Is. i 24) for the sense; s. n. on Eccl. iv 1 (*supra*).

[2]) Yet a not unknown error (cp. Esth. viii 5).

[3]) Otherwise, if Esther is taken as the actual subject, a lapse of congruence must be assumed (s. DRIVER in *JRAS* LXXV, [1948], 167-9).

[4]) As in 5 *MA . NA* (= *manâm*) *KU. BABBAR* (= *kaspam*) . . . *elišunu iprusu* 'they decreed (a penalty of) 5 manehs of silver . . . against them' (SAN NICOLÒ, in *Stud. et Docum.* II, p. 184-5, r. 30-1).

(a sacrifice)' is cognate with this verb; and it in turn suggests that פָּרָשַׁת הַכֶּסֶף means 'the determination, allocation, setting aside, of the money' (iv 7) promised by Haman to the king's treasury out of the property of the Jews after their extermination.

2. ABBREVIATIONS

The use of abbreviations by scribes in the O.T. has long been recognized [1]) but requires re-examination, and attention is drawn in this note to one example which seems to have been overlooked [2]).

The LXX translate the M.T.'s נֻדְּדָה שנת המלך 'the king's sleep fled from him' by ὁ κύριος ἀπέστησεν τὸν ὕπνον ἀπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως (Esth. vi 1), in which the Vet. It. and Targ. II follow them; all clearly read נוֹדַד ה׳ (= יְהוָה) שנת המלך (= נֻדַּד ה׳) 'Yahweh [3]) made the king's sleep to flee away' [4]). This consensus of opinion, early and late, may well be right, even though (possibly because) God is mentioned nowhere else in the book.

3. LOST HEBREW WORDS

I have previously drawn attention [5]) to lost Hebrew words which can be recovered from the mistranslations of the ancient Vss., and I here take the opportunity of adding others to the list.

Ecclesiastes yields the following such words:

אִזֵּן 'weighed' (xii 9) misread *אָזֵן (Q) and translated ἠνωτίσατο (Aq.; cp. Pesh., Targ.) after Arab. *'ađina* 'gave ear';

גֻּלָּה 'bowl' (xii 6) misread *גַּלָּה and translated χελώνη (LXX) after Syr. *gallâ* 'tortoise' [6]);

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[1]) PERLES, *Anal.*, 4-34.

[2]) Others will be found in Jer. vii 4 (RUDOLPH), Prov. i 10 (MÜLLER), and Esth. ix 25 (STEUERNAGEL).

[3]) Cp. Lam. iii 51, Ps. lxviii 20 and Prov. xxiv 7 (LXX), for other examples of ה׳ as an abbreviation for יהוה, the first certainly correct, the second possibly so, and the third certainly wrong (PERLES).

[4]) Obviously, while the trans. form is *Pôʿēl*, the intrans. form is *Pôʿal* (Nah. iii 17).

[5]) In *JBL* IV, p. 101-20.

[6]) Also גַּלִּים 'heaps' (Hos. xii 12) mistranslated χελῶναι (LXX), thus confirming this word.

מַכְאֹב 'pain' (i 18, ii 23) translated βάσανος (Aq.) and perhaps therefore meaning also 'torture' in the technical sense;

מְהוֹלֵל 'mad' (ii 2) misread מַהֲלָל and translated θόρυβος (Symm.) as well as πλάνησις (Aq.) and περιφορά (Theod.), giving a new noun showing the primary and secondary senses of the root [1]);

נִסַּךְ 'was affluent, overflowing' (ii 1) in אֲנַסֶּכָה 'I will try thee' misread אֲנַסֶּכָה and translated *affluam* (Vulg.) after Syr. *nsak se effudit* (DOEDERLEIN);

סוּסִים 'horses' (viii 10) misread *סַוָּסִים and translated *'espûke'* 'couriers' (Pesh.) after Arab. s. *sâ'isu*ⁿ pl. *suwwâsu*ⁿ 'groom(s), courier(s)';

סִיר 'pot' (vii 6) mistranslated δεσμωτήριον (Symm.), suggesting another *סִיר 'prison', which the Acc. *sâru* 'to surround' and *sîru* 'enclosure' [2]) support;

נִסְכַּן 'ran risks' (x 9) in יִסָּכֶן mistranslated *vulnerabitur* (Vulg.), suggesting another *נִסְכַּן 'cut himself (with a knife)' as a denom. verb from סַכִּין 'knife'.

These mistranslations have, so far as I know, not yet had any value; two, however, which may now be mentioned, solve other passages in Hebrew literature.

First, the Pesh. mistranslates שָׁקֵד 'almond-tree' (Eccl. xii 5) as *šahrâ* 'wakefulness', suggesting a Hebr. שֵׁקֶד (or the like) 'sleeplessness' [3]), which at once explains שקר עשיר ימחה שארו (var. שקד) 'the lying (var. sleeplessness) of a rich man destroys his health (lit. flesh)'; thus the variant reading, translated ἀγρυπνία in the Greek version, which alone makes sense, is confirmed (J.b. Sir. xxxi 1). Second, that שָׁדֶה, whatever it may mean (Eccl. ii 8), is misread *שֹׁדֶה and translated οἰνοχόος by the LXX and Theod., whether rightly or wrongly, is highly suggestive, since it argues the existence of a Hebr. *שָׁדָה = Aram. שְׁדָא 'poured out'; this in turn supports the suggestion

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[1]) Elsewhere only '(shouts of) praise' (Prov. xxvii 21).
[2]) LANGDON in *RA* XXVIII, 160⁷ and DOSSIN, *ibid.* XXIX, 193-5.
[3]) Vocalized like אֹבֶד 'eternity' (s. BARTH, *Nominalbildung* I, p. 148-51).

that the prophet's כקול שַׁדַּי (parallel with כקול מים רבים) ought to be read כקול שִׁדִּי 'like the sound of a downpour' (Ezek. i 24) [1]). What then does שדה ושדות mean? The only word that corresponds to it is the Bab. (*iṣ*)*šiddatum*, an article of wood, sometimes curiously wrought of special wood and provided with a front of glass; one such seems to have been sufficiently prized to be mentioned in a marriage-contract [2]). Elsewhere it appears as part of the furniture of a palace [3]) or a temple, when it may be overlaid with silver or gold [4]). These passages do not suffice to identify it exactly, but the Aram. שִׁדְּתָא suggests something like a coffer, cupboard or chest-of-drawers [5]). Was then שדה ושדות added by a pious scribe who found the collection of singing boys and singing girls by a Hebrew king objectionable and substituted costly furniture as a suitable form of wealth? Its position at the end of the verse suggests a gloss.

In such an investigation as this the earlier have much greater value than the later Vss.; for the Greek translators are less likely than the Aramaic and Syriac to have been influenced by the cognate languages; when therefore they suggest something that is evidently not what the original author can have intended, there is a considerable chance that their rendering is based on a genuine but lost Hebrew word. Such gleanings, then, are most important for filling in the gaps in our knowledge of the classical or pre-Christian Hebrew vocabulary; and the words so gained may be useful not only in forestalling emendation based on the supposed support of this or that Vs. but also for throwing light on obscure passages elsewhere in the O.T. or in extra-Biblical documents that may be discovered at some future date.

4. PARONOMASIA

Notice has already been taken of one form of assonance based on the juxtaposition of different parts of the same word (Eccl. iv 2); and attention may now be drawn to others, of which a knowledge may promote the interpretation of the Hebrew text.

That the text of Proverbs xxv 20 is in disorder has long been

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[1]) Cp. *JTS* XLI, 168-9.

[2]) Krückmann, *Hilprecht* II/III 2 24-5 (*iṣšiddatum šá meskanna šá pāni ẓakitti*).

[3]) Dossin, *ARM* IV, *10* r. 6, *79* 6 (*šiddat ēkallim*).

[4]) Dougherty, *YBT* VI, *62* 14-15; *189* 11-12; *192* 10, 24-25 (*šiddāti kaspi*).

[5]) Ungnad in *OLZ* XXV, 13 and San Nicolò, in *Aegyptus* XXVII, p. 136-8 (24); cp. Strassmaier, *BT*, Nbn. *258* 16, Camb. *330* 6; *331* 11.

recognized not only from the defective structure of the verse itself but also from the variations in the ancient Vss.; and these offer hints which show where the cause of the trouble lies.

The trouble may be traced to חמץ על־נתר which is translated ὄξος ἕλκει (LXX) and alternatively ὄξος ἐπὶ νίτρῳ (Symm.; so also Vulg., Targ., Pesh.). This suggests that נתר represents two words or must have occurred twice, the first being the same word as the Arab. *natru*(*n*) 'plunging a weapon deeply in' and *natratu*(*n*) 'deep wound' and the second the Eg. *nṯry* = Acc. *nitiru*, and Aram. *niṯrâ* 'natron'. The text may then be restored to read [1]):

[מים על־נתר] מעדה בגד ביום קרה
חמץ על־נתר שר בשָׁרִים על־לב רע
[כסס בבגד ורקב לעץ כן תוגת איש מחלה לב]

a) '(like) water on natron is (one) removing a garment
in cold weather;
'(like) vinegar on a wound is (one) singing among singers
with heavy heart.

b) 'Like a moth in a garment or rot in wood,
so is a man's grief making the heart sick'.

In other words in *a* either of the actions is futile or harmful; water dissolves natron, which is thus destroyed, and is itself rendered unpotable, and vinegar makes a wound smart and has no therapeutic value. In *b* grief eats away the heart as moths eat holes in garments or rot eats its way into wood.

So far as the proverb goes, either nitre (nitrate of soda) or natron (carbonate of soda) may be meant, since both have the same effect on water; but, since נתר is said elsewhere to be used for soap (Jer. ii 22), it cannot be nitron but must be natron. The Eg. *nṯry* and the Gr. νίτρον, too, are both said to mean natron [2]). This occurs as an incrustation on the ground in many parts of the Middle East (Armenia, Persia, Egypt); in Palestine soap is now made from the carbonate of potash contained in the ashes of certain saliferous desert plants.

The alteration of the M.T.'s בְּשִׁירִים 'with songs' into בְּשָׁרִים 'amongst singers' (Wildeboer), though not supported by the Vss.,

[1]) Previous suggestions have been חמץ על־פצע מים על־נתר (Bickell) and חמץ על־נתק מים על־נתר (Graetz), which however require the introduction of an alien word into the text.

[2]) Erman-Grapow, *Wb. Äg. Spr.* II, 366 and Liddell & Scott, *Gr.-Engl. Lex.* [1940], p. 1177.

is surely required by the sense; for the point is that one reveller with a heavy heart spoils good company.

The cause of the main textual confusion is clear: it is an instance of vertical haplography. The occurrence of מים על־נתר and חמץ על־נתר one above the other has led the scribe to omit one of these expressions as a doublet of the other, since the same word seems to occur in both.

This juxtaposition of two homonyms, however, far from being erroneous, is a phenomenon to which attention has not, so far as I know, hitherto been drawn. Such paronomasia occurs in three forms:

i) mere assonance between distinct but similar roots, *e.g.* ראה 'saw' and ירא 'feared' (Ps. xl 4, cxix 74, Jb. vi 21), רצץ 'broke, bruised' and רוץ 'to break in' [1]) (Is. xlii 3-4);

ii) the juxtaposition of words of identical form from distinct roots, *e.g.*

כהה 'was dim' and כהה 'rebuked' (Is. xlii 3-4)
שכח 'forgot' and שכח 'grew limp' (Ps. cxxxvii 5)
סיר 'thorn' beside סיר 'cauldron' (Eccl. vii 6) [2]);

iii) the collocation of the same word in two different senses, *e.g.*

מן 'by' and 'without' (Is. liii 8, Ps. cix 24)
פה 'mouth' and 'speech' (Eccl. x 13)
בקר 'offering for an oracle' [3]) and 'morning' (Ps. v 4)
חרב 'sword' and 'war' (Ct. iii 8)
פגר 'corpse' and 'broken fragment' [4]) (Lev. xxvi 30)
כסף 'food' [5]) and 'silver, money' (Is. lv 1)
נפש 'abundance' [6]) and 'soul' (Is. lviii 10)
אתנן 'effigy' [7]) and 'harlot's hire' (Mic. i 7)
למודים 'learning' and 'learners' (Is. i 4)

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[1]) Cp. Arab. *râḍa(w)* 'broke in and trained (a colt)', whence *rā'iḍu(n)* and *riyâḍatu(n)* 'bodily exercise, self-control', and so on.

[2]) Cp. Lat. *holera olla legit* (Catullus, *Carm.* xciv 2).

[3]) Mowinckel, *Zum israelitischen Neujahr*, 61-2.

[4]) Cp. Ugar. *pgr* 'carved stele' (Dussaud in *Syria* XII 70[9], and Obermann in *JAOS* LXI, p. 38-40). Aram. *pgr* Pe. 'grew sluggish' Pa. 'hacked in pieces', and Arab. *fajara* I 'leaked', VII 'was dissipated, dispersed, broke up'.

[5]) Driver in *JTS* XXXVI, 404 (Acc. *kispu* 'broken meats' and *kusāpu* 'mouthful, food').

[6]) Driver in *ZAtW* LII, 53-4; LV, 68-9 Acc. *napāšu* 'plenty', *napšu* 'plenty' (Thompson, *Reports 91* r 2; *165* o. 6) as well as 'plentiful' (Thompson *ib.* o. 5; Virolleaud, *AC* Sham. 19 ix 13, Isht. 3 ii 6 *alq.*) and Arab. *nafâ'isu* 'rich supplies (of food)'.

[7]) Halper in *AJSL* XXXIV p. 366-8. The Arab. *tanna* III 'compared', whence *tinnu(n)* 'likeness' and *tinânu(n)* 'effigy' shows the same semantic development as the Aram. *d'mâ* 'was like', whence *dumyā* 'likeness' and *d'mîn* 'price'.

רצה 'accepted' and חרצה 'counted the full tale of' [1]) (Lev. xxvi 43).

The instance discussed above (נתר) belongs to the second of these three classes.

The principle here elucidated will serve to explain two difficult passages in the Pentateuch.

The Arab. *ǵašīya* 'covered, plunged into, unexpectedly undertook' argues a Heb. '*āśāh* 'covered' as well as 'did, made' [2]), and indeed such a sense can be discovered in two or three passages of the O.T. For example, when God bade Noah make an ark, He said 'make thee an ark of teak (?) and cover the ark with reeds' [3]), not 'and make rooms in the ark' (Gen. vi 14; R.V.); for קִנִּים 'nests' does not mean 'rooms', and 'rooms' are in any case out of place in a verse describing the materials to be used. Further, ancient ships were made water-tight with reed-mats smeared with pitch or some similar stuff. This use of '*āśāh* is confirmed by its interchange with *kāsāh* 'covered' in a metaphorical sense (Prov. xiii 16; cp. xii 23) [4]), while it may perhaps also mean 'protected' in a military sense (Ezek. xvii 17). Again, this same '*āśāh* 'did, made' seems to have acquired the sense also of 'served, worshipped'. This is indeed attested by the mistranslation of '*ôśîm* 'making' as *pālḥîn* 'serving, worshipping' once in the Pesh. (2 Ki. xvii 29) [5]) and may be accepted in 'the Lord smote the people because they worshipped' (not 'made) the calf which Aaron had made' (Exod. xxxii 35; Pesh. and Targ.); for enough had been said to show that there can be no objection to assuming two senses of one word within the same verse.

Finally, if נפש 'throat, soul' may mean also 'abundance' (Is. lxiii 10), the question may be asked whether this sense of the word may not be found again in a proverb which no one has yet explained, namely

כי בעד אשה זונה עד־ככר לחם ואשת איש נפש יקרה תצוד

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[1]) The Hi. הִרְצָת in v. 34 b shows that the Hi. תַּרְצֶה and תָּרֶץ must be read also in v. 34 a and v. 43 where שבתת is the object; this is best taken in the sense of the post-Bibl. הרצה 'counted' as meaning 'counted the full tale of' (cp. Ps. cxxxix 16; Torczyner).

[2]) Driver in *Robinson*, 53-4. Hence עֵשָׂו 'Esau' as 'covered (*sc.* with hair)'.

[3]) *I.e.* קָנִים, a suggestion which has been anticipated by several scholars (Gordon, *Introduction* [1953], 38[2] and Ullendorff in *V.T.* IV [1954], 96; cp. Yahuda, *Pentateuch*, p. 206-7, who however mistranslates the Eg. *qny.w* 'sheaf' as 'reed' to suit his case).

[4]) Eitan, '*Contributions*' 57-8.

[5]) Cp. Morgenstern *ap.* Sperber in *Marx* 564-5; but the following ויניחו בבית הבמות makes such a translation impossible here.

(Prov. vi 26 ; for the verse must be thus divided); for, as the harlot is contrasted with the married woman, so the loaf of bread is contrasted with the נפש יקרה, namely the scanty fare of the one with the 'costly abundance, plenty' of the other woman. Only בעד, which balances צוד, now remains to be explained. The sense seems to be that, as the married woman hunts or seeks for, *i.e.* is tempted by, costly delicacies, the price of the harlot may only be as much as a cheap loaf of bread. The √*b'd* shows an interesting development of senses as traced through the various Semitic languages in semantic if not historical order. The Arab. *ba'i/uda* 'was absent, distant' exhibits the basic meaning to have been '(far) behind', which can still be detected in some uses of the Hebrew preposition; from this verb the Arab. *bu'du(n)* 'absence, distance' and *bu'adu(n)* 'backing', as seen in *mâ 'indahu bu'adu(n)* 'he has nothing behind him, is no good' (Freytag), are derived. The Eth. *ba'ada* III i 'departed, changed' (Dillmann) shows another line of development; for changing one's place and absenting oneself, removing one's self elsewhere, are kindred ideas [1]). Accordingly, the Heb. *be'aḏ* 'behind, over' is used also of giving a bribe 'in exchange for, on behalf of' (Jb. vi 22) and going surety 'in place of, for' (Prov. xx 16, xxvii 13) a person. Such a preposition, however, must be based on a noun, and there can therefore be no objection to postulating a Heb. **bā'āḏ* or *ba'aḏ* 'change, exchange, price'; the LXX's τιμὴ and the Vulg.'s *pretium* [2]) confirm this conclusion. The proverb may then be translated

'although the price of a harlot (mounts) up to a loaf of bread [3]),
'while a married woman seeks costly abundance';

in other words, while the services of a poor harlot will scarcely reach the price of or can be obtained for nothing more than a loaf of bread, a married woman who will be relatively well off looks for [4]) and will be tempted to sell herself to a paramour for nothing less than a life of luxury. Thus בעד, denoting the price given to the harlot, balances צוד which indicates the price claimed by the married woman for her favours.

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[1]) Cp. Syr. *šnâ* 'departed, migrated' and also 'was altered, changed'.

[2]) The Targ.'s *dûmyâ* and Pesh.'s *dûmyâ* 'likeness' both probably mean 'price' in this connection.

[3]) Cp. Numb. xxiv 20 and Ps. xxxvi 6 for the form of the sentence (s. K.-C., § 141 b, [e]).

[4]) Cp. Syr. *ẓāḏ* 'hunted; sought' (Brockelmann).

Other examples of this linguistic peculiarity [1]), which is especially noticeable in Isaiah xl-lxvi, will be welcome; but enough have been cited to show that it is a trick of style of which note must be taken, since it may be adduced to save the traditional text and even to solve riddles in it.

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[1]) Possibly for example ענה (Exod. xxxii 18), פרע (Exod. xxxii 25), חתת (Jer. i 17); שוב (Jer. viii 4), תקוה (Jb. xvii 15).

THE COMPOSITION OF THE BOOK OF DANIEL

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I. Defining the Issues.

Professor H. H. Rowley, who has repeatedly affirmed that the Book of Daniel was produced by a single person during the persecution of the Jewish religion by Antiochus IV, has recently taken up the cudgels again in behalf of his favorite theory [1]). While his jihad is waged against all divisive theories, the pertinent sections of my pertinent monograph [2]) are its main targets, even as they are obviously the immediate occasion for it. It is calculated to convince not a few readers who have not thoroughly mastered my opuscule; but *audiatur et altera pars.*

I first of all, with what Rowley admits is a growing number of others writers, divide the Book of Daniel into two roughly equal parts: Daniel A, "The Book of Courtier Tales", comprising chs. i-vi, which is pre-Epiphanian; and Daniel B, "The Book of Apocalypses", comprising chs. vii-xii, which is Epiphanian. The respective starting-points for the analyses of the two parts are two chapters — ii and vii — whose similarities are obvious but whose differences are no less real and instructive. Rowley honestly believes that the similarities are objectively more numerous and more significant, and the differences less so, than the divisionists admit. But I shall show that he has been influenced by subjective factors to an extraordinary degree: in his anxiety to discover similarities, to the point of imagining a verse which doesn't exist; and in his anxiety to smooth away

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[1]) H. H. Rowley, "The Unity of the Book of Daniel", in *HUCA* 33, Part One (1950-51), 233-73; reprinted in the same author's book *The Servant of the Lord and Other Essays*, 1952, pp. 237-68.

[2]) H. L. Ginsberg, *Studies in Daniel* (Texts and Studies of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, Vol. XIV), New York 1948 (hereafter *SD*), Studies II and IV and Addenda to Section IV (p. 62).

differences, to the point of actually reversing a difference and thinking he has eliminated it.

I further, again with others, regard as secondary within ch. ii the expression 'and the toes' in v. 41a and all of vv. 41b-43; while I distinguish no fewer than four apocalyptists (all Epiphanian) in Daniel B. ROWLEY has succeeded in satisfying himself that all of this "rests on no solid evidence". But it is only fair that the solidity of the grounds for his satisfaction should be tested.

With these preliminary observations, the ground is cleared for an analysis of Daniel A and Daniel B in which ROWLEY's objections will be met each in its proper place.

II. DANIEL A.

Our starting-point in this section, as I have already indicated, is chapter ii. This chapter contains an apocalypse, which is very similar to ch. vii in some respects. But it is not itself an apocalypse, since its point is God's unique omniscience and prescience (ii 17-23, 27-28, 47) and the tremendous success which He enabled His favorite to achieve at court by means of them (ii 48) [1]). Like every other chapter in Daniel A, it is a courtier tale. Ch. vii, on the other hand, is an apocalypse and nothing else. Again, ch. ii has no hard feelings against any Gentile kingdom or king [2]), whereas ch. vii is admitted by everybody to be bitter against the fourth kingdom and particularly against one of its kings.

In addition, and most significant of all, ch. ii contemplates a survival of the first three monarchies, after their respective turns at world dominion, right down to the moment when the fourth is due for annihilation; whereas ch. vii (as we shall see) specifically excepts the first beast from those beasts of which it is said (vii 12): 'they had been stript of their power, but had been granted continuation in

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[1]) Cf. *SD* 27.

[2]) That "no loyal Jew, such as the author of this chapter certainly was, would be likely to think of the Kingdom of God without any relation to the Jewish people and its faith" (ROWLEY, 252) is doubtless true, and one may even take the word "people" in v. 44 to imply that the Jewish people will occupy a unique position in the Kingdom of God. But *all the more strongly for that*, the absence of bitterness against any heathen monarchy argues against dating him, without compelling reasons, during Epiphanes' attempt to eradicate Judaism — of all times! Compelling reasons there are, but for assigning the chapter to a date from nearly a century to more than a century and a quarter before the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes. See immediately.

life until a season and a time'. ROWLEY's phobia of all arguments for a multiplicity of authors in Daniel drives him to deny both of the foregoing statements; but that leaves ch. ii and ch. vii as discrepant as ever, except that it makes ch. ii reflect the historical situation of the second century B.C.E. and ch. vii that of 307-1 instead of the other way around! Now, whether ch. vii does contemplate a survival of *all* of the first four kingdoms down to the coming of the fifth, we shall see in Section III hereof; but that ch. ii does, can not fairly be questioned. ROWLEY, without saying so in so many words, implies that my only evidence for it is 'the form of the vision' (p. 251 and again p. 253) [1]); but if he had read me more carefully he would have understood that while I do make some reliance on the form of the vision, I cite as conclusive only the author's own interpretation of the vision. Here are my exact words (*SD* 6): "Chapter 2 contemplates a survival of all of the first three kingdoms down to the moment when the fourth is liquidated. *That* is a natural inference from the dream, . . . ; and it *is the only possible sense of* one of the verses in *the interpretation*, which says that the kingdom of God will be established 'in the days of those kingdoms' [2]) (2 : 44)". It is true enough that the earlier part of the interpretation "plainly says", as ROWLEY stresses, "that the *empires* (my italics) are successive", but the latter part thereof — v. 44 — implies just as plainly that the *kingdoms* as such persist down to the last act. Here is a translation of v. 44 in full: [3])

'*And in the days of those kingdoms* [4]) the God of heaven will set up a kingship which shall not perish, and whose sovereignty shall not be left to another people. *It shall shatter and annihilate all those kingships*, but shall itself endure for ever'.

Competent third parties may now judge whether it is or is not a fact that this verse — which in fact comes *at the tail end of the interpretation* — is (not dream narration but) the interpretation of the

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[1]) This is none the less false because the same error has already been committed by F. ROSENTHAL, *JAOS* 69 (1949), 174a.

[2]) The italicized expressions were not italicized originally in *SD*.

[3]) The italics, of course, are mine.

[4]) Whether one keeps the masoretic pointing and says that 'kings' *stands for* 'kingships' or adopts my vocalization *molkayyā* (vocalize analogously in vii 17; viii 20, 21 [emend the first *mlk to mlky* — haplography — but vocalize both as from ground form *mulk*]; also Hos x 7, 15), so as to make the word mean 'kingships' literally, is immaterial in the present context.

corresponding, tailend, part of the dream narration (vv. 34-35); and whether it is or is not a fact that "the only possible sense" of the italicized phrases is that it is not the second, third, and fourth kingdoms that destroy their respective predecessors in world hegemony, but only the Fifth Kingdom that destroys all of the first four; so that the latter must all remain in existence down to the moment when the Fifth Kingdom arises. ROWLEY himself can not help admitting by implication that such *is* the implication of the text. For when he insists (p. 253) that "chapter vii *equally* (my italics) represents the first kingdom as continuing to exist", he errs profoundly with regard to ch. vii — as we shall see in section III — but, inferentially, he admits the truth that *ch. ii* "represents the first kingdom as continuing to exist"; and the only reason why he does not say "the first three kingdoms" is that with regard to the second and the third we both agree that, both chapters represent them as continuing to exist.

I will not deny, however, that "the form of a vision has been urged unduly" by somebody. But I respectfully submit that, on the record, it is the form of the vision in vii 8, and it has been unduly urged by ROWLEY; see pages 266, 269 and 270 (n. 1).

But if ch. ii (as even ROWLEY, we have just seen, implicitly admits) contemplates a survival of all of the first three kingdoms — the Babylonian, the Median, and the Persian — down to the end of the world dominion of the fourth, or Macedonian one, what phase in the world dominion of the Macedonian kingdom does it reflect? As I pointed out in *SD* 7 and in the notes thereto, "Right thru the Greek age and well into the Roman, there existed residual Median and Persian kingdoms in the shape of the two more or less independent principalities of Atropatian Media (Strabo, *Geography* XI, 13 : 1; 5 : 6) and Persis (ibid. XV 3 : 24; cf. 3 : 3). In addition there was a Babylonian kingdom ... *from about* 307 or 306, when Seleucus I adopted the title of king vis-à-vis his Oriental subjects — and *especially from* 304, when he assumed it towards Hellenes as well — *until* the battle of Ipsus, 301" [1]). To this I would now add that Seleucus Nicator actually revived the title of "king of Babylon"; [2]) which is

[1]) *SD* 7. On the same page I claimed that a Babylonian kingdom could also be said to have existed from 292 to 261 and I even went on to give reasons for preferring this later period for the composition of Dan. ii, but I have given this idea up; see my *Studies in Koheleth*, New York 1950, p. 42.

[2]) "See the inscription of Antiochus I apud Weissbach, *Die Keilinschriften der Achaemeniden*, 1911, p. 132". BICKERMAN, *Berytus* 8, fasc. 2 (1944), p. 75 n. 16.

why the author of (the primary stratum of) Dan. ii doesn't regard him as one of the divisions of the divided, but until 301 still ideally single, Macedonian empire (Dan. ii 41a).

The circumstance is not without interest that I was neither reminded of Daniel while reading Strabo nor of Strabo while reading Daniel. It was only after having humbly read the sense of Dan. ii 44 and vii 4, 12 *out of* the text that I discussed with Professor BICKERMAN the problem of squaring it with history [1]); and it was by following the leads picked up in those discussions that I came upon the passages in Strabo and in the writings of HERZFELD, NEWELL, and BICKERMAN himself to which I refer in this connection in *SD*.

To be sure, ii 41b-43 is not compatible with the dating 307-301 B.C.E. which we have assigned above to ch. ii. For these verses, with which the phrase 'and the toes' in v. 41a is organically connected, presuppose a matrimonial alliance between two of the Hellenistic kingdoms and an immense military superiority of the one over the other. In *SD* I adopted TORREY's view that the matrimonial alliance in question is the marriage of Antiochus II and Berenice in 252, and that the political disequilibrium is that which resulted from the „War of Laodice" in 246; when Ptolemy III overran "most of Syria and Babylonia ..., wresting some coastal areas permanently from Seleucid rule, and leaving it so weakened that Asia Minor and the eastern satrapies shook it off until the rise of Antiochus III" (*SD* 8-9). Against this ROWLEY (pp. 254-5) insists that the allusion is to the marriage of Antiochus III's daughter Cleopatra to Ptolemy V in 193, on the ground that "no evidence is offered that any Jew in the middle of the third century, when ... these verses [are held] to have been added, would be likely to expect that the consequences of the marriage of Antiochus II would precipitate world-shattering events. Into the consequences of the later intermarriage the Jews were deeply drawn, and it was when Antiochus IV fell back from Egypt on Jerusalem in a mood of chagrin after being humiliated by the Romans that 'he thought to change times and seasons', and matched himself against

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[1]) I myself at first thought the respective authors of chapters ii and vii were talking of national — not political — survival, and that by the second century B.C.E. people regarded Babylon as having ceased to exist even nationally. It would not have been impossible to produce reasons why such a view should have been held at that time, but it was unnecessary. Further study taught me that — always excepting where skeuomorphism comes into play — these authors mean exactly what they say, and when they say kingdoms they mean kingdoms. (Just as when they say annihilated they mean annihilated.)

the God of the Jews". But in the first place, "the consequences of the marriage of Antiochus II" *were* "world-shattering events", since the substantial dismemberment of the colossal Seleucid empire and the unrest back in Egypt which was the cause of Euergetes' return home were nothing less than world-shattering; and a Jewish observer of these developments certainly "would be likely" to speculate on the end of the Fourth Monarchy and the coming of the Fifth. And in the second place, Dan. ii contains not the slightest hint at the events to which ROWLEY fancies he detects an allusion. (And that they would have remained unhinted at — and that not the slightest animosity towards the Fourth Kingdom or any part of it would have been expressed — if the said events had taken place at the time of writing, belongs to the same category of probability as the composition of Daniel A generally as a piece of Jewish propaganda against Epiphanes' proscription of Judaism). In particular, the phrase 'he thought to change times and seasons' (the single quotes are ROWLEY's) occurs neither in ch. ii nor anywhere else in Daniel [1]). Moreover, the matrimonial alliance of 193 as such was entirely successful. So far from suffering, with her children, the fate which had overtaken the Lagid princess Berenice and her son only a few years after her marriage to Antiochus II in 252, the Seleucid princess Cleopatra, who married Ptolemy V in 193, remained queen of Egypt until the death of her husband, and after that she acted as regent for her son Ptolemy VI until her own death. And such was the said son's regard for her that he adopted the surname Philomētōr ("who loves his mother"); as a matter of fact, he and his co-regent brother (Ptolemy VII) and his sister-wife Cleopatra were all three styled the *Theoi Philomētores* ("gods who love their mother"). Furthermore, the peace between the dynasties was in this case broken not a mere six years but all of twenty-three years after the marriage. Finally, ROWLEY's sole purpose in reading all those non-existent allusions into ch. ii is to make the author of ch. ii identical with the Epiphanian author of ch. vii. But the latter does not recognize divisions within the fourth monarchy at all, but understands by the fourth kingdom the Seleucid monarchy and nothing else; not only according to my interpretation of it, but also according to ROWLEY's. (See Section III).

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[1]) The nearest thing to it occurs — very significantly — in Daniel B: Dan. vii 25b*a* reads 'and he will think to change seasons and law'. Next to it comes ii 21*aa*, 'and He changeth the times and the seasons'; but ROWLEY will not deny that this refers to God through the ages, not to Antiochus in 167-4.

Accordingly, if ii 43 refers to the marriage of 193, ii 42 can only refer to Antiochus III's superiority over Ptolemy V at that time, which was the cause of that marriage, and not to Antiochus IV's over Ptolemy VI a generation later, which had next to nothing to do with it. Consequently, making v. 43 refer to the marriage of 193 makes ch. ii considerably more "effeminate" than does the excision of 'and the toes' in v. 41a and all of 41b-43, which ROWLEY calls an "emasculation" (p. 252). If one retains these at all, one should by all means interpret them as referring to the marriage of 252; which was followed by a disequilibrium such as is hinted at by v. 42 both within a short space of years and as a consequence of the marriage, and by such a spectacular upset, moreover, as might seem to suggest the end of the existing world order. But even more obviously a period of flux was that of the Diadochi, 307-301; into which we ascend the moment we eliminate 'and the toes' in v. 41a and all of vv. 41b-43, for the reasons which will be given below. So far from "emasculating" the chapter, this gives it incomparably more vigor and drama than it has with the controversial matter retained, on any defensible interpretation of the latter.

But, ROWLEY expostulates (p. 254 n. 96), the rise of a Kingdom of God is known to have been expected "in the second century B.C., following the second intermarriage ... and it is recognized by both TORREY and GINSBERG. What neither has produced is the slightest evidence of its existence in 245 B.C." In the first place, the only evidence that has been produced for the existence of that expectation in the 160s B.C.E., is its occurrence in chapters — namely Dan. vii-xii — which allude to events of the 160s. Accordingly, no further proof is required for its existence in 245 B.C.E. than the circumstance that the latest situation alluded to in Dan. ii obtained in 245 B.C.E.; and if that allusion, in turn, is proved to be an interpolation, and the latest historical allusion that remains when the interpolation is removed is to a situation of ca. 304 B.C.E., that is all the evidence that is required for the existence of the expectation of Dan. ii 44 ca. 304 B.C.E. And in the second place, the existence of such an "expectation ... long antedating the Maccabaean period" is certain on other grounds, *teste* ROWLEY (p. 258 f.): "That there was a widespread expectation of four successive empires, to be followed by the crown of history, long antedating the Maccabaean period, is not to be denied" [1]).

[1]) There follows a reference to SWAIN, *Classical Philology* 35 (1940): 1-21, and to

But while there is no justification for demanding of TORREY and me any further evidence for the existence of the aforesaid "expectation . . . long antedating the Maccabean period", it is surely eminently reasonable to ask ROWLEY to produce some evidence for the existence of a Babylonian kingdom after the second intermarriage, seeing that without such evidence this date simply can not be considered for Dan. ii; in which v. 44 (on which see pp. 248-249 above) says clearly:

'And *in the days of those kingdoms* will the God of Heaven set up *a kingship* . . . *It* shall shatter and annihilate *all those kingships* [1]), and shall itself endure for evermore.'

To be sure, there was no Babylonian kingdom after the first intermarriage either. But that is a difficulty of TORREY's original view, not of the one to which I subscribe, along with other recent writers; namely, that vv. 41b-43 (and 'and the toes' in v. 41a) are in any case secondary. Verses 31-35 relate the dream. Verse 36 says: So much for the dream, now the interpretation. Verses 37-41a (minus 'and the toes') and 44-45 then give the interpretation of vv. 31-35. In the middle of this interpretation of vv. 31-35 come vv. 41b-43 (and the phrase 'and the toes' in v. 41a), and interpret something which vv. 31-35 know nothing about. (If they did, that something would be included between v. 33 and v. 34.) And whereas verses 31-35 and their interpretation in vv. 37-41a, 44-45 trace the history of the world from Nebuchadnezzar down to ca. 304 B.C.E., the added details and interpretation in vv. 41b-43 carry it down to 246 or shortly after (so TORREY) or, tho this seems less probable, to 193 or shortly after. ROWLEY — who, as we have seen, is able to read into them not only the interdynastic marriage of 193 and the international situation at that time but all the events of 193-167 including the outlawing of Judaism by Antiochus IV [2]) — believes on the one hand that only these verses give the chapter any meaning, and on the other that they are an "afterthought" of the original author of ch. ii. For he insists (as we have said) that there was only one author of Daniel, who was addicted to afterthoughts; and that only warped minds will contend that there is a difference between what we have just described and the adding of a single detail which doesn't change the sense of the whole,

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BAUMGARTNER, *Theologische Zeitschrift* 1 (1945): 17-22 — both of which items are cited in my *SD* 63 f. n. 1.

[1]) In contrast to ch. vii, ch. ii contains nothing to indicate that the first kingdom, unlike its successors to world-power, has already been eliminated.

[2]) We have seen that this is in any case out of the question.

like the claws of brass in vii 19 which are missing in vii 7 [1]). Nay, he places on the same footing as ii 41b-43 the *plus* of iv 30 (end) over iv 22a and iv 29a. An earlier attempt to make the difference clear to him [2]) met with failure [3]); but I shall try again. The case of iv 22a, 29a, 30 may be likened unto a report that a parent repeatedly warned a child that he would spank it, and eventually did spank it, and that *the child cried bitterly*. Would ROWLEY really insist that in such a report "the child cried bitterly" is an "afterthought" unless there have previously been included each time in the warning the words "and you will cry bitterly" (regardless of whether the parent himself had included them or not), and that otherwise its author has betrayed that he is a scatterbrain who might be expected to relate all of the features of vision and interpretation contained in the present ch. ii of Daniel with the toes and the mixing of materials (even if in his intention they were the most important features of the vision) wanting in their proper place between vv. 33 and 34 and grafted on artificially instead in the middle of 41a and between 41a and 44?

Surely, in the world of empirical reality Dan. ii 41b-43 (and 'and the toes' in ii 41a) is extremely unlikely to be anything but an interpolation; and apart from this interpolation, Dan. ii dates, as we have seen, from 307-1 B.C.E. I confess that in *SD*, I didn't bother about the question whether Daniel A as such dates from the time of the primary stratum of ch. ii or from that of the interpolation. Now that I am practically certain that the earlier of the two theoretically possible dates of composition of ch. ii, namely 307-1 B.C.E., is the correct one, it becomes necessary to consider the possibility that Daniel A as a whole dates from the time of — or even from a few years after — the interpolation in ch. ii; which is 246-5 B.C.E. For *possibly* the Greek words in ch. iii, or some of them, were not yet current — or had not yet acquired the significations they have in ch. iii — before the third century [4]).

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[1]) My exact words in the passage referred to by ROWLEY, namely *SD* 69 (n. 27) are: "The claws are *probably* to be restored in v. 7 (with BAUMGARTNER *BHK*[3]) from v. 19". The word *probably* is not italicized in the original, but even so ROWLEY might have indicated how little weight I attach to the restoration. A detail which is not pivotal may be missing in one of two parallel passages in any author.

[2]) *JBL* 68 (1949), 402-3.

[3]) *JBL* 69 (1950), 202.

[4]) But because *sumphōnia* first occurs as the name of an instrument in an account, attributed to Polybius, of an undignified incident at one of the banquets in the palace at Daphne during the festivities in which Antiochus IV celebrated his

But as for ROWLEY's interpretation of the six stories of Daniel A as exhortations to the Jews of the years 167-163, it is almost unbelievably forced. ROWLEY admits (p. 272) that "While stories about Nebuchadnezzar and Belshazzar and Darius were used, it is not necessary to suppose that these were merely lay figures for Antiochus", and he further recognizes that some "elements were derived from tradition". Then why can't the tales embodying the said elements have been reduced to writing before the reign of Antiochus? [1]) Because, forsooth, "In each case the thing for which the kings are held up to obloquy is something which had its counterpart in Antiochus". But in chapter vi, the king is held up *to admiration*, and only some of his officials are held up to obloquy; while neither king nor officials are held up to obloquy in chapter i (see the next para., and p. 257 n.) or ii. And when did Antiochus ever forbid prayer to all gods (ch. vi) — or to any god? It was not prayer that prevented Jews from 'becoming one people' (1 Macc i 42) with all his other subjects any more than it was sacrifice, as such. Antiochus did not proscribe but on the contrary enforced at least sacrifice — tho under illegitimate circumstances — to the God of Heaven (Elohe Hashshamayim — or Baᶜal Shamayim? — deliberately distorted to *shiqquṣ hashshamem* in Daniel and in the Hebrew underlying First Maccabees), and there is absolutely no ground whatsoever for believing that he forbade people to pray to Him, or to address Him in prayer simply as God or Lord. Moreover, it would require a really incredible degree of ineptitude to make a writer think of propagandizing against a decree by a wicked king that Jews must worship pagan gods permanently by a story (ch. vi) about a goodnatured king who was duped by unscru-

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Egyptian victories (ROWLEY, 267) — albeit the only fruits thereof which Rome had suffered him to retain were a quantity of loot — it of course does not follow that *sumphōnia* only acquired that sense in the reign of Antiochus IV. Still less does it follow, regardless of how true the anecdote may be, that thenceforth the mere mention of *sumphōnia* — not alone but along with five other instruments specified by name plus 'all manner of music', and in connection not with a festivity but with a daily religious ceremony, and with not the faintest suggestion of royal buffoonery — would evoke associations with Antiochus IV even in the minds of people who had heard of the incident in question. And in addition, it would be easy to show by analogies from much more recent times that, prior to the appearance of news reels, radio, television, and — at least — newspapers with mass circulation, the likelihood of provincials like the readers of Daniel having heard of the incident was extremely slight.

[1]) In the fifth century, there was at least one historical Jewish courtier: Nehemiah; and at least one popular courtier-tale in circulation among Jews: the Old Aramaic Book of Aḥiqar.

pulous courtiers into a decree, not directed against any particular religion, that prayers to all gods (but not circumcision, or the observance of sabbaths or dietary laws) be stopt — but only for thirty days. ROWLEY finds here an allusion to the *Jews* who took the initiative in requesting laws to further hellenization — but the bungler who wrote ch. vi has gone to great pains to tell us that his characters are the 120 satraps and Daniel's 2 fellow-members of the presidium, who were in danger of being thrown out of work; and most or all of these would be assumed by any reader to have been *non-Jews* even if the bungling propagandist did not make them speak of Daniel's religion as 'the law of *his* God', (v. 6).

But then, ROWLEY would have us find malice towards Judaism in ch. i, whereas the author — unless he was the prince of bunglers — quite obviously meant the hardship of the four youths to be entirely unintended on the part of the king; who couldn't be expected to know the Jewish dietary laws (all he was concerned about was that the youths should thrive, v. 10). Some idea of how strictly the dietary laws were interpreted by some Jews even in pre-Greek times can be obtained from Tobit i 10 f; and the great merit of grain (Dan. i 12) is simply that it does not become unclean by contact with the unclean so long as it is kept dry (Lev. xi 37-38).

"So far as the second chapter is concerned", I think I can say with more justification than ROWLEY (p. 268), "enough has been said above".

As for the remaining three chapters of Daniel A, in chapter iv ROWLEY's muddleheaded propagandist has once again tried to write something apropos of the "overweening pride" of Antiochus, and has therefore told a tale of a king whose "pride is punished by madness. It is known that Antiochus, who fancied himself a god incarnate, was called by his people Epimanes, the madman. This chapter", Blimp is therefore assumed to have figured, "might well be understood in that day as a reference to Antiochus, and bring its promise of humiliation at the hands of God". But being an addlepate, he forgot at least three things. The first is that in the case of Antiochus the madness was in no case, either in fact or in anybody's opinion, a punishment for, but at most the cause of his "overweening pride". (Actually it was neither. For it consisted solely in a lack of dignity and an excess of "democracy".) The second is that Antiochus' pride (not his madness!) took the form, to repeat the phrase just quoted from ROWLEY, of "fancying himself a god incarnate" and of perse

cuting Jews who remained faithful to their religion; and surely ROWLEY can not be happy about having to interpret as an attempt to satirize *that* pride a story about a king who was merely too smug about having built mighty Babylon (iv 27), but who kept a Jewish chief magician and evidently had never revoked his decree of iii 29 that all nations must respect the God of The Jews. And the third thing that Blimp forgot is that the pious Jewish subjects of Antiochus didn't consider the king's humiliation and repentance — and his renewed sovereignty over them (iv 23, 33)! — adequate atonement for his enormities or adequate compensation for their sufferings at his hands, but looked forward to his annihilation and to a permanent end to all foreign rule over them; as in every one of the four apocalypses of Daniel B. — ROWLEY's propagandist can not be said to have been happier in ch. v. For since not a single Jew was required to join Belshazzar in praising idols and profaning the sacred vessels [1]), and since on the contrary he employs a pious Jewish sage and rewards him for even an unfavorable interpretation of a portent by making him vizier, and since all that happens is that one heathen dynasty is succeeded by another, the Jewish contemporaries of ROWLEY's fantastically inefficient propagandist could not possibly get the point that the dominion of the heathen would culminate in Antiochus' attempt to stamp out Judaism and would then come to an end! There remains chapter iii. But even here a Blimp in the years 167-5 B.C.E. would have to be assumed to have employed the technique of a famous riddle of anecdote, in which only false clues are given "in order to make it harder". For Dan. iii *would* be a message to the Jews of the time of Antiochus IV only *if* the latter's religious decrees limited the duty of bowing down to "the colossus in the plain of Dura" — which ROWLEY's acumen readily identifies with the statues (pl.) placed by Epiphanes in the Jerusalem temple (ROWLEY, pp. 268-9)! — to persons who happened to be within earshot of the said plain on the occasions when its band played music (apparently even Daniel escaped this embarrassment), and *if* Epiphanes never dreamed of prohibiting sabbaths, festivals, circumcision, dietary laws, or any other Jewish practice.

ROWLEY makes much of the fact that sabbath and circumcision are not specified in Daniel B either (p. 270-1 n. 155). But for one

[1]) Whose deportation from Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar is evidently not regarded in Daniel A as a sin of the Chaldeans but, if anything, as a punishment of the Jews; since Nebuchadnezzar is never even reproached for it.

thing, in Daniel B Antiochus himself is alluded to in a way that can be understood without benefit of Kabbalah; and that is almost all that was necessary for a contemporary of Antiochus, who knew the details. And for another, what in the world does 'and he shall think to change *seasons* and *law*' (vii 25) mean, if not 'and he will endeavor to abolish the observance of *sabbaths and festivals* and the rest of the *Torah*' (including of course circumcision and the dietary laws)? And who are 'the forsakers of the holy *covenant*' and 'those who act wickedly against the *covenant*', whom Antiochus will favor according to xi 30, 32, but Jews who forsake the *Torah*; not merely such as might think that God would pardon their abstaining from prayer — at least outwardly, and only for thirty days — in order to save their lives? [1])

ROWLEY admires his Epiphanian bungler's "skill ... in ... relating" the materials he found ready made "to the needs of his own day, so that they could convey a message to men" (p. 271). How skillful he in fact was, if that was when he lived and that was his purpose, we have seen. But if he lived before Epiphanes' persecutions, ROWLEY protests (p. 270), then he made his compilation "à propos of nothing at all." For according to ROWLEY anybody who wrote before that date wrote apropos of nothing at all. Yet he admits that such writing "à propos of nothing at all" did take place, since he admits (p. 271) that "The materials he (i.e. ROWLEY's assumed Epiphanian author) used were probably taken from various sources, oral and *written* (my italics) [2]) ..." Ben Sira and Tobit, by

[1]) Moreover, those who have learned from *SD*, Study V-A, know that hidden in Dan. viii 11-12 and xi 31 is the phrase 'to profane sanctuary and saints', of which the variant 'to pollute sanctuary and saints' occurs in 1 Macc. i 46, and that the context in 1 Macc. shows that to profane saints means to compel Jews to profane sabbaths, leave their sons uncircumcised, etc.; and further, that Antiochus is probably called 'a profaner of a holy people' in xii 7 (*SD* 83 f. n. 57), to which they ought by now to be able to supply their own commentary.

[2]) ROWLEY is curious to know "what special relevance" the stories of Dan. A "could be given by Ginsberg to the situation in the ... century to which he ascribes the chapters" (*JBL* 69 [1950]: 202). Exactly the same sort of relevance as ROWLEY's assumed pre-Maccabean "sources" of these stories could be given by ROWLEY. No *special* relevance is necessary for either the ones or the others. Only the apocalypse in ch. ii presupposes a very definite situation, and we have seen what that is — and what it isn't.

ROWLEY, however, is right in feeling that the situation of the Jews of Judea during the Epiphanian persecution was one in which the production of anything new in the way of literature that did not have an obvious special relevance to that situation was practically inconceivable. That is exactly why Daniel A can not be a product of those years. (*Pre-existent* scripture can always be given special relevance by means of homiletics.)

the way, are two well known examples of writing "à propos of nothing at all" — tho at least NORBERT PETERS fancied that he found a reaction against Antiochus in the former, and it may have been done for the latter too.

Finally, it is my own view that it was ch. ii, which predicts the end of the Macedonian empire (tho it specifies no date), that inspired a writer in the period 176-167 B.C.E. (probably in the second half of 168) to write an up-to-date version of that prediction in the shape of the primary text of ch. vii; and that chs. viii-xii were then tacked on successively. But there would be nothing incredible about the view that the authors of Daniel B saw in Daniel A, even apart from ch. ii, a profounder message to them than the contemporaries of Daniel A did to themselves (cf. BENTZEN [1]), and that that was why the authors of Daniel B made Daniel A their starting point. In neither case does the divergent authorship of Daniel A and Daniel B make their combination in one book either incongruous or just "singular good fortune" (against ROWLEY p. 270).

To sum up this section, neither Dan. ii nor any other chapter in Daniel A (i.e. Dan. i-vi) contains anything which can be interpreted as an allusion to conditions in the time of Antiochus IV except by a tortured exegesis; and moreover, ROWLEY cannot help implicitly admitting (see above, page 249) that Dan. ii reflects a political situation which ceased to obtain long before the reign of Antiochus IV. Now for

III. DANIEL B.

The starting point for this, it will be recalled, is ch. vii. In contrast to ch. ii, ch. vii contemplates a survival only of the second and third kingdoms after their periods of ascendancy. For of the first beast, it states flatly that 'its wings were plucked and it was taken from the earth' (vii 4). ROWLEY, to be sure, (p. 251, ll. 15 ff.) claims that this translation is not feasible if the last two clauses in the verse are left where they are, and accuses me of removing them to v. 5 for the purpose of making it feasible. But the contrary is true. It is, among other reasons, because the phrase can have no other meaning in the historical Aramaic language which has an objective existence that I found it necessary to shift the two clauses which follow it in our text to another position [1]). For *ntl* never means 'to raise to an

[1]) Here again are my exact words (*SD* 65 n. 7 end): "As for the conclusion of v. 4, its incompatibility with the previous annihilation of the beast is only one of

erect posture' either in Aramaic or in Hebrew. It means 'to lift, take, take away, carry, or carry away'; and with 'from the earth' or 'from the world', it means to 'annihilate' in the active and 'to perish' in the passive. I am able to support these assertions with references to BROCKELMANN, *Lexicon Syriacum*², 425b-426a; to LEVY, *Chaldäisches Wörterbuch*, 104-5; and to 4½ pages quarto of examples in fine print of the use of *nṭl* in Hebrew in BEN IEHUDA, *Thesaurus Totius Hebraitatis* VII, 3630b-3634; as well as to the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin analogies for 'to take from the earth' = 'to cause to perish' which are cited in my *SD* 65 n. 7. Can ROWLEY point to *one* instance of *nṭl* in any language meaning 'to raise to the (hind) feet, or to an erect position'?

He may, of course, retort that that is unnecessary if the two final clauses of Dan. vii 4 are left where they are, since the idea of being stood on the two hind legs is expressed in the said clauses. But then *nṭīlaṯ min 'ar'ā* would have to mean *at least literally* 'it was lifted off the ground'; and this is precluded by the cumulative force of four considerations. Firstly, while various conjugations of *rwm* and *nś'* in Hebrew and of *rwm* and *šql* in Aramaic can be used with the phrase 'from the earth' to imply nothing more than a literal and temporary lifting, I have found no instances of *nṭl* being used in this way. Thus we do have in Mishnah Abot iv (cited in *SD* 65 n. 7) *nōṭēl ḥayyāw min hā'ōlām*, literally 'he takes his life out of the world', but neither the Hebrew, the Targum, nor the Peshitta uses *nṭl* in Ezek. i 19-21; x 15-19. (In Dan. iv 31 *nṭl* is employed neither with 'from the earth' nor literally.) Secondly, it is not very probable that the author of Dan. vii (in my terminology, the *main* author; since I hold that there were two) wished to convey that the first beast was *first* stript of its wings, *then* lifted off the earth, *then* set down on its two hind feet. (Why couldn't it be raised to its hind feet without being lifted clear off the ground? And what was the logic of plucking its wings *before* it was lifted off the ground if the latter phrase does not mean 'it was annihilated'?) Thirdly, if the writer *had* meant that, it is most improbable that he would have said merely ועל רגלין ... הק(י)מת — which can only mean 'and it was set *up* on two legs' — rather than something like הקמת... ועל רגלין (or והנחתת) והשרית, [1]) which is the only way in which our 'and it was set *down* on two legs' could

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many indications that it is out of place. Another will be pointed out in n. 24, and the rest in due course".

[1]) Hophal of *šry* or *nḥt*. The Targum of הניח in Ezek. xxxvii 1; xl 2 is אשרי (aphel).

have been expressed. [1]) And fourthly, *that signification of* nṭilat *which*, as we have seen, is the only one indicated by language and common sense is also the only one which *excepts the first beast from* the *survival* (after loss of *imperium*) which is accorded to 'the remainder of the beasts' (i.e., those other than the fourth) in v. 12; and consequently it *is the only one that can be right if the Epiphanian dating of ch. vii*, upon which ROWLEY and I are happily agreed, *is right. For there was no Babylonian kingdom in existence in Epiphanes' day.*

That last sentence had to be stressed because it states a fact which ROWLEY has blandly ignored from the day I pointed it out. It knocks the props out from under his linguistically impossible exegesis of vii 4 — even as it cuts the ground away from under his historically impossible dating of ch. ii. (See especially pages 249-253).

Another significant difference between ch. ii and ch. vii is that whereas ch. ii stresses the divided state of the fourth monarchy (and this is as true of the primary stratum as of the secondary one; cf. ii 33b and its interpretation ii 41a [which is primary except for the phrase 'and the toes']), ch. vii is not only silent about it but counts only a total of ten, or (in the secondary strand of ch. vii) eleven, monarchs in the fourth monarchy down to and including Antiochus Epiphanes; which shows that it counts only one succession of kings. On this ROWLEY and I are happily in agreement. He is even more emphatic about it than I, since he makes the series begin with Seleucus I Nicator; whereas I make it begin with Alexander the Great, continue with the latter's son Alexander, and only proceed from there to Seleucus and his descendants (see below). Yet he remains unshaken in his faith in the identity of authorship of chs. ii and vii.

But there is more still. We have seen (pp. 248-49) that the *Grundschrift* of ch. ii does not even include among the divisions of the fourth monarchy the very dynasty which for ch. vii is the whole of the fourth monarchy (since the former regards Seleucus rather as a continuation of the first, or Babylonian, monarchy). To add to the piquanterie, ch. vii, as we have seen, regards the first monarchy as having been

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[1]) The commonest Hebrew and Aramaic equivalents of English verbal phrases like *to push in*, *to toss over*, etc. are combinations of two verbs: e.g. דחק סומכוס וגכנס, or דחק סומכוס ועאל, 'Symmachus squeezed (forced his way) in' (TB Nazir 49b; TP Qiddushin II, 63a); גוד אסיק(אחית) מחיצתא 'pull the partitions up (down)' (TB Sukkot 4b; Shabbat 101a). So far as I know, this beautiful observation was first made (for the Hebrew equivalents of compound verbs in Indo-European generally) by ZLOTNIK, *Sefatenu*[2] (Jerusalem-Berlin 1923) I 90 ff.

annihilated; but there are indications that it regards its fourth monarchy, the Seleucid, as a reincarnation of the first. For one thing, only these two are annihilated [1]). And for another, the reason why the fourth beast is not compared to any creature or creatures in nature, like the first three ('like a lion with an eagle's wings', v. 4; 'resembling a bear', v. 5; 'like a leopard with ... a bird's wings', v. 6), but is stated instead to have been 'differentiated (*mšanyā*) from all of the beasts that were before it' (v. 7b), is obviously that it is even more 'terrible, dreadful and ... powerful' (v. 7a) than the first, whose description has claimed the ultimate that nature has to offer among beasts and birds (namely, the lion and the eagle).

And there is still a third parallel between the first and fourth beasts if one adopts my transpositions of clauses in vv. 4-5 (read 4a, 5a*c*-b, 4b*ab*, 5a*ab*, 4b*cd*). For with 4b*cd* shifted to v. 5 "each (of the ultra-'bestial' beasts) is succeeded by a more 'human' figure: the less monstrous and less depraved Chaldean by the 'manlike' Mede, the indescribably hideous and satanic Macedonian by the godly 'son of man' " (13). However, these transpositions, tho necessary for the internal exegesis of ch. vii [2]), can be dispensed with in a literary analysis of the Book of Daniel (for we have seen that 4b*a-c* means in any case that the first beast perished), and the character of the fourth beast "as a second, more loathsome, edition of the first" (13 top) is sufficiently established by our first two parallels.

It goes without saying this change in the identity of, even as in the attitude towards, the fourth kingdom is not fortuitous. Like the change in the view on the survival of the first kingdom, it reflects changed conditions. As I wrote in *SD* 68-9 (n. 26):

"... in the time of our author of ch. 7, which was the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes (175-163), that monarch not only ruled Judea, but in 169 (and 168) crushingly defeated his southern rival(s) Ptolemy VI (and VII) and donned the crown of Egypt. It is therefore not the case that in ch. 7 the fourth kingdom does *not yet* figure as a divided kingdom, but rather that divisions other than the Seleucid are *no longer* taken into consideration: no more than in the choice, in ch. 8, of the he-goat (i.e., Αἰγόκερως, the sign of the zodiac Capricornus, governing Syria — see all recent commentaries) to represent 'the kingdoms of Greece' as a whole (8 : 21-23, on which see Section IV n. 16). ..."

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[1]) For, "Chapter 7 ... suffers the second and third kingdoms to linger on, after being shorn of imperial sway, until the moment arrives for 'the holy ones' to take over (7 : 12) — nay, it doubtless includes them among 'the dominions' (*ʿolṯānayyā*) that will acknowledge the latter's suzerainty but will, it seems, remain 'dominions' (see 7 : 27 end)", (*SD* 6-7).

[2]) See *SD* 12 ff. and the notes thereto.

Thus everything about ch. vii proclaims Antiochus; even as everything about ch. ii proclaims "before Antiochus", and even as no part of Daniel A can be made to yield an allusion to Antiochus without violence. If a writer chooses to call that "nothing that can seriously be called proof of compositeness" (ROWLEY p. 273), it does not therefore cease to be monumental evidence for the non-identity of the authors of Daniel A and Dan. vii; and it would be poor judgment to regard it as outweighed by the fact that ch. vii shares with chs. ii-vi — but not with ch. i! — the Aramaic language (regardless of whether or not the whole of the book was originally written in Aramaic anyway, which I regard as demonstrated), and by the fact that vii 1-2 constitutes a transition from the third person of chs. i-vi to the first person of chs. vii-xii [1]). The fact that Deut. i 1-5 furnishes a similar transition from the literary form of the Tetrateuch [2]) to that of Deuteronomy has not deterred ROWLEY from being a lifelong protagonist of the documentary hypothesis of the composition of the Pentateuch [3]). Can he produce any "solid evidence" that the "transition" vii 1-2 "binds ... chapter" vii of Daniel more "firmly with the chapters on both sides" (ROWLEY p. 261 bottom) than Deut. i 1-5 — reinforced by repeated third person references to Moses in Deut. xxxi-xxxiv binds chapter i of Deuteronomy? "By its contents", to be sure, Dan. vii "is tied to chapter ii, with its story of Nebuchadnezzar's vision". (ROWLEY, 262). But so is Deut. i with Num. xiii-xiv; and the whole book of Deuteronomy is full of both verbal and material parallels and similarities to the Tetrateuch which are too well known to need to be repeated; and in particular the virtual identity of Deut. v 6-21 with Exod. xx 2-17 puts every point of contact between Daniel A and Daniel B in the shade.

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[1]) "Since the transition from anonymity to pseudonymity takes place within the course of this chapter, it is a transition which was made by a single author ..." (ROWLEY, p. 262). Of course the *transition* was made by a single author; what does that prove about the things it connects?

[2]) I take this opportunity to point out again that in the recognition of this literary entity NOTH was anticipated by Y. KAUFMANN, *Toledot ha-emunah hay-Yisreelit* Ia (1937), e.g. pp. 212 ff.

Of course I do not imply that the Tetrateuch *as such* was necessarily in existence at the time when Deuteronomy (or the introductory verses Deut. i 1-5) was composed, but only that Deuteronomy was composed as a supplement to the well known traditions about the Mosaic age; whereas I do believe that Dan. vii was conceived either as a supplement or as an actual appendix to Daniel A as we know it. (For a time it probably existed in both forms; see *SD* 37, ll. 1-8 from below; 38-39).

[3]) See, e.g., H. H. ROWLEY, *The Growth of the Old Testament* (1950), chapter II.

But ROWLEY has taken more than one leaf from the book of the Pentateuch anticritics. Says he (pp. 247-8): "If there is so little consensus of opinion as to which were the earlier parts, we can have little confidence in the method whereby these varying results were reached. Particularly significant is the inability to decide whether chapter vii belongs to the earlier or later part of the book, or to neither, or whether to tear it apart and attach some verses to one and some to the other" [1]). That the anticritics used to (and for aught I know still do) advance the same sort of arguments against Pentateuch criticism is surely known to ROWLEY, and surely he will not insist that a lack of unity among Pentateuch analysts does not prove the unity of the Pentateuch but a lack of unity among Daniel analysts does prove the unity of Daniel.

But to return to Dan. vii, it can not be regarded as a unity. In the following discussion I shall refer to the primary text and its author as Apoc I and to the later expansion (and its author) as Apoc I-4. (The reasons for these symbols will appear later.) The verse, then, in the vision which introduces an eleventh horn (vii 8) and the verses in the interpretation which refer to the eleventh horn (everything before 'the beast was slain' in v. 11 except *bēḏain* 'thereupon'; vv. 20a*b*-22; 24b-25) are secondary [2]) for the following reasons. First, because in v. 24 the celestial attendant seems to be saying to Daniel that "the 10 horn stand for 10 + 1 kings", indicating that originally only 10 horns and 10 kings had figured in the chapter and that the expander for once forgot to add an eleventh horn for his eleventh king. Second, the linguistic usage of v. 8 differs from that of the basic document in at least two respects. (a) It has אלו where vv. 2, 5, 6, 7 has ארו. (b) 'Man' in the primary text (Apoc I) means 'holy'; for so, even in MT, the phrase 'like a man' in v. 13 is interpreted v. 18 (which is another of the reasons I give in *SD* [3]) for transferring

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[1]) ROWLEY means either his own inability to decide or the inability of the divisionists to agree among themselves. It would be just as fair for me to point to the inability of the antidivisionist ROWLEY and of those who adopt divisive theories other than mine to come to an agreement as proof that my particular divisive theory is correct. Each individual divisionist is as well able to decide "whether chapter vii belongs etc." as ROWLEY is to decide that no decision is possible. I, at least, have no difficulty whatever in deciding that ch. vii belongs unmistakably to the second half of the book, and is separated from what precedes by a yawning chasm.

[2]) And are consequently printed in italics in my translation in *SD* 16-18.

[3]) See above pp. 259-260 n.1.

4b*cd* to v. 5; since the Median kingdom, but not the Babylonian, was regarded as endowed with a spark of holiness) [1]). But in v. 8 'eyes like a man's' means 'haughty eyes, presumptuousness' (//'a mouth speaking boastfulness' — cf. the juxtaposition in 2 Ki xix 22; Isa xxxvii 23). Third, just this strand in ch. vii (Apoc. I-4) is dependent upon chs. viii-xii. (See below.) And fourth, and most important of all, just in this strand symbol and interpretation don't fit. (See below.) Such is the "virility" of the "unemasculated" ch. vii (cf. ROWLEY, p. 255), and it would be a grave methodological fallacy to believe that one can dispose of the cumulative force of these arguments by pooh-poohing each one separately. — ROWLEY, alas, has little appreciation for the force of the third and fourth arguments. Nevertheless, that of the third is immense, and that of the fourth is decisive.

As regards the third: For the dependence of what I have isolated as a secondary strand within ch. vii upon chs. viii-xii, compare first the following seven verbal borrowings: (1) *miśtakkal hwēṯ* (vii 8) with *hayīṯī mēbīn* (viii 5); (2) *qeren 'oḥri z'ērā* (vii 8) with *qeren 'āḥaṯ miṣṣ'īrā* (viii 9); (3) the verb *slq* in vii 8 with the verb *'ly* in viii 3, 8; *mmallil rabrbān* (vii 8, 20) with *ydabber nīplā'ōṯ* (xi 36; cf. *wnīplā'ōṯ*, viii 24); (5) *'ad 'iddān 'iddānīn uplāg 'iddān* (vii 25) with *lmō'ēd mō'dīm wāḥeṣī* (xii 7); further, probably, (6) *qaddīšīn* (vii 21 f., by the side of *qaddišē 'elyōnīn*; the latter alone being used in the priamary text) with *'am qdōšīm* (viii 24; cf. *'am qodeš*, xii 7) and (7) *wyiṯyahbūn bīdeh* (vii 25) with *wnittan byādō* (xi 11) [2]).

The case of no. 2 is particularly instructive. I have proved elsewhere, to the satisfaction of anyone who has no mental block against being satisfied, that 'little' as an epithet of the horn representing Epiphanes makes perfect sense in the context of viii 9 and perfect nonsense in the context of vii 8; so a mere reference can suffice here [3]).

This last observation almost overlaps our fourth proof. There are features in vii 8 of which not merely the mention is odd in the light of the pertinent part of the interpretation (like the special mention of the littleness of the sprouting eleventh horn — which would be self-evident if it were meant to apply only at the moment of sprouting — in the light of the subsequent stressing of its abnormal

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[1]) "Having been *consecrated* by the Lord (Isa xiii 3, 17; cf. xxi 2; Jer. li 28). Observe, too, that the Medes, according to Isa xiii 17-19, qualified for the beatitude of Ps. cxxxvii 8-9". (From *SD*, p. 15).

[2]) These examples, borrowed from HÖLSCHER, appear in *SD* on p. 30.

[3]) *SD* 70 n. 37a.

bigness), but which simply don't fit the interpretation. The cause in this case too is borrowing; not, however, from chs. viii-xii, but from the primary stratum of ch. vii. The ten horns of vii 7b*b* naturally represent ten kings of the kingdom represented by the beast on whose head they grow; as v. 24a puts it: "And as for the ten horns, ten kings shall arise *from that kingdom*". When, however, v. 8 states that an eleventh horn sprouted up 'and three *of the former horns* were *uprooted* before it', it first of all does *not* mean that the last king of this line will *uproot* three kings *but* merely that he will *defeat* them; for the *interpretatio authentica* of v. 8a is v. 24b: 'and another shall arise after them, and he shall be different from (or according to Theodotion's reading, greater than) the former ones, and he shall *humble* (cf. iv 34; v 19, 22) three kings'. That, however, is a minor difficulty, since it is not easy to represent a humiliation of fixed and rigid horns otherwise than by uprooting [1]). Far more serious is the fact that the three kings in question are not predecessors of the king who humbles them (as 'of the former [horns]' would have led us to expect). They are not even — *pace* ROWLEY — should-have-been predecessors. Firstly, because if predecessors had been meant it would have been natural to say 'and he shall be different from the former ones and shall humble three *of them*', not '... and he shall humble three *kings*'; and secondly, because history knows of no three predecessors or should-have-been predecessors who were humbled by a man who could be called the eleventh Macedonian or Seleucid emperor.

This brings us to the historical interpretation of the ten or eleven kings and of the fourth kingdom, and of the three kings humbled by the eleventh. ROWLEY and I are agreed that the eleventh means Antiochus IV. Where we differ is in that he has no difficulty in identifying all of the ten others to his complete satisfaction, whereas I find it impossible to identify them to my complete satisfaction except when I disregard the eleventh; for the simple reason that Apoc I-4, who introduced the eleventh horn, was none too clear about the identity of the first ten in his own mind, except as regards the three humbled ones. To ROWLEY, all of the ten others are predecessors of Antiochus, the eleven links beginning with Seleucus Nicator and running thus: 1. Seleucus I; 2. Antiochus I; 3. Antiochus II; 4. Seleucus II; 5. Seleucus III; 6. Antiochus III; 7. Seleucus IV; 8. Demetrius,

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[1]) In *JBL* 68 (1949), 405, ll. 6-8, I have compared the *prostration* of the *unattached* and *flexible* symbols — namely sheaves — in Joseph's dream, Gen. xxxvii.

who *ought* to have succeeded his father Seleucus IV; 9. Seleucus IV's younger son Antiochus; 10. Ptolemy VI of Egypt, who according to ROWLEY *was*, as *a son of Seleucus IV's sister* Cleopatra, *preferred* by a party in Syria *to Seleucus IV's brother* (!) Antiochus IV; 11. Antiochus IV [1]). Thus the text, according to ROWLEY, means that Antiochus IV shall uproot from the Seleucid succession three men who have, in the writer's opinion, a better claim to the Seleucid throne than he.

But can that be said to "rest on solid evidence"? The idea that pious Jews in 165, when the succession had been settled ten years before, and when Judaism was in danger of vanishing completely in a very short time barring a miraculous intervention, were so interested in legitimacy (all the heathen emperors were "illegitimate" so far as they were concerned!) that they would have counted potential pretenders among those who had 'arisen', and would have referred to them as 'kings', is at best amusing. That it is not natural to say 'three kings' instead of 'three of them' in v. 24 unless the three kings in question are *not* three of 'the former ones', has already been pointed out. But the most serious thing of all is that there never was any party in Syria or anywhere else which "favoured the claim of Ptolemy as against Antiochus" (ROWLEY p. 257 n. 109) as successor to Seleucus IV. ROWLEY's star witness for its existence (cited ibid.) is Jerome in MIGNE, *Patrologia Latina*, xxv, 1845, cl. 566. But when Jerome speaks there of those 'qui in *Syria* Ptolemaeo favebant' he means by Syria the same thing as in cols. 563-4, namely Coele-Syria; which, after having been ruled by the Lagidae for a century, was wrested from them by Antiochus III in the year 198 B.C.E., and in which many people would still have preferred a Ptolemy to an Antiochus — but for themselves, and as the heir to the throne of Ptolemy Soter; not for Antioch, Apamea, and Seleucia and as an ought-to-be heir (under what law?) to the throne of Seleucus Nicator. Whoever rereads cols. 563-6 in the light of this interpretation is unlikely to question its correctness.

ROWLEY has also three supporting witnesses for Ptolemy VI's kingship over the Seleucid empire: 1 Macc. xi 13; Josephus, *Ant.* xiii 8, 7; Polybius xxxix 7 (xl 12). [2]) But, without exception and without ambiguity, they tell of the Seleucid crown having been offered to Ptolemy *in the year* 145 — which he and I agree was 20 years or more

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[1]) H. H. ROWLEY, *Darius the Mede*, pp. 112 f. (This passage is referred to by ROWLEY in his present article, p. 257, n. 109).

[2]) All three referred to ibid.

after our chapter was written — and of its having been offered to him not in preference to Antiochus, who had been dead for eighteen years, but to Demetrius and Alexander Balas; from whose internecine strife Ptolemy, who had triumphantly entered Antioch, seemed to some people there to offer a respite.

How much more "virile" is the picture that emerges when one bows to the evidence and treats all references to an eleventh horn as secondary. The ten horns of the primary stratum are easily identified, if one doesn't blink the fact that the Seleucids (like the Lagids, for that matter) regarded themselves as the legitimate heirs of Alexander the Great. I quote from *SD* 19-20, and give the substance of two of the relevant notes:

"According to Berossus, Antiochus I was the third king after Alexander the Great [1]). This counting disregards either Philip Arrhidaeus or Alexander [Aigos]; probably the former, since it was only the latter who lasted down to and beyond 312/11 [2]), the year of Seleucus's assumption of power in Babylonia (and the one from which the Seleucid era takes its start). According to Seleucid theory, then, the first ten Macedonian kings of Asia were: 1. Alexander I, 2. Alexander II, 3. Seleucus I, 4. Antiochus I, 5. Antiochus II, 6. Seleucus II, 7. Seleucus III, 8. Antiochus III, 9. Seleucus IV, 10. Antiochus IV (Epiphanes). (Or, to put it in a form easy to remember: 2 Alexanders, 4 Seleuci, and 4 Antiochi.)"

Since the man who counted thus in Dan. vii is content to have the Seleucid empire perish with Antiochus IV [3]) but does not enlarge upon the monstrosity of Antiochus, whereas the man who counts Antiochus as the eleventh monarch does so enlarge (vii 25), we conclude that the former wrote before and the latter after the crowning enormity of the turn of the years 167-6; to wit, the desecration of the Temple and the prohibition of Jewish religious observance.

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[1]) See P. Schnabel, *Berossos*, 1923, p. 5; cited by Baumgartner, *ThR* 1939, 204.

[2]) He was assassinated in 310/9 — Bickerman, *Berytus* 8 (1944): 75.

[3]) But since it does fix its end in the reign of this monarch, "the emasculated chapter" does *not* leave us with the fourth kingdom continuing for a so much more "indefinite period" (Rowley, p. 258) than does the "unemasculated" one with its $3^1/_2$ years after Antiochus undertakes 'to change seasons and law' (v. 25). Since the "widespread expectation ... long antedating the Maccabaean period" whose existence Rowley admits (ibid.) did not specify that such a deadly attack on the very existence of Judaism must first take place, there was nothing to prevent Apoc I from expecting "the dénouement of history" (ibid.) even "à propos of nothing in particular"; but as a matter of fact plenty in particular, tho not the deadly attack, had already been perpetrated by Antiochus when Apoc I wrote.

Maybe taking the latter's additions out of the chapter "leaves the story with little identifiable point" (ROWLEY, p. 255), or "flat and jejune", to a palate which has been conditioned to expect and to crave (and often to imagine) allusions to the events of 167-5 everywhere. But neither Apoc I nor I am to blame if the "point" which has been hammered into the heads of Old Testament scholars by the modern critical literature on Daniel could not possibly be known to Apoc I, who wrote between Antiochus IV's accession in 176 and his proscription of Judaism ca. December 167. (But there was even then sufficient "point" for wishing an end to "the bondage of the kingdoms" in Antiochus' manipulation of the high priesthood, encouragement of Hellenism, looting of the Temple, and conversion of the latter into an appanage of the Greek *polis* on the Akra). After the final "point" had taken place, on the other hand, a reference to the specific inquities of the last of the Macedonian emperors could not be dispensed with. So Apoc I-4, not finding such a reference in the primary text, concluded that Antiochus was not one of the ten kings which it contemplates, and so made him an eleventh. Moreover, wishing to indicate Antiochus' greatness by the number of kings he had defeated, he had three of the ten former horns uprooted before him; tho in the intention of *their* author, Apoc I, they did not represent foreign potentates but earlier Seleucids. That is the sort of contradiction one almost inevitably gets involved in when one borrows readymade symbols (skeuomorphism). We have already seen (p. 264-265) that when Apoc I-4 borrowed the little horn from viii 9 [1]) — whose author by the way was Apoc II, whom we shall get to know in due course — the result was that he expressed, not only something different from what he meant, but the very opposite of what he meant (see especially vii 20b: 'the said horn . . . its appearance [2]) was *greater* than that of its fellows'). What wonder, then, that when he operated further with the materials of Apoc I, Apoc I-4 again expressed something different from what he intended. For he did *not* mean that Antiochus *uprooted predecessors but* that he *defeated foreigners*. I have already pointed out that he says 'will *humble* three *kings*' (v. 24b*c*) where he might have said 'will *uproot* three *of them*' ('of them' referring to 'the former (kings)' who are mentioned immediately before), if

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[1]) There it is appropriate tho it symbolizes the same person, Antiochus IV; because the horn is there a branch horn, which *is* little in relation to the trunk horns, even as the individual king Antiochus *is* little in relation to the dynasties.

[2]) Actually 'circumference'; see *SD* 71 n. 47a.

that had been his intention; and we have seen that as a matter of fact history knows of no three predecessors uprooted by Antiochus. On the other hand, history does know of exactly three foreign potentates humbled by Antiochus: Ptolemy VI and VII (169-8) and Artaxias of Armenia (second half of 165).

I again gratefully acknowledge my indebtedness to Prophyry for the above interpretation. That pagan father of Daniel criticism rarely, if ever, erred in the understanding of allusions to actual history in our book [1]) (as distinct from allusions to erroneous notions of the past on the one hand and erroneous anticipations of the future on the other).

Since the thinking of Apoc I-4 was itself not exact, it is, beyond a certain point, a mistake to insist upon defining it exactly, and I for one never have insisted upon it; see my warning beginning with the sentence "Pedantry is out of place here" [2]). But because the three uprooted horns undoubtedly represent three humbled (*not* uprooted) contemporary monarchs, the remaining seven horns *might* be conceived of as representing seven other contemporary monarchs, and so I suggested at random (with the reservations I have referred to) those of Pergamum, Cappadocia, Bithynia, Pontus, Commagene, Parthia, Sparta, and/or Macedonia. Against this suggestion ROWLEY urges the incongruousness of symbolizing Antiochus Epiphanes as 'a little horn' ("the form of the vision") in relation to the king of Parthia, without asking himself in what respect Antiochus Epiphanes could be called a little horn in relation to all three of the uprooted horns

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[1]) ROWLEY believes one can speak of Antiochus as having "uprooted" Ptolemy VI Philometor from the Seleucid line because he believes — quite erroneously, as we have seen — that Jerome attests a preference in some quarters for Ptolemy over Antiochus as successor to the Seleucid throne; and after referring to this supposed testimony, he adds (p. 257 n. 109): "and since Ptolemy was a Seleucid on his mother's side, this is quite credible. But this is very different from GINSBERG's view, for which no evidence is, or can be, presented. It is not merely not known that Antiochus uprooted the Ptolemies from Egypt, but definitely known that he attempted to do this and failed." It is true that "no evidence can be cited" for the view "that Antiochus uprooted the Ptolemies from Egypt". But neither is there any warrant for representing that as "Ginsberg's view" (or as the view of GINSBERG's master Porphyry). It is not merely not known that I was ever guilty of "unduly urging the forms of visions" (see above pp. 248-249), but definitely known that I have deprecated that practice apropos of our very case (*JBL* 68 [1949], 403-4) — and that ROWLEY has defended it against me (*JBL* 69 [1950], 201). Once more I earnestly appeal to him to join me in humbly accepting as binding the seer's own interpretation of the visionary uprooting of Dan. vii 8; which is *not* uprooting but humbling, vii 24b*c*.

[2]) *SD* 22.

as ROWLEY understands them. If size stands for might, Antiochus Epiphanes was a much larger horn than the youth Ptolemy VI (whom he twice defeated) and certainly than exiled Demetrius and hapless Antiochus, the sons of Seleucus IV; and if it stands for legitimacy (as ROWLEY implies), then he was at any rate a vastly bigger horn than Ptolemy. For the latter was only a son of a sister of Seleucus IV, whereas Antiochus was the latter's brother; and it was at least as axiomatic among both Hebrews and Greeks as it is in modern occidential monarchies that male persons rank higher in the line of succession than females who bear the same relationship to the preceding sovereign.

But the truth is that just as Apoc I-4's little horn doesn't fit its interpretation in any case because it is borrowed from viii 9, so the other ten horns can hardly all be made to fit the same sort of interpretation *within Apoc I-4* because they are here borrowed from Apoc I. The three uprooted horns certainly stand for defeated contemporaries; but even they *may at the same time* stand for predecessors, and certainly the remaining seven *may* — even in the view of Apoc I-4 — stand for predecessors. To repeat, beyond a certain point it is a mistake to insist upon defining inexact thinking exactly. (Only beyond a certain point, however. Whatever Apoc I-4 states *specifically in the interpretation* is crystal-clear; including v. 24b*c*, as we saw in the three preceding paragraphs.)

I have assigned to the primary stratum of Dan. vii the siglum Apoc I[1]) because it is the earliest of the four apocalypses of which Daniel B consists. It is unique among its fellows in that the desecration of the Temple and the proscription of Judaism lie beyond its horizon. On the other hand it knows the tenth Macedonian emperor — Antiochus IV; and "its unreserved condemnation of the fourth kingdom and its anticipation of its complete annihilation in the reign of its present king are no doubt reflexes of his commercial exploitation of the high priesthood of the Jerusalem temple, of his encouragement of the Hellenizers, probably of his looting of the temple in 169, and perhaps even of his 'abolition of the Jewish temple-state' and founding of a 'polis upon the Akra' in the summer of 168'[2]). The supplementary matter which has been

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[1]) In *SD* I employed the more cumbersome sigla Ba, Bb, Bc, Bd for my present Apoc I, Apoc II, Apoc III, Apoc IV; and *Ba*, *Bb*^{c}, *Bb*^{a}, *Bc* for my present Apoc I-4, Apoc II-3, Apoc II-4, Apoc III-4.

[2]) *SD* 29-30.

added to Apoc I, I have dubbed Apoc I-4 because it is the work of Apoc IV, the latest of the four apocalyptists of Daniel B; [1]) whose own complete apocalypse is Dan. ix. ROWLEY thinks "it is highly improbable that" Apoc I "would be misunderstood and reinterpreted so soon after its composition" (p. 257). But Apoc I speaks in allusive language of the national situation at the time of writing (ca. 168), which had been dramatically and appallingly altered by the time Apoc IV glossed Apoc I with Apoc I-4. Judaism itself had meanwhile become an outlawed religion, to which only a tiny minority dared to cling at the peril of their lives and which was therefore in danger of early extinction; and this situation had endured for two years. That Apoc I should under those circumstances have been misunderstood by Apoc IV is less remarkable than that my *SD*, about which there is nothing allusive or cryptic, and which does not deal with any current situation, should have been repeatedly misunderstood by ROWLEY little more than a year, and a relatively calm one at that, after its publication [2]).

It follows from the preceding paragraph that in chs. viii-xii I find the work of an Apoc II, an Apoc III, and an Apoc IV; of whom only the last named is represented in ch. vii, being the author of the secondary matter which it contains. ROWLEY (p. 261) claims that "chapter vii is linked ... with the later chapters, in that it has many links of phraseology with them", and that these are not confined to those which HÖLSCHER and I believe to have been secondarily imported into ch. vii. But his "links" do but illustrate the pitfalls of mechanical comparison, which is just as treacherous as mechanical statistics. In vii 2 'the four winds of heaven' are literally winds: in viii 8; ix 4 the phrase is '*to* the four winds of heaven', and means 'to the four points of the compass'. vii 10 speaks of 'books' in the plural, and may mean 'records' (on the basis of which judgment is rendered by the Tribunal) in a wider sense than just records of decisions; whereas xii 1 speaks of a single 'book', which is not really a "book of judgment" (ROWLEY's phrase) but rather a list of the elect (cf. Exod. xxxii-32-3; Num. v 23; Isa iv 3; [Joel iii 5]; Ezek.

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[1]) See below p. 274-275

[2]) A footnote to the title of his article in the reprint in the aforementioned volume of essays (see above, p. 246 n.) states that it "was read as a Presidential Address to the Society for Old Testament Study in London, January, 1950". My *Studies in Daniel* came out in September 1948. Yet see above pp. 248-9, 259-60 n., pp. 274-275 n. 3.

xiii 9). The 'book' of xii 1 can therefore not be identified with certainty even with the 'book' of x 21, and in no case can it be identified with the 'books' of vii 10 — or of ix 2 (= 'holy writings'), or with the 'book' (= 'letters, literature') of i 4. One might as well draw inferences from the occurrence of 'book' in Gen. v 1 and in Exodus, Numbers and Deuteronomy — or anywhere else in the Bible. As for the 'end' in vii 26, 28, it could not be compared with *qēṣ* in viii 11, etc. even if the latter did mean 'end'; since the latter would in that case refer to the end of the days, whereas 'end' in vii 26 refers to the end of the fourth kingdom, and 'end' in vii 28 to the end of Daniel's vision. What could one not prove by such comparisons [1])? Yet *qēṣ* doesn't even mean 'end' at all in Daniel, but only 'season, term, time'; as in rabbinical literature and in the sectarian Dead Sea Scrolls and in the related Damascus Covenant. (So also, by the way, at least in Hab. ii 3; Ps. xxxix 5; 2 Chr. xxi 19 [2]).

Even if the phraseological contacts between Apoc I and chs. viii-xii were far more significant than the foregoing, they would be outweighed by the evidence that chs. viii-xii are neither by the same hand as Apoc I nor all by one single hand. That evidence may be found in section IV of my *SD*; and since ROWLEY has made no attempt to refute it, I shall not reproduce all of it here but only as much as is necessary for an intelligible restatement of my views.

a. Ch. viii is by Apoc II, who — unlike Apoc I — wrote shortly *after* the decree of Kislev 15, 167/6; with the following exceptions: (i) vv. 18-19, which were inserted by Apoc III and are therefore dubbed Apoc II-3; (ii) vv. 13-14, 16, 26a, 27b, which are the work of Apoc IV and which therefore bear the siglum Apoc II-4. Instead of speaking of a dream like Apoc I, Apoc II speaks of a vision (*ḥāzōn*); and this is no accident, because it is emphasized that this vision

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[1]) Are they so very different from the sort which ROWLEY rightly ridicules in *The Servant of the Lord and Other Essays*, pp. 226-7? Here is an extract: "Again, the ingenuity with which Tammuz is imported [into the Song of Songs] at every point by the advocates of this theory can only cause grave doubts as to the soundness of the theory. If a writer cannot mention such common things of experience as *shepherd*, *vine*, *vineyard*, *dove*, *gazelle*, *apple cedar*, *palmtree*, *garden* or *hyacinth*, to name some things from MEEK's list of alleged allusions to the Tammuz cult, without being held to be writing of that cult, the way of letters for all but devotees of Tammuz is made very hard ..." And so on.

[2]) And in Gen. vi 13; Amos viii 2; Ezek. vii 2, 3, 6; Jer. li 13; Lam. iv 18, it means 'the *hour* of doom'; and in Gen. iv 3; v 6; xvi 3 etc., it means 'after a *period* of ...' Its basic meaning is 'limit' or 'measure', as in the phrase *ʾēn qēṣ* 'there is no limit, beyond measure'.

(*ḥāzōn*), like Habakkuk's, is for an appointed time (Hab. ii 3a > Dan. viii 17b).

b. Chs. x-xii are by Apoc III; who must be later than Apoc II because he supplements him (sub *a*), and because he imitates Apoc II's use of Hab ii 3a altho his own revelation is neither a dream nor a vision but an angel's lecture ('word', x 1) to a wakeful Daniel on 'the contents of the book of truth' (or 'the contents of the book, truly'); see x 21 (cf. *SD* 34-37). Within chs. xi-xii, however, a few verses are not original, and are by me denominated Apoc III-4 because they were added by Apoc IV. They are xii 2a [1]); xii 4b-9 [2]), 13; and perhaps x 1b. The verses xii 11-12 are agreed by all to be secondary, but whether they were added by Apoc IV like the others, or by one or two still later hands, is hard to say. Apoc III's *terminus ante quem* is Antiochus' expedition to the east in the summer of 165, since he anticipated instead a third Egyptian campaign, xi 40.

c. Ch. ix, finally, is by Apoc IV; except that vv. 4-20 are generally regarded as an addition, since v. 20 looks for all the world like a seam (cf. v. 21; also the first 5 words in the Hebrew of v. 4 with v. 3). Apoc IV employs the same artificial device as Apoc III of a simple verbal communication (again 'word', ix 23) received by a wakeful apocalyptist from an angel. Unlike all of its three predecessors, however, Apoc IV lacks a wellmarked conclusion (contrast Apoc I's vii 28, Apoc II's viii 26b and Apoc III's xii 4a), tho it has a well-marked opening. Apoc IV's *terminus post quem* is determined by the fact that, as we have seen, he not only glosses all of the other three apocalypses[3]) —

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[1]) In order to tack on xi 1, Apoc IV first transposed x 21a and b, which in Apoc III's original screed followed the order x 21b, a. After Apoc IV had both inverted x 21 and added xi 1, x 21a stood too far away from xi 2b ff. to be of any use, and Apoc IV had virtually to repeat it in the shape of xi 2a. For Apoc IV's purpose in inserting xi 1, see *SD* 34.

[2]) Against *SD*, I now attribute v. 4b to the same source as v. 10, since the two seem to be connected. Truth to tell, it is not easy to decide between attributing them both to Apoc III and assigning them both to Apoc III-4, but the fact that every word after 4a weakens it counsels against the former solution.

The idea, to be sure, *of* dividing the nation at the time of the persecution into the apostates (xi 30b, 33a; 'the wicked' in xii 10), '*the many*', *and* '*the enlighteners*', with the enlighteners 'justifying' — that is, probably, both guiding and atoning for — the many (xii 3) *is the* great *contribution of Apoc III*; cf. xi 32-39; xii 3, and especially xi 35 (echoed in xii 10). The inspiration for this idea was drawn by Apoc III primarily from the famous Suffering Servant pericope Isa lii 13 — liii 12, as I have shown in *VT* 3 (1953): 400-404.

[3]) Rowley is therefore inaccurate when he writes (p. 244), "the glossing of the other parts of the second half of the book is held (by Ginsberg) to have been done either by the same hand [as ch. ix] or by one or two further writers". Correct the

including Apoc III, whose date, lies between Kislev 15, 167/6 and the summer of 165 — but even knows of Antiochus' victory over Artaxias of Armenia in the second half of the year 165 (Artaxias being the third of the three humbled kings of vii 24b, Apoc I-4). His *terminus ante quem* is Antiochus' amnesty and termination of the religious persecution in the winter (i.e., some time in the first three months) of 164, since he apparently expects not merely the temple ritual but 'seasons and law' in general to be delivered into Antiochus' hand until three and a half years have elapsed from the beginning of the persecution, that is to say until approximately the vernal equinox of 163.

Apoc IV's great contribution is a chronological scheme of expiation thru suffering over a period of seventy weeks of years, beginning with Jeremiah's prediction of seventy years (interpreted as hebdomads) in Jer. xxv 11-12; xxix 10 and ending with roughly a half-septennium of religious persecution ushered in by the abolition of the daily morning and evening sacrifice in the temple and the general proscription of Judaism on Kislev 15, 167/6. This idea is expressed in almost identical terms at ix 27b (Apoc IV), vii 25 (Apoc I-4), and xii 7 (Apoc III-4), and in an exact figure which is 88 days short of a full $3^1/_2$ years at viii 14 (Apoc II-4) [1]); as also in exact figures, rendered less optimistic by events, at xii 11 and xii 12 (Apoc III-4 or [a] still later hand[s]).

For further details, see my *Studies in Daniel*, sections II and IV.

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words after 'done' as follows: "by the same hand; except for viii 18-29, which is the work of the author of chs. x-xii, and for xii 13 which may be either by the author of ch. ix or by one or two further hands".

[1]) For a suggestion on this figure see *SD* 77 top.

ETYMOLOGICAL STUDIES IN BIBLICAL HEBREW

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1

Gen. xlix 4 אז חללת יצועי עָלָה makes no sense and is indefensible, primarily on account of the change of person in the last word. Hence no doubt the Septuagint, Peshitta, and Targum Onkelos felt constrained to read עלית on a par with the second person of the first verb. Jewish tradition, adhering to the Masoretic text, is compelled to resort to a desperate remedy, namely breaking up the brief clause into two independent clauses, with very doubtful result. Here, for instance, is the JPS version: "Then defiledst thou it—he went up to my couch". Modern commentators, who are not scrupulous about emendation, do not hesitate to read יצועֵי בלהה instead of יצועי עלה. But in my opinion the difficulty may be removed without resort to violent emendation: simply read יצועֵי עַלָּה "the couch of a fellow-wife", namely Bilhah. עַלָּה corresponds to Arab. عَلَّة "fellow-wife". [1]) As to the plural of יצוע instead of the singular, this is exactly the form found in the same connection elsewhere in the Bible, namely 1 Chron. v 1, and is, moreover, in line with the preceding משכבֵי.

2

Jer. xvii 4 ושמטתה ובך מנחלתך is a monstrosity which cannot be defended under any circumstances. The Septuagint here is wanting, but Theodotion's καὶ ἀφαιρεθήσεται καὶ ταπεινωθήσεται ἀπὸ τῆς κληρονομίας σου leads to something like ושמטתה לבדך מנחלתך, [2])

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[1]) Comp. LANE, *Lexicon*, p. 2124, col. 1 f.: "a woman's fellow-wife, her husband's wife", which suits the case of Bilhah excellently well.

[2]) ἀφαιρεθήσεται and ταπεινωθήσεται are really a doublet, two different readings for the same Hebrew word ושמטתה. Probably one only belongs to Theodotion, the other being that of another minor Greek version, either Aquila's or Symmachus'.

similarly the Vulgate's *et relinqueris sola ab hereditate tua*, while the Peshitta exhibits ואעבריך = ושמטתיך. There are numerous emendations, of which only two really deserve mention: ושמטתה ידך of J. D. MICHAELIS [1]) and ושמטת חובך of S. D. LUZZATTO [2]). I venture to suggest a more plausible solution, based on the masoretic text itself, though with a different division of letters, namely ושמטת הָובך מנחלתך "and thou wilt let drop thy lot of thy inheritance" [3]). The meaning of הובך here is exactly like that of יהבך in Ps. lv 23 and could perhaps be explained as a scribal aberration from the latter: יהבך - והבך — הובך; but more likely it is another nominal formation from the stem יהב, with the customary elimination of the first radical, as in הבהב "gift" Hos. viii 13 [4]). The parasitic *waw* in הובך could easily be explained as a vocalic sign for short *o*, so frequent in the Bible [5]).

3

I cannot help thinking that חן in Jer. xxxi 2 מצא חן במדבר עם שרידי חרב, does not mean the ordinary "grace" but rather "a resting place", on a par with מחנה and תחנה [6]). As a matter of fact, the Israelites did not find grace in the wilderness, where they frequently incurred the wrath and punishment of Yahweh, while they did find there a resting place, namely in Kadesh, as is expressly stated in the sequence הלוך להרגיעו ישראל, which might properly be read הלך להרגיע ישראל "Israel went to find quiet" [7]). True, the nominal form חן should, properly speaking, be derived from the stem חנן and not חנה, but, as is well known, the verbs ע"ע and ל"ה are often confused and frequently interchanged in the Bible [8]).

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[1]) *Observationes Philologicae et Criticae in Jeremiae Vaticinia et Threnos*, ed. SCHLEUSNER, Goettingae 1793, p. 149.

[2]) פירושי שד"ל על ירמיה וכו', Lemberg 1876, pp. 60 f.

[3]) MICHAELIS *l. c.* did consider the possibility of reading הובך, but unfortunately he derived it from Arab. هاب "to dread", which does not fit here.

[4]) This is no more than a reduplicated noun on a par with צאצא from the stem יצא.

[5]) See DELITZSCH, *Die Lese- und Schreibfehler im Alten Testament*, pp. 32 f.

[6]) Perhaps one should compare the Persian خان "an inn, a hostelry".

[7]) Israel being the subject, not the object as construed by Targum, Aquila and Symmachus; and להרגיע being an intransitive Hiphʿil as in Deut. xxviii 65 and Isa. xxxiv 14.

[8]) Comp. GESENIUS-KAUTZSCH-COWLEY, *Hebrew Grammar*, § 77.

4.

What is the real meaning of צפירה in Ezek. vii 7 and 10? Following Aramaic and Syriac צפרא Rashi and Kimḥi render "early morning, dawn", while Ibn Janaḥ translates it by Arabic دُور meaning "doom, fate". The former is out of the question in a context which deals solely with the coming of the end and the precipitation of evil over the world; the latter, which has been adopted by GESENIUS [1]), BARTH [2]), and most modern exegetes, lacks sufficient etymological ground despite its plausibility. The fact is that the etymon صفر IV in Arabic denotes "be yellow or black" [3]), and consequently, through semasiological development, it came to mean "to set (of the sun)", as in the expression صفور الشمش meaning "sunset" [4]). Similarly we find اصفرار in the sense of "a period preceding the sunset, when the star is yellowish" [5]). Moreover, according to WALLIN [6]), سُفْرَة, derived from classical سَفَر "dawn, twilight", denotes "the hour of sunset" [7]). Accordingly צפירה should denote "sunset", figuratively "decline, end", which fits very well the context in both passages [8]).

As to צפירה in Isa. xxviii 5, it is of a different vintage, corresponding to Arab. ضفيرة denoting "chaplet, coronet, diadem" [9]).

It remains to explain the very puzzling locution יצפֹר מהר גלעד in Jud. vii 3, for which some suggest יפרֹץ [10]), and others יצרף [11]). It seems to me that the best solution is to regard יצפר as a case of metathesis of יפצר, eventually יפצל, since فصل من in Arabic means "to go forth from a country" [12]).

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[1]) In his *Lexicon* s.v.

[2]) In his *Wurzeluntersuchungen zum hebr. u. aram. Lexicon*, p. 42.

[3]) See LANE, *Lexicon*, p. 1697.

[4]) LANDBERG, *Études sur les Dialectes de l'Arabie Méridionale*, I: *Ḥaḍramoût*, Leide 1901, p. 633.

[5]) E. FAGNAN, *Additions aux Dictionnaires Arabes*, Alger 1923, p. 96, col. 2.

[6]) *Reise*, II, 3; see also *ZDMG.*, V (1851), 17.

[7]) With regard to Arab. س = Hebrew צ, comp. سَلْم = צֶלֶם "stamp, cast".

[8]) It is perhaps interesting to note in this connection that a very prominent Hebrew newspaper, which appeared in Warsaw, Poland, from 1862 to 1928, was named הצפירה on the wrong assumption that the word meant „dawn".

[9]) Derived from the stem ضفر meaning "to plait, to weave", comp. LANE, *Lexicon*, p. 1795.

[10]) GRAETZ et al.

[11]) Comp. GEORGE FOOT MOORE's emendation ויצרפם גדעון in the ICC series.

[12]) LANE, *Lexicon*, p. 2406, col. 1 below.

5.

The lamentation for Tyre in Ezek. xxvii 32 מי כצור כדֻמה בתוך הים is not clear because of the hapaxlegomenon כדמה, which Theodotion rendered κατασιγηθεισα = נדמה [1]), Aquila ὡς ὕψος αὐτης = כְּרָמָה, Targum לית דדמי לה = כדֻמָה, Peshitta דיתבא הות, Kimḥi נכרתת [2]). CORNILL [3]), who thought that the word must refer to the past glories of Tyre, suggested כַּבָּדָה "glorious" instead of כדמה. But in preference to an emendation I would like to suggest a derivation from a root כדם, which is still preserved in Arabic in the form أَكْدَم meaning "to be in bonds, be captive" [4]). In keeping with this I render the phrase thus: "What city is like Tyre, captive (or enslaved) in the midst of the sea?"

After effecting this derivation I discovered it also in one of Leo PINSKER's books [5]). I retain it here, because PINSKER's Hebrew volume is very rare, and, besides, this plausible explanation deserves to be published in English.

6.

It has often been observed that the rendering of הרות גלעד in Am. i 13 by "pregnant women of Gilead" is quite unsuitable, since the passage seems to describe some kind of locality rather than persons. In recent years G. R. DRIVER [6]) endeavored to associate הרות with Arab. غَبِيرَة meaning "a sandy or stony plateau", derived from a root غبر "to destroy". However, this is questionable on account of the variation in the Hebrew and Arabic roots [7]). More likely the word הרות should be equated with the Arab. حَرَّة meaning "a stony tract" [8]), a name given, for instance, to the sandy and stony plateaus of the Hejaz in northern Arabia. As is well known, ה and ח interchange frequently in Semitic languages [9]).

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[1]) So also Vulgate: *quae obmutuit.*
[2]) So also Ibn Janaḥ.
[3]) In his Commentary ad loc.
[4]) Comp. BIBERSTEIN KAZIMIRSKI, *Dictionnaire Arabe-Français*, II, 875, col. 2.
[5]) מבוא אל הנקוד האשורי p. 85.
[6]) In *J. T. S.*, xxxix (1938), 261.
[7]) הרר or הרה versus غبر.
[8]) See LANE, *Lexicon*, s. v.
[9]) WRIGHT, *Lectures on the Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages*, p. 47.

7.

Among the numerous difficult passages in the Book of Micah one may single out ii 6, אל תִּטְּפוּ יִטִּיפוּן, לא יִטְּפוּ לאלה לא יסג כלמות. There is hardly any possibility here of textual error, since all the ancient versions corroborate the masoretic text. Yet the verse appears overburdened and incomprehensible. One of the best renderings is that of the JPS. version based on medieval Jewish authorities: 'Preach ye not', they preach; 'they shall not preach of these things, that they shall not take shame'. This implies that the people address the prophets saying: Do not preach to us, so that ye may not be put to shame. However, this meaning is not implicit in the phrase לא יסג כלמות, whence exegetes see themselves constrained to read יַשִּׂיג = יַסִּיג, or else יָסַג = יֻסַּג in the passive. I venture to suggest that this phrase is really an Arabism, corresponding to the expression نَسَجَ الكَلَامَ "he forged speech" [1]). The medieval Hebrew term for it is ארג שיר, "weave a song" [2]). יסג then is an imperf. of a root נסג signifying "to forge". As to כלמות, it corresponds exactly to Arab. كلمات "words", pl. of كلمة [3]). That the Arab. stem كلم "to speak" is not foreign to the Scriptures may be seen, for instance, from Jud. xviii 7 ואין מכלים דבר בארץ, "no one uttering a word in the land". Accordingly, לא יסג כלמות is simply a repetition, in different words, of the same idea expressed in אל תִּטְּפוּ and לא יִטְּפוּ. "Preach ye not", they preach, "they shall not preach of these things, they shall not forge speeches". Perhaps the strange phrase לא יסג כלמות was originally a marginal gloss, which ultimately crept into the text itself.

8.

Although many minds have been exercised over Hab. i 11 אז חלף רוח ויעבר ואשם זו כחו לאלהו, the verse still fails to yield satisfactory sense. The reference is, of course, to the Chaldeans of verse 6, but how are we to take the phrase חלף רוח ויעבר? Are we to read רוח with the ancient versions and medieval Jewish commentators, or כרוח with WELLHAUSEN and the moderns? It seems to me that the

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[1]) See LANE, *Lexicon*, p. 2788, col. 1, and comp. on this idiom particularly IGNAZ GOLDZIHER, *Abhandlungen zur arabischen Philologie*, I, 132 f.

[2]) Comp. the examples cited by ZUNZ in *ZDMG.*, XXV (1871), 442.

[3]) See BIBERSTEIN KAZIMIRSKI, *Dictionnaire*, s. v.

former is genuine and well substantiated. As to ואשם, undoubtedly it should be separated from the first phrase, with which it has been coupled by the Masorah, and connected with the following זו כחו לאלהו [1]). Thus the rendering would be: "Then there was a change of wind, and as it passed the people possessed of power [2]) stood guilty before its god", which is very sensible. The seemingly awkward זו is construed as the Arabic ذو meaning "owner, possessor of", evidence of which had been found elsewhere in the Scriptures [3]).

9.

The contention of Professor Charles C. TORREY [4]) that the incongruous and incomprehensible היין in Hab. ii 5 stands for היוני "the Greek" and has reference to Alexander the Great of Macedonia falls to the ground through the brilliant suggestion of Professor SELLIN [5]) that היין really stands for הַיּוֹנֶה = הַיּוֹנֶה, "the oppressor" or tyrant, with reference to Nebukadrezzar [6]). This interpretation is not altogether in disagreement with the ancient versions and medieval Jewish commentators who construed היין as איש היין, "a drunkard", and referred it to Nebukadrezzar. Nor is Professor ALBRIGHT's recent suggestion [7]) to construe היין as the ancient Canaanite, or, more specifically Ugaritic, godlet Hîyôn any more plausible. ALBRIGHT reconstructs the whole sentence to read: ואף כי יהיר כהיון גבר בוגד לא ינוה "and though he be crafty as Hiyon, a faithless man shall not succeed". There are cogent objections to this ingenious solution: in the first place ALBRIGHT not only rearranges the Masoretic text to suit his theory but also introduces a new consonant, namely the כ comparationis of היין or היון; secondly, we must count with the unlikelihood of a biblical author making use of a name of a godlet of the Ugaritic pantheon; thirdly, it is generally admitted that the subject of this passage is the reputed ruler or

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[1]) It is interesting that the Septuagint reads כוח instead of כחו.

[2]) Namely the Chaldaeans.

[3]) Comp. GESENIUS-BUHL, *Handwörterbuch*[17], p. 193, col. 2; BROWN-DRIVER-BRIGGS, *Lexicon*, p. 262, col. 1f.

[4]) In the *Volume presented to Karl Marti on his Seventieth Anniversary*, Giessen 1925, pp. 281 ff.

[5]) In the second and third edition of his *Commentary on the Twelve Minor Prophets*, Leipzig, 1930, ad loc.

[6]) See this expression in Jer. xxv 38 and Zeph. iii 1.

[7]) *BASOR* 91, (October 1943), 40.

tyrant of Assyria or Babylonia, hence he must somehow appear or be implied in the misunderstood word.

I am inclined to think that this verse is a play on the name Nebukadrezzar [1]): note the sequence of the letters ד, ג, ב, נ in the words היין בגד, though the characteristic צ is lacking. The prophet evidently denounces the notoriously cruel and ruthless Nebukadrezzar in disguise, saying that he is treacherous, haughty, restless, and of profound and boundless desires. Similarly, the preceding verse הנה עפלה לא ישרה נפשו בו, on which many brilliant minds have exercised their ingenuity, appears to be a play on the name Nebupalassar (נבופלאסר), the father of Nebukadrezzar [2]). Thus the idea of these two verses might be as follows: "Behold, Nebupalassar is not an upright man, since a righteous man lives by his faith. But also Nebukadrezzar is crafty, haughty and restless, a man who enlarges his desire as the nether-world and is as death that cannot be satisfied".

10.

As far as I know no satisfactory solution has yet been offered for the admittedly corrupt and incoherent phrase מספח חמתך in Hab. ii 15. Neither the ancient versions [3]) nor the medieval commentaries realized the difficulty inherent in this text, and hence they prove of no help. After due meditation I have become convinced that the original Hebrew must have read מִסֶּפַח הַמָּתָךְ "of the outpour (or flow) of the intoxicating drink (or wine)". The root ספח "pour out", found in classical Arabic [4]), is not foreign to biblical Hebrew, in which we find ספיח (Job xiv 19) and משפח (Isa. v 7) in the sense of "outpouring": it is quite probable that also another nominal form, the segolate סֶפַח, existed in biblical times [5]). As to מתך, "intoxicating drink" or "wine", I derive it from the Arabic stem تك meaning

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[1]) *Nabū-kudur-uṣur* = Nabu protect the boundary!

[2]) The extremely difficult word עפלה may be nothing more nor less than the Accadian *aplu* "son", which forms part of the name *Nabu-apal-uṣur* = Nabu, protect the son! In the same way the word ישרה may have been used with a view to the Accadian *uṣur*.

[3]) With the sole exception of the Septuagint, see below.

[4]) Comp. Arabic lexica s.v. سفح.

[5]) Comp. also the similar stem סחף in biblical lexica. The reading סֶפַח is now adopted also by G. R. Driver in *V.T.* I (1951), 246.

"to inebriate anyone", said of wine [1]). The nominal form מָתָךְ derived from a stem תכך would be on a par with מָסָךְ "veil, curtain" derived from סכך "to cover". I have reason to believe that the Septuagint supports my reading: ὁ ποτίζων τὸν πλησίον αὐτοῦ ἀνατροπῇ θολερᾷ "he who gives his friend to drink of the turbid outpouring", i.e. of the outpouring of the turbid drink, the reference being undoubtedly to some intoxicating drink. θολερός, "muddy, turbid", was used of troubled water and very likely also of troubled wine [2]). Thus understood the sentence yields excellent sense: "Woe unto him that giveth his friend drink of the outpouring of the intoxicating potion to the point of making him drunk, that thou mayest look on their nakedness !".

11.

The prayer of Habakkuk (ch. iii) has its sheaf of textual difficulties. One of these is at the very beginning of the prayer, v. 2:

יהוה שמעתי שמעך
יראתי יהוה פעלך
בקרב שנים חייהו
בקרב שנים תודיע
ברגז רחם תזכור

Here lines 2-4 appear to be senseless, so much so that the Septuagint was utterly confused about this entire verse and muddled up its meaning through several doublets [3]). Line 2 has been remedied somewhat through the emendation ראיתי for יראתי on the basis of G's κατενόησα [4]), but lines 3-4 still remain puzzling. Hence I wish to offer the following solution, based on the consonants of the Masorah though on different vowels and division of words:

בקרב שְׁנִים חַיֶּיהוּ
בקרב שְׁנִים תודיע

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[1]) See BIBERSTEIN KAZIMIRSKI, *Dictionnaire*, I, 202. The native Arabic dictionaries quote the common phrase تلك النبيذ فلانا اذا بلغ منه, "the wine inebriated someone when it took an effect upon him".

[2]) Comp. SCHLEUSNER, *Lexicon in LXX*, I, 208; II, 65.

[3]) Even a christological passage seems to have crept in among them, for ἐν, μέσῳ δύο ζῴων γνωσθήσῃ is a reminiscence of the birth of Jesus in the manger between the ass and the ox.

[4]) See, for example, JOHANN LACHMANN's *Das Buch Habbakuk* ad loc, and PAUL HUMBERT, *Problèmes du Livre d'Habacuc*, p. 58.

It will be noticed that I read שִׁנִּים instead of שָׁנִים and derive it from an Arabic stem سَنِيَ "become high or exalted" [1]), which, I have reason to believe, occurs also elsewhere in the Bible. Further, I divide חייהו into two words חַי־יָהוּ, "Yahweh liveth", which is a standing formula of oath and asseveration in the Scriptures [2]).

Accordingly, the verse should be rendered as follows:

O Lord, I have heard the report of Thee,
O Lord, I have observed Thy work.
In the midst of exalted ones "The Lord liveth",
In the midst of exalted ones Thou makest known,
In wrath Thou rememberest compassion.

12.

It is quite evident that in Ps. civ 13 משקה הרים מעליותיו מפרי מעשיך תשבע הארץ the word מעשיך stands for clouds, from whose issue in the form of rain the earth is sated. Hence the frequent emendations מנשׂיאיך ("from Thy clouds"), or מפרי שמיך, or מִפַּכֵּי שמיך, or מרי אסמיך, etc. [3]). However, emendations, as usual, are unpleasant, if not odious. I believe that מעשים itself denotes "clouds", if we associate it with the Arabic stem غَشِيَ "to cover, to veil" [4]), since a thing that covers or envelopes constitutes a cloud. Similarly מפרש or מפלש, which means nothing more than something that covers or envelopes, and yet is used for cloud in the Bible [5]). That this derivation is not far-fetched may be seen from the fact that the late Israel Eitan has used it successfully for other difficult passages in the Bible [6]).

13.

Prov. xxvi 6 מְקַצֶּה רגלים חמס שתה שלח דברים ביד כסיל is notoriously difficult, chiefly on account of the phrase חמס שתה, which is naturally rendered "drinks damage" or „violence", but makes no

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[1]) Comp. Lane, *Lexicon*, p. 1448, col. 3.
[2]) Comp. Bible lexica s. v. חי.
[3]) See the commentaries ad loc.
[4]) Comp. Lane, *Lexicon*, p. 2661, col. 2 f.
[5]) See Bible lexica s.vv. פרש and פלש.
[6]) Comp. his excellent *A Contribution to Biblical Lexicography*, pp. 57 ff.

sense here. TORCZYNER [1]) ingeniously reads מְקַצֶּה־רַגְלַיִם חֹמֵס שָׁתֹה "like a man with maimed feet revealing his posterior is he that sends a message by the hand of a fool" [2]). Adopting TORCZYNER's brilliant reading חֹמֵס שָׁתֹה I would render the verse more sensibly and less sensationally as follows: "He that cuts off his own feet violates his very foundation [3]), so is he that sends a message by the hand of a fool".

14.

The meaning of Prov. xxix 21 מפנק מנער עבדו ואחריתו יהיה מנון is still doubtful and problematical, despite numerous efforts to clarify it. The chief difficulty turns around the hapaxlegomenon מנון, for which there seems to be no definite etymology; but also the first part of the verse is not altogether clear, as shown by the variants of most ancient versions. Perhaps some idea of the magnitude of this crux interpretum may be conveyed by the circumstance that even such an ingenious exegete as Arnold B. EHRLICH threw up his hands in despair when confronting this verse and openly admitted that it is hopeless and entirely insolvable [4]). But is it really so hopeless?

The Septuagint rendered it as follows: ὃς κατασπαταλᾷ ἐκ παιδὸς οἰκέτης ἔσται, ἔσχατον δὲ ὀδυνηθήσεται ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ, "He that lives luxuriously from childhood will become a servant; ultimately he will be with sorrow concerning him". Evidently the translator read מְפַנֵּק מנער עֶבֶד ואחריתו יהיה מנון. Similarly the Pesh. דמתפנק מן טליותה עבדא נהוא ובאחריתה נתתנח and the Targ. מתפנק מן טליותה לעבדא נהוי ובאחריתיה יהי מְנַסָּח. It is apparent that all these versions read מְפַנֵּק as a part. Pu'al instead of a part. Pi'el and also עֶבֶד instead of עבדו. Indeed, the *waw* of the latter may easily be explained as an error of dittography of the following *waw*. As to the more difficult מנון the Septuagint seems to have construed it as מַ(אֲ)נוֹן

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[1]) In *ZDMG.*, LXXII (1918), 156, recently also in his Hebrew *Commentary on Proverbs*, Tel Aviv 1947, ad loc.

[2]) For חמס in the sense of "reveal" he compares Jer. xiii 22, Job xv 33, and Lam. ii 6.

[3]) Reading מְקַצֶּה in the active with the Masorah and against TORCZYNER. As to שָׁת "foundation" see Ps. xi 3 and comp. Lexica s.v. שִׁית.

[4]) In his *Randglossen* ad loc.

or perhaps מְאָנָן [1]). The Pesh. and Targ. probably guessed, assuming quite naturally that his end will be either death or destruction. The rendering of Sym. ἔσται γογγυσμός may be due to a confusion of גון with לון Niph., similarly Jerome's *postea sentiet eum contumacem*. The Talmud and Midrash [2]) interpreted it as "master, ruler", so Rashi and others. Saadya, Ibn Ezra, DELITZSCH, and others derived it from גין "son, descendant" and made it designate "a father of numerous progeny". EWALD and NOWACK related it to Arab. مَنّ, "reproach someone for his benefits" [3]), from which is derived an adj. مَنُون, "one who reproaches benefits bestowed on someone"; accordingly they render "thankless one". In modern times inevitable emendation was resorted to, some proposing מְמֻנֶּה "appointed" [4]), others מוּנָה (from ינה) "oppressed", some מוֹנֶה "ailing", others אדון "lord", and so on.

The suggestion I venture to make is to relate מגון to the Arab. نَنَأَ "to be weak" [5]), from which is derived an adj. مَنْأَى "weak, feeble". Closely related to this stem is the Talmudic הִתְנַגֵּן [6]). One might adduce also the related Arab. aḍḍad مَنّ meaning both "be strong" and "be weak" [7]) and the derived adj. منين meaning "strong" and "weak". Note also that the vocable מגן occurs already in the Ugaritic texts with the meaning "become weak" [8]). In accordance with this derivation, and following the reading of the ancient versions for the first part, I render the verse as follows:

> "He who is pampered from his youth is a slave,
> And in the end shall become a weakling".

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[1]) From the stem אנן, "complain, murmur", comp. Lam. iii 39, so SCHLEUSNER in his *Lexicon in LXX*, s.v. ὀδινάω; the emendation ביגון, suggested by some scholars, is so far-fetched that it is hardly worth while dwelling upon it.

[2]) See LEVY, *Wörterbuch*, s. v. מגון.

[3]) BIBERSTEIN KAZIMIRSKI, *Dictionnaire*, II, 1155, col. 2; DOZY, *Supplément*, II, 616, col. 2.

[4]) Which goes back all the way to Meiri.

[5]) See BIBERSTEIN KAZIMIRSKI, *Dictionnaire*, s.v.

[6]) Found only in the Hithp., comp. LEVY, *Wörterbuch*, s.v. גון.

[7]) BIBERSTEIN KAZIMIRSKI, *loc.cit.*, s.v.

[8]) Comp. H. L. GINSBERG, כתבי אוגרית, pp. 80 and 82.

15.

Although well-balanced and perfectly constructed, Prov. xxxi 3 אל תתן לנשים חילך ודרכיך לַמְחוֹת מְלָכִין is still somewhat obscure on account of the doubtful meaning of the last two words. Since these words are strictly parallel to לנשים in the first hemistich it is admitted by everybody that they represent an appellative based on some characteristics of the feminine sex. Numerous readings have been suggested, beginning with לְנַחֲמוֹת מִלְכִין of the Septuagint [1]), לְמֵחוֹת מְלָכִין of the Peshitta [2]), לְאַמְהוֹת מלכין = לַמְהוֹת מלכין of the Targum [3]), למשחיתות מלכים = לְמֹחוֹת מלכין of the Vulgate [4]), down to SCHULTENS' *catapultis regum* or *expugnatricibus regum* [5]) in accordance with Ezek. xxvi 9, EHRLICH's לְלַחֲנוֹת מלכין "to royal concubines" [6]), PERLES' identification with the Greek μοιχεύειν "commit adultery" [7]), and TORCZYNER's identification with the Aram. דחן in Dan. vi 19, explaining one crux by another [8]). Recently TORCZYNER offered another explanation, "to those women who drive kings insane", associating מחות with the Accadian root *maḫû* [9]). To my mind, the best explanation of למחות was offered by MÜHLAU [10]): לַמְחוֹת = לְמַחוֹת = לְמְמַחוֹת = destroyers, this being the participle Pa'el of the Aram. root מחא. This hearks back to the Vulgate version and coincides with the interpretation of Kimḥi. As to מלכין, I suggest reading מִלְכִין "counsels" in accordance with the Septuagint rendering ὑστεροβουλία [11]). Thus both words are Aramaic and should be rendered "destroyers of counsel" or "confounders of judgment",

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[1]) So SCHLEUSNER in his *Lexicon*, s.v. ὑστεροβουλία; according to LAGARDE, לוֹחֵם מִלְכִין.

[2]) למאכולתא דמלכא, fat dishes of kings being perhaps metonomy for fat concubines of kings.

[3]) לבנת מלכין, "to the royal daughter".

[4]) So also Kimḥi, GESENIUS, FLEISCHER, NÖLDEKE, DELITZSCH, et al.

[5]) Applying it to women seducing men.

[6]) Comp. Aram. לְחָנָה "concubine" in Dan. v 2, 3, 23.

[7]) *JQR.*, n.s., II, 105.

[8]) *ZDMG.*, LXVI (1912), 403.

[9]) משלי שלמה, Tel Aviv 1947, p. 4.

[10]) In his dissertation entitled *De Proverbiorum quae dicunter Aguri et Lemuelis Origine atque Indole*, Leipzig 1869, pp. 51 ff.

[11]) This interpretation is found already in Num. r. § 10, p. 207a: אין מלכין אלא עצות, comp. Dan. iv 24.

a name by which women are characterized in Oriental literature generally.

16.

The particle לא in Job vi 21 כי עתה הייתם לא תראו חתת ותיראו is very disturbing and problematical. The difficulty is by no means lessened by the variant *Kre* לו, which is even more pointless. To render simply "Now you are become zero or nothing" or "Now you are become His", as is done by our English versions, does not lead anywhere. Numerous attempts have been made to inject some sense into this awkward phrase. Following the Septuagint's ἀτὰρ δὲ καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐπέβητέ μοι ἀνελεημόνως some thought fit to read here כי עתה הייתם לי לאכזר [1]). Houbigant [2]) emended the text to read כן עתה הייתם לי, and Ehrlich more aptly read כי עתה הייתם לי לאכזב. However, emendations are precarious and of questionable value. The real question is: Can the Masoretic text be explained in any way satisfactorily? I think it can, in the following way: לא, which is the *ketib* and therefore the original reading, must have been an abbreviation for לאם = לָאִים, meaning "hesitating", derived from the stem לאה "be weary" not uncommon in the Bible and particularly in the Book of Job [3]). That abbreviations were not foreign to the pre-Masoretic text has been shown more than once [4]). With this explanation of לא the meaning of the phrase becomes very clear and forceful: "For now you are become hesitating; you see a terror, and are afraid".

17.

The word יקוט in Job viii 14 אשר יקוט כסלו ובית עכביש מבטחו has been the cause of great perplexity to many translators and commentators of the Book of Job. In the first place, is it a nominal or verbal form ? Both are possible. Then, what is its etymology? Most scholars took it as a verb, an imperfect of קוט = קוץ "displease" [5]), or of קוט = קט = קטן "be of short duration" [6]). Saadya alone con-

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[1]) Comp. Job. xxx 21, where אכזר is similarly rendered ἀνελεημόνως.
[2]) So also Ewald, Dillmann, et al.
[3]) Comp. also Arab. لأى "be slow, hesitate".
[4]) See particularly Felix Perles, *Analekten zur Textkritik des Alten Testaments*, pp. 4-35; also *Analekten*, Neue Folge, pp. 1-10.
[5]) So Vulgate, Ibn Ezra, and others.
[6]) So Moses ben Naḥman and others.

strued it as a noun, rendering it by the Arabic חבל אלשמס, which, like لُعاب الشمس, or مُخاط الشمس, signifies "gossamer", forming a perfect parallel with the following בית עכביש. In accordance with this the JPS version of the Scriptures aptly renders: "Whose confidence is gossamer, and whose trust is a spider's web". But what was Saadya's etymology and how did he obtain this meaning for the word יקוט? Some thought of some such combination as קוקוט = קַוֵּי קַיִט = קוי קיץ, "summer threads", which might be equivalent to biblical קורי עכביש Isa. lix 5, rendered "spider-threads" [1]). But more likely יקוט was conceived as a nominal *yaktūl* form of the biblical-Aramaic stem קוט [2]), signifying "the effect or produce of the summer", hence "gossamer".

18.

Job. xii 2 אמנם כי אתם עם ועמכם תמות חכמה is rendered by all the major versions of antiquity "Ye are indeed the people, and wisdom shall die with you" [3]). Yet admittedly this is an unsatisfactory rendering, since it does not harmonize contextually with what follows: rather than denying the wisdom of his colleagues, the sense required seems to be an affirmation of their wisdom by Job, though, of course, in a satirical vein. Job seems to say ironically: Indeed, you presume to be smart, but I am as smart as you. Hence the rendering of Aquila καὶ σὺν ὑμῖν τελειώματα σοφίας and of Symmachus ἢ σὺν ὑμῖν ἡ τελειότης τῆς σοφίας, both apparently reading תוּמַּת, "completeness, perfection", of wisdom. Hence also the interpretation of the Rabbis אל תקרי תמות אלא תומת [4]). Very likely the word was originally written defectively, תמת, and consequently could be read both ways, תֻּמַּת and תְּמֻת. But if this assumption of an original תֻּמַּת be true, it follows that the parallel עם signifies something similar, and not

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[1]) As a matter of fact DUHM and BEER suggested reading קורים and BUHL קַרֵי קַיִט instead of יקוט.

[2]) On a par with יבול, יקום, יקוש, etc., comp. BARTH, *Nominalbildung*², p. 228.

[3]) Comp. the Septuagint εἶτα ὑμεῖς ἐστε ἄνθρωποι ἢ μεθ' ὑμῶν τελευτήσει σοφία; the Peshitta בקושטא אנתון אנון עמא ועמכון תמותי חכמתא; the Targum בקושטא ארום אתון חבריא ועמכון תסוף חוכמתא; the Vulgate *ergo vos estis soli homines et vobiscum morietur sapientia.*

[4]) Quoted from the Mekilta by SAMUEL MASNUTH in מעין גנים, ed. BUBER, p. 39.

merely "people". This was felt by many commentators who tried to emend the text, as, for instance, BICKELL who assumed that נבון fell out after עם, or BEER who considered עם a bare remnant of ערמים.

My suggestion is that it is quite possible that עם here corresponds to Arab. عميم meaning "complete, perfect, without deficiency", of which the plural is عُمٌّ [1]). Practically all the native Arabic lexica and dictionaries list عميم in the sense of صميم القوم, "the pith or marrow of the people", i.e. the best and purest part of the people [2]). In addition, let me quote the following verse from the Diwān of Ubaid-Allah Ibn Kais ar-Rukayyat [3]): وَاضِحٌ لَوْنُهَا كَبَيْضَةِ أُدْحِيٍّ لَهَا فِي النِّسَاءِ خَلْقٌ عَمِيمُ, "Her colour is white, like an ostrich egg hatched in the sand; she has among women a perfect stature". Accordingly, the meaning of the verse would be: "Indeed ye are perfect (or superior) and in possession of complete wisdom, but I have understanding as well as you etc.". As already stated above, the verse is said with a twist of irony, of which there are many other examples in the Book of Job.

19.

Job. xii 23 משגיא לגוים ויאבדם שטח לגוים וינחם is rendered traditionally "He increases the nations and destroys them; He enlarges the nations and leads them away". But this interpretation is inadequate and pointless, besides being forced [4]). The verse, marked by an asterisk in the Syro-Hexapla, was evidently missing in the Septuagint, where it was supplied from Theodotion's version, but this too is of no appreciable help with its reading מַשְׁגִּיא for מַשְׁגִּיא. The trouble is that with most of the ancient versions it had been taken for granted that the first hemistich is synthetically parallel to the second and that

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[1]) See LANE, *Lexicon*, p. 2149, col. 2f.

[2]) Comp. e.g. *Tāǵ al-ʿurus*, VIII, 411 top; *Lisān al-ʿarab*, XV, 321 middle; *Muḥīt al-muḥīt*, p. 1475, col. 2 top; *Asās al-balāghat* by Zamaḫshari, II, 95 middle; and in this sense also Mohammed BRUGSCH in his *Arabisch-Deutsches Handwörterbuch*, p. 670.

[3]) Ed. N. RHODOKANAKIS, p. 296, No. XXIII.

[4]) Thus "leads them away" is very vague and hardly a fit counterpart to "destroys them". Moreover, the Kal שטח "to spread" cannot be made to yield the causative meaning "enlarges".

consequently וינחם, like ויאבדם, must have an adverse meaning [1]) and not "he brought them to rest", as is required by the Masorah. As a matter of fact Ibn Ezra in his Commentary cryptically hints that וינחם is the opposite of the preceding clause [2]), though he does not indicate its etymology. It seems to me that the parallelism is antithetical rather than synthetical and that consequently שטח is the opposite of משגיא, just as וינחם [3]) is the opposite of ויאבדם. Now the stem שטח, like the Arabic سطح, means primarily "to flatten, to prostrate", a sense contrary to משגיא. Thus the meaning of the verse should be: "He makes the nations great and destroys them; He prostrates the nations and brings them to rest", which is quite clear and understandable.

20.

Job xxi 4 האנכי לאָדָם שיחי ואם מַדוּע לא תקצר רוחי makes no sense if we follow the Masorah strictly. The ancient versions are of no help because they follow the Hebrew very closely in defiance of common sense. Some light was shed by EHRLICH by reading יִדֹּם instead of לאָדָם, "shall my complaint be silenced?" [4]). But this involves a consonantal change and, besides, fails to ease the latter part of the verse. My suggestion is to read, האנכי לְ(= לוֹ) אַדִּם(= אַדִּים) שיחי ואם מְדוּעַ לא תקצר רוחי "as to me, if I should silence my complaint, should I not become impatient because of sickness?" האנכי is, of course, a *casus pendens*, like in Gen. xxiv 27, Isa. xlv 12, lix 21, and elsewhere [5]). אדים is Hiph'il imperfect of דמם "be silent", which is quite common in the Bible. As to the unknown דוע, I derive it from the Arabic stem داغ (*mediae wāw*) denoting "to be ravaged by a sickness" [6]). In Arabic too a noun دوغة meaning "epidemic" is derived from that stem.

21.

Barring questionable emendations, no satisfactory solution has ever been offered to the very difficult verse Job xxxiii 17, להסיר אדם

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[1]) Hence BALL and DHORME emend it to וַיִּמְחֵם, TORCZYNER to וַיַּכְחִדֵם, etc.
[2]) הפך הענין, as he expresses it.
[3]) Some commentators read וַיִּנָּחֵם instead of וַיִּנְחֵם with reference to Jud. xvi 26.

[4]) Comp. EHRLICH's *Randglossen*, ad loc.
[5]) See DRIVER, *Hebrew Tenses*, pp. 264 ff.
[6]) Comp. BIBERSTEIN KAZIMIRSKI, *Dictionnaire Arabe-Français*, I, 750, col. 2.

מַעֲשֶׂה וגֵוָה מגבר יכסה, which undoubtedly is in good order and well preserved consonantally if not altogether vocalically. Perhaps the best attempt was made by the Septuagint in rendering ἀποστρέψαι ἄνθρωπον ἀπὸ ἀδικίας τὸ δὲ σῶμα αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ πτώματος ἐρρύσατο, taking מעשה in the sense of ממעשה and in a peiorative sense, as if it were ממעשה רע [1]), and then reading וגֵוֹה מִשֶּׁבֶר יפצה [2]). Not that the Septuagint guessed right, but that it was on the right track syntactically and contextually. Not so happy is the rendering of the Peshitta למעברו אנשא מן עבדוהי וגושמה דגברא מכסא. The Targum's לאעדאה בר נש מן עובדא בישא וגיותנותא מגברא יכסי seems to underlie the rendering of the Vulgate *ut avertat hominem ab his quae facit et liberet eum de superbia* and that of Saadya ליזיל אלאדמי מן פעלהו אלסו ואקתדאר כל אמר יגטיה, as well as that of the medieval exegetes [3]) and some modern commentators [4]), all of which construed גוה as גאוה in view of xxii 29. But really a plausible solution ought to and can be obtained on the basis of the Masoretic text, which I propose to do here.

In the first place, let us consider מעשה, which undoubtedly should be read מֶעָשֶׂה. It was the merit of the late Israel EITAN [5]) to have discovered that biblical Hebrew contained a stem עשׂה corresponding to Arabic غشى and meaning "to cover, envelop", from which, exactly as in Arabic, a noun was derived whose plural was עֲשִׂים "things hidden". He thought he found this word in Ob. 6 איך נחפשו עֵשָׂו נבעו מצפוניו, which should properly be rendered in strict parallelism "How are his hidden things searched out, his hidden places sought out!" The nominal form in Arabic is غِشَاء, and accordingly the Hebrew form must have been עָשֶׂה [6]).

With regard to the second half of the verse, namely וגוה מגבר יכסה, I believe that we ought to read with the Septuagint וְגֵוֹה "and his body", and construe גֶּבֶר like the Arabic جَبَر meaning "pride, insolence", not as the more common "man". It was probably the

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[1]) So also Targ. מן עובדא בישא.
[2]) According to BICKELL based on SCHLEUSNER's Lexicon.
[3]) As e.g. Rashi, Ibn Ezra, etc.
[4]) As e.g. GESENIUS, EWALD, and OLSHAUSEN.
[5]) *A Contribution to Biblical Lexicography*, pp. 57 f.
[6]) Comp. עָלֶה "leaf", or עָצֶה "spine", similarly formed out of ל״ה, respectively ל״י, verbs.

attempt to interpret גבר "man" as a parallel to the preceding אדם that led to the present impasse.

The advantage of my interpretation is that it yields very good sense in connection with the preceding and following verses: 15 In a dream, in a vision of the night, when deep sleep falls upon men, in slumberings upon the bed; 16 Then He opens the ears of men, and by their chastisement seals the decree, 17 So as to remove man from a thing hidden, and that He may hide his body from pride; 18 That He may keep back his soul from the pit, and his life from perishing by the sword.

22.

Job xxxvii 16 התדע על מפלשי עב מפלאות תמים דעים has been a puzzle to exegetes of all ages: the locution ידע על is syntactically impossible in Hebrew, where the verb ידע, with very few exceptions, takes a direct object; while תמים דעים as an attribute of God is unique and quite awkward, דַּעַ signifying "opinion" rather than "absolute knowledge". Hence the uncertainty and vacillation of the ancient versions, except the Targum which slavishly imitates the unsound Hebrew text. The Septuagint's ἐπίσταται δὲ διάκρισιν νεφῶν ἐξαίσια δὲ πτώματα πονηρῶν completely ignores על and assumes for the rest something like מפלות רָעִים. The Vulgate's *numquid nosti semitas nubium magnas et perfectas scientias* likewise ignores על and construes תמים דעים as "perfect sciences", not as an attribute of God "perfect in knowledge". However, none of these interpretations is satisfactory. I would like to offer a better solution by reconstructing the Hebrew text to read as follows: התדע עלם מפלשי עב מפלאות מימד עים "Dost thou know the secret of the swaying of clouds, the wonders of the measurement of clouds?" Of course, תעלמה is the nominal form for "secret" used in the Bible, but it is not impossible that also another form, a segolate עֶלֶם, might have existed side by side with it. The word מֶמַד "measurement", derived from the stem מדד "to measure", is found elsewhere in the same book [1]). As to the unknown עִים, it corresponds to Arabic غيم "cloud" [2]). It should be noted

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[1]) Job xxxviii 5.

[2]) Comp. LANE, *Lexicon*, s.v. Comp. further Mishnic עמם and עמעם "darken", derived from Arab. غمّ, which is cognate to غيم.

that in my reconstruction of the text I have not added to nor subtracted from the Masoretic text: all that I have done was shifting letters from one word to another, even then retaining the masoretic sequence.

23.

In translating Job xxxix 27 אם על פיך יגביה נשר וכי ירים קנו "Doth the eagle mount up at thy command, and make her nest on high?", as most versions do, we are immediately struck by the weakness of the second half of the verse due to the absence of the required strict parallelism. True, strict parallelism is not absolutely necessary, but then Hebrew syntax would require וירים קנו. Why the mysterious and unintelligible כי? Is it not possible, one asks oneself, that in this diminutive word is hidden the missing link of a complete parallelism? This is indeed the case when one proceeds to consult the Septuagint, which reads γὺψ δὲ ἐπὶ νοσσιᾶς αὐτοῦ [1]). Evidently the Septuagint construed כי as meaning "vulture" or "falcon". Evidence of this meaning of כי may be found in the Arabic كَيٌ signifying "pelican" [2]). Interesting it is that in a Syriac source [3]) this word كَيٌ is explained as the ibis, the type of bird that inhabits rocky cliffs, on the ledges of which it builds its nest. This interpretation raises at once a weak verse to a high level of perfection: "Does the eagle mount up at thy command, and does the vulture make her nest on high?" Needless to say, it obviates the numerous emendations of the masoretic text or its entire elimination.

24.

Lam. i 12 לוא אליכם is rendered "woe unto you" in the ancient versions: Septuagint οἰ (properly οἴ) πρὸς ὑμᾶς, Symmachus ὦ ὑμεῖς, Vulgate *o vos*. Medieval Jewish tradition [4]) construes it as a negative: "let it not come unto you". That לוא is not the negative particle here may be seen from the fact that the latter is written defectively (i.e. לא) throughout the book. Besides, the negative particle does not suit the context very well, while the rendering of the ancient versions yields excellent sense. I suggest therefore reading, with change of vowels

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[1]) Comp. also the Itala: & *vultur super nidune suum.*
[2]) Comp. Dozy, *Supplément aux Dictionnaires Arabes*, II, 503, col. 2.
[3]) See Payne Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus*, col. 1538.
[4]) Targum, Rashi, Ibn Ezra, etc.

only, לְוָא אליכם in the sense of "woe unto you". לְוָא stands here for לְוָיָה "wailing, dirge" [1]), which is attested in Job iii 8 לויתן, rendered by the Targum אליתהון and by the Palest. Talmud לוייתה [2]). The abbreviation of לוא from לויה is not unusual [3]).

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[1]) See Levy, *Wörterbuch über die Talmudim u. Midrashim*, II, 485.

[2]) Mo'ed Kat., I, 80d. Similarly Ibn Ezra ad loc.: וגו"ן לויתן מקום מ"ם ועני"נו אבל.

[3]) Comp. כי for כויה in Job iii 24 and רי for רויה ibid. xxxvii 11.

ON EXODUS iii 14 — "I AM THAT I AM"

BY

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The answer which Moses received to his question regarding the name of the deity who commanded him to lead the Israelites out of Egypt is very much of a mystery. "I am that I am" is obviously an explanation of the meaning of the Divine name, and it connects this name with the root היה "to be".

Now the verb "to be" has two connotations: it may express "identity" or "existence". If in our passage it denotes identity in both instances (the first and the second "am"), the passage must mean that God cannot be identified; Moses receives no positive answer. If it denotes existence, in the second or in both instances, as a number of scholars maintain, then the passage as commonly translated makes little sense; it is but a confusing tautology.

Most translations are variations of one pattern: I AM THAT I AM (King James; Jewish Publ. Soc., R.V.); I am who I am (American Tr.; R.S.V.); I am what I am; I will be what I will be (RSV mgn); I will be that I will be (RV mgn); I am wont to be that which I am wont to be; I am wont to be He who I am wont to be (McNeile, *Exodus*); Ich bin, der ich bin (most German versions).

In all these versions, the first "am" denotes identity; the second expresses identity according to some interpretations; existence according to others.

Wellhausen's rendering "Ich bin, sintemal ich bin", has been followed by several German scholars and is also offered in the margin of the RV: "I am because I am". Thus translated, אֶהְיֶה denotes existence in both instances. Similar in this respect, but different syntactically is the Buber-Rosenzweig version: Ich werde da sein, als der ich da sein werde. Difficult to reproduce in English, this translation means literally "I shall exist as the one as whom I shall exist", or "I shall exist as the one I shall be".

With the exception of Wellhausen's and the Buber-Rosenzweig version, all these translations suit the generally accepted exegesis,

viz. that this passage is meant to emphasize the mystery of God, the impossibility of defining his nature, his "Name". "I am what (or Who or That) I am" means: I am not telling you who or what I am: *I am I*. It is a non-committal, circular definition: God cannot be defined by or as anything else, he is his own definition. "The expression is (to be) taken as an instance of the *idem per idem* idiom, which a speaker employs when he does not want to be explicit (cp. 1 Sam xxiii 13 — 'they went where they went'; 2 Sam. xv 20 — 'I am going where I am going'). Moses asks for God's name, i.e. for a description of His nature and character; and he was taught that it was impossible to learn this all at once (McNeile, *Exodus*)." McNeile goes on to say, without noting that this is a slightly different interpretation, that the answer suggests that "God would be what He would from time to time prove to be; each age would discover fresh attributes of His Being" (This corresponds practically to the Buber-Rosenzweig rendering). McNeile also cites a few other interpretations: "I am who I am" — i.e. it matters you not to know (sic!); or: I am he who is unnameable and inexplicable.

Similarly G. Beer, in his commentary on Exodus (Tuebingen 1939) offers the following as one of two possible interpretations: "Ich bin, der ich bin, d.h. wer ich bin, sage ich dir nicht, ich bin der Deus absconditus (p. 29)". (For a consideration of his other interpretation see below p. 301).

All these interpretations rest on the same syntactical approach to the text of our passage. They must be regarded as highly questionable, however, in view of a point of syntax which seems to have been generally overlooked. On the basis of the syntax of the relative clause in Hebrew, an entirely different translation may be obtained and yield a greatly preferable meaning.

The word אֲשֶׁר, as is well known, is not a relative pronoun but merely indicates the subordination of the following clause. The relative clause itself is a complete and structurally independent sentence, as is evident in those cases where a retrospective or resumptive pronoun is employed to draw the governing noun into the relative clause construction. This would not be necessary if אֲשֶׁר was a pronoun like the relative pronouns in English which represent the governing noun in the relative clause.

Thus, the relative clause is a complete sentence which stands in

apposition to its governing substantive or antecedent. The governing substantive may be 1) the subject of the relative clause (e.g. Gen. i 7 'the water which was below the firmament'); 2) its object (e.g. Gen. iii 12 'the woman whom thou hast placed with me'); or 3) or an adverbial complement of the relative clause (e.g. Gen. xix 27 '..to the place אֲשֶׁר עָמַד שָׁם where he had stood'). In all these cases, though there may not be a retrospective pronoun, the word אֲשֶׁר does not enter the construction of the relative clause itself.

We must now concern ourselves with a syntactical rule which receives but scant attention in GESENIUS-KAUTZSCH, section 138 d.

"If the governing substantive forms part of a statement made in the first or second person, the retrospective pronoun (or the subject of the appositional clause) is in the same person, e.g. Gen. xlv 4 'I am Joseph אֲשֶׁר מְכַרְתֶּם אֹתִי he — you sold me'; etc."

It is the bracketed part of GESENIUS' rule which is relevant to our problem and will throw new light on it.

GESENIUS' formulation of the rule, however, is not quite exact as far as the bracketed part of the rule is concerned. It applies only, first of all, when the governing substantive is the *subject* of the relative clause. Thus, in the example quoted, the governing substantive „Joseph" forms part of a statement made in the first person, yet the subject of the relative clause is *not* in the first person, the reason being that the governing substantive is not the subject of the relative clause. Also the formulation "forms part of a statement" is too general to be adequate. A more accurate statement of the bracketed part of the rule would be the following:

If the governing substantive is the subject of a relative clause and is, in the main clause, equated with, or defined as, a personal pronoun, then the predicate of the relative clause agrees with that personal pronoun. The governing substantive may be equated with the personal pronoun in four different ways: 1) It may itself be a personal pronoun; 2) it may be a vocative, i.e. in implicit apposition to the personal pronoun of the 2nd person; 3) it may be a predicate noun (in the main clause) defining a personal pronoun; or 4) it may be a noun in apposition to the predicate noun defining a personal pronoun (in the main clause).

(Undoubtedly, the same will hold true in a case where the governing substantive is directly in apposition to a personal pronoun — e.g. 'You, the man who etc.' — but there seems to be no instance of such construction in the O.T.).

The O.T. yields the following examples of this rule:

1) *The governing substantive is a personal pronoun*:

a) 1 Sam. xxv 33 (2fs) וּבְרוּכָה אָת אֲשֶׁר כְּלִתְנִי — Blessed are you who restrained me ...

b) 1 Kings viii 23-24 — There is none like thee, o God ... אֲשֶׁר שָׁמַרְתָּ who hast kept what thou didst promise. (The governing substantive, I take it, is the suffix of כָּמוֹךָ. It might, however, be the vocative "o God", in which case this would an example of the next category.)

c) Jer. v 22 — Do you not tremble before me אֲשֶׁר שַׂמְתִּי who set the sand as a bound for the sea...

2) *The governing substantive is a vocative*:

a) Isa li 17 ... קוּמִי יְרוּשָׁלַם אֲשֶׁר שָׁתִית — Arise, o Jerusalem, who hast drunk ... (If the governing substantive is not "Jerusalem" but the pronoun implied in קוּמִי, this passage is an interesting example of the first category.)

b) Jer. xxxii 17-20 — O Lord God ..... אֲשֶׁר עֵינֶיךָ פְקֻחוֹת whose eyes are open ..... אֲשֶׁר שַׂמְתָּ אֹתוֹת who didst signs and wonders...

c) Ps. lxxi 19 — צִדְקָתְךָ Thy righteousness, o God, extends unto the high heavens אֲשֶׁר עָשִׂיתָ גְדֹלוֹת, thou, who hast done great things. (I prefer to consider the vocative "o God" to govern the relative clause, rather than the suffix of צִדְקָתְךָ.)

d) Eccl. x 16-17 — אִי לְךָ אֶרֶץ שֶׁמַּלְכֵּךְ נָעַר Woe to you, o Land, whose king is a boy,... אַשְׁרֵיךְ אֶרֶץ שֶׁמַּלְכֵּךְ happy you, o Land, whose king etc.

e) Dan. ix 15 — And now, my Lord, our God ... אֲשֶׁר הוֹצֵאתָ who hast brought thy people out ... וַתַּעַשׂ לְךָ שֵׁם and who hast made thyself a name ...

3) *The governing substantive is a predicate noun defining a personal pronoun*:

a) Gen. xv 7 — I am the Lord אֲשֶׁר הוֹצֵאתִיךָ who brought you out...

b) Jud. xiii 11 — הַאַתָּה הָאִישׁ אֲשֶׁר דִּבַּרְתָּ אֶל־הָאִשָּׁה Are you the man who spoke to the woman?

4) *The governing substantive is a noun in apposition to the predicate noun defining a personal pronoun*:

a) Ex. xx 2, Dt. v 6 — I am the Lord your God אֲשֶׁר הוֹצֵאתִיךָ who brought you out...

(Personally I prefer to treat the relative clause as the predicate: Since I, the Lord, your God, am the one who brought ... you must not have... — Thus, we would have here an example of the independent relative clause which will be discussed below.)

b) Ex. xxix 46, Lev. xix 36; xxv 38; xxvi 13, Nu xv 41 — similar to (a).

c) Lev. xx 24 — I am the Lord, your God, אֲשֶׁר הִבְדַּלְתִּי אֶתְכֶם who set you apart...

The same rule applies also to the type of sentence called "independent relative clause". Here, the relative clause does not depend *adiectivally* on a governing substantive, but itself expresses a substantival idea. The אֲשֶׁר in such relative clauses is usually rendered in English as "he, who etc". Now, if such a *clause* is equated with, or defined as, a personal pronoun, the predicate of the clause agrees with it. This is natural in a case as Ps. lxxi 20, where the clause, which is in the vocative, i.e. implicitly in apposition to the pronoun of the 2nd person, is the subject, in sense, of the main clause: "אֲשֶׁר הִרְאִיתָנוּ (K) ... תָּשׁוּב תְּחַיֵּינוּ — Thou, who hast made us see many dangers and disasters, do thou quicken us again!" It is much less obvious, however, in 1 Chron. xxi 17, where the independent relative clause is the *predicate* of the main clause and defines a personal pronoun. It is this example which is directly and forcefully relevant to our problem and affords a beautiful parallel to it: "וַאֲנִי־הוּא אֲשֶׁר חָטָאתִי וְהָרַע הֲרֵעוֹתִי — I am the one who sinned and did wrong". Again, the verbs in the relative clause agree with the personal pronoun אֲנִי, which is the subject defined by the independent relative clause. The הוּא in this sentence is not used as a pronoun but as the copula connecting the subject אֲנִי with the predicate clause אֲשֶׁר חָטָאתִי etc.

Here, in my opinion, we have the key to a better understanding of Ex. iii 14 אֶהְיֶה אֲשֶׁר אֶהְיֶה. Except for the absence of the copula, which is unnecessary because the whole sentence is a verbal one, the construction is identical with that of 1 Chron. xxi 17. אֲשֶׁר אֶהְיֶה is the predicate of the first אֶהְיֶה and the verbal form of היה must therefore agree with the person of the main clause subject, which is contained in the form אֶהְיֶה, i. e. first person. Just as 1 Chron. xxi 17 is translated

as "I am the one who (or: he who; or: one who) sinned", Ex. iii 14 ought to be translated and interpreted as "I am the one who is" or "I am he who is", the "am" expressing identity and the "is" expressing existence. Certainly, if the text of the passage were אֶהְיֶה אֲשֶׁר יִהְיֶה, we would have translated in that fashion, but such a text would be syntactically impossible, as I have shown. The second אֶהְיֶה means just that. There is no *idem per idem* idiom here; the answer to Moses' question is not an evasive circular definition 'I am whatever I am', i.e. I am I, and I am not telling you any more — but it is a positive answer in which God defines himself as the One who Is, who exists, who is real.

This interpretation is also strongly suggested and supported by the context, as so many scholars have felt without being able to derive it smoothly from their understanding and rendering of the Hebrew text. It must be granted that the passage seeks to explain the meaning of the Divine name, no matter what its real original derivation, as a derivative of היה "to be", and this "to be" denotes existence, not identity. "God is identical with what he is identical" is not an *explanation* of the Name: it is a refusal to give one, and the resemblance of the Name to a verbal form of היה would merely be a co-incidence. Only if "to be" denotes existence, it can serve to explain the Name. Moreover, there is no suggestion that Moses' question was improper and that he is not entitled to a positive answer. He has a right to know God's name, i.e. his nature and definition.

A number of scholars, indeed, have for this reason surmised that אֶהְיֶה אֲשֶׁר אֶהְיֶה has reference to God's reality, as I have already noted, and that the second אֶהְיֶה, if not even the first, expresses existence. Thus, BEER offering an alternative to his interpretation cited above (p. 297) writes: "Ich bin, der ich bin, d.h. ich bin der Bestaendige, der Ewige, der Lebendige, der einzig Wirkliche". However, on the basis of the rendering "Ich bin der ich bin — I am who I am", this interpretation is really untenable. If the context requires that the existence of the deity is being predicated, the usual understanding of the syntax of the passage must be abandoned. This predicament is nicely illustrated in *Nowack's Handkommentar* (BAENTSCH: Exodus, Leviticus, Numeri, p. 23): "Jahwe waere demnach der Seiende, das heisst: der nicht nur in der Einbildung, sondern in der Wirklichkeit Existierende." But BAENTSCH, unlike many others, is conscious of the impossibility of reconciling this interpretation with the usual translation and

its underlying syntactical analysis of the passage and he therefore proposes to go back to WELLHAUSEN's suggestion, viz. that in this passage אֲשֶׁר equals כִּי and that we must translate "Ich bin, sintemal ich bin — I am because I am", or to MARTI's rendering "Ehye, das heisst ich bin — Ehyeh, that is I am". However, both these renderings seem far-fetched.

With my investigation into the syntax of the passage I hope to have demonstrated, that far from being problematical, the "existential" interpretation of the passage is the only natural and syntactically correct exegesis. Once the rules governing the relative clause are understood and applied to this particular instance, it becomes clear that not only the context but the syntax of the sentence compels us to render the second אֶהְיֶה as third person in English: I am (the) One who is -or- I am He who is.

Note. After I completed this article, I discovered that I had been anticipated by a French scholar (Edouard REUSS, *La Bible*, Paris, 1879). He translates the passage: "Je suis celui qui est" and in a foot-note to his translation he observes: "On remarquera que nous traduisons: Je suis celui qui *est*, et non pas: celui qui *je suis*. Cette dernière traduction provient de ce qu'on méconnaît une règle de la syntaxe hébraïque, d'après laquelle la proposition relative se met à la même personne que le sujet, par ex.: Je suis le Dieu qui t'*ai* fait sortir, etc. (Gen. xv 7)". ("It will be noted that we translate "I am he who is" and not "I am who I am". The latter translation is due to the failure of recognizing a rule of Hebrew syntax according to which the relative clause is put into the same person as the subject, e.g. 'I am the Lord who I brought you out etc. (Gen. xv 7").

Apart from the fact that REUSS' formulation of the rule is vague and his example neither as forceful nor as pertinent as 1 Chron. xxi 17, his remarks fully co-incide with my conclusions at which I arrived inpendently and unaware of REUSS' translation and commentary. It is surprising, though, that the rendering and interpretation of REUSS has escaped the notice of later scholars and also did not influence subsequent French translations.

SHORT NOTES

ZUR MENETEKEL-INSCHRIFT

In seinem Aufsatz über die Menetekel-Inschrift und ihre Deutung hat EISSFELDT mit Recht darauf hingewiesen, dass die Erzählung in Dan. v, die von dieser Inschrift handelt, „mehrfach geflissentlich zwischen der Lesung der Inschrift und ihrer Deutung scharf unterscheidet" (*ZAW*, 63, 1952, S. 108). In der Tat ist diese Unterscheidung an so vielen Stellen der Erzählung (v 7 f., 15 ff., 25 f.) übereinstimmend und mit solchem Nachdruck ausgesprochen, dass sie geradezu als eines ihrer konstitutiven Elemente betrachtet werden muss. Aber die Kommentatoren wissen, soviel ich sehe, nichts Rechtes mit ihr anzufangen und pflegen sie daher zu übergehen, obwohl sich ihre Wichtigkeit und Notwendigkeit dem, der den Verlauf der Erzählung genauer prüft, an mehreren Punkten eigentlich von selbst ergibt. Denn wenn, wie auf Grund von Daniels Lesung (v 25) allgemein angenommen wird, die Worte מנא מנא תקל ופרסין oder ein ähnlicher Text in normaler aramäischer Schrift an einer Wand des Festsaales von Belsazars Palast in Babel gestanden haben sollen, so ist man doch wohl zu der Frage gezwungen, warum die herbeigeholten Weisen der Chaldäer diese Worte nicht ebenso gut wie hinterher Daniel wenigstens lesen konnten, selbst wenn ihnen ihre Deutung unmöglich war (v 7 f.). Um eine Inschrift in einer ihnen unbekannten Schrift oder Sprache scheint es sich ja wirklich nicht zu handeln; sonst wäre der Ausgang der Erzählung mit Daniels erfolgreicher Lesung und Deutung unverständlich. Schon in der Szene mit den Weisen stellt sich also die blosse Lesung der Inschrift als eine besondere und zwar als die vordringliche Aufgabe dar, die erst gelöst sein muss, bevor das Problem der Deutung auch nur akut werden kann. Wie soll das zugehen, wenn die Voraussetzung stimmt, dass die Inschrift in der oben angegebenen oder einer ähnlichen Form, jedem Lesekundigen zugänglich, and der Wand des Saales stand?

Die folgende Szene mit Daniel, in der die Lesung und die Deutung der Inschrift vollends deutlich von einander unterschieden sind (v 25 ff.), führt auf eine weitere Frage, wenn man wie ich die zuerst von CLERMONT-GANNEAU (*Journ. As.* VIII 8, 1886, S. 36 ff. = *Recueil d'arch. or.* 1, 1888, S. 136 ff.), dann von H. BAUER (*Vierter deutscher*

Münzforschertag, Festgabe, 1925, S. 27 ff.) vertretene und jetzt auch von EISSFELDT (*a.a.O.*, S. 109 ff.) gebilligte Auffassung für richtig hält, nach der Daniel die Worte der Inschrift zunächst als Bezeichnungen von Gewichtseinheiten liest („Gezählt: Mine, Sekel und Bruchteile"), hinterher aber bei der Deutung auf einmal als Verbalformen verstanden wissen will, die er nur noch durch Beifügung geeigneter Subjekte und anderer Worte zu vollen Sätzen zu ergänzen braucht, um den wahren Sinn der Inschrift zum Ausdruck zu bringen („Gezählt . . . gewogen . . . geteilt"). Dabei weicht der in Buchstaben der aramäischen Schrift wiederzugebende Lautbestand der gemeinten Verbalformen von dem der Gewichtsbezeichnungen, die ja von denselben Wurzeln abgeleitet sind, entweder überhaupt nicht oder nur in so nebensächlichen Einzelheiten ab, dass man sich wundert, warum Daniel nicht sogleich die Verbalformen liest, auf die es für seine Deutung der Inschrift ankommt. Was veranlasst oder zwingt ihn dazu, zunächst die Gewichtsbezeichnungen zu lesen, von denen er alsbald wieder abgehen muss, um zu seiner Deutung zu gelangen? Wenn das aber ein für unsere Begriffe unnötiger Umweg ist, erweist sich dann die Unterscheidung zwischen Lesung und Deutung nicht als eine dem Sachverhalt nicht angemessene Künstelei? Oder liegt der Fehler vielleicht in der Voraussetzung hinsichtlich des Buchstabenbestandes der Inschrift, von der man bisher bei der Interpretation wie selbstverständlich ausgegangen ist?

Alle diese Fragen lassen sich, wie mir scheint, befriedigend beantworten, wenn man den eigentümlichen Umstand in Betracht zieht, dass Daniel gerade Gewichtsbezeichnungen aus der Inschrift herausliest, während die Weisen von Babel auf diese Lesung nicht kommen und damit an der Lesung überhaupt scheitern. Denn mit der Schreibung der Gewichts- und anderer Massbezeichnungen hatte es in der semitischen Buchstabenschrift von verhältnismässig frühen Zeiten an eine besondere Bewandtnis; man gewöhnte sich daran, sie zwar nicht obligatorisch, aber doch fakultativ, vor allem bei geschäftlichen Aufzeichnungen, nicht mit ihrem ganzen Konsonantenbestand, sondern nur mit ihrem Anfangsbuchstaben zu schreiben, während solche Abkürzungen bei keiner anderen Klasse von Wörtern verwendet wurden. Beispiele dafür bieten die jüdisch-aramäischen Papyri von Elephantine in grosser Zahl, man findet sie in den Indices bei COWLEY, *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C.*, 1923, und bei E. G. KRAELING, *The Brooklyn Museum Aramaic Papyri*, 1953, vollständig verzeichnet. Nehmen wir nun einmal probeweise an, dass in der Inschrift

von Dan. v die von Daniel gelesenen Gewichtsbezeichnungen in dieser Weise abgekürzt geschrieben waren und dass der ganze Text somit (womöglich ohne Trennung der Wörter von einander) מנאמתפס oder ממתפס lautete, so klärt sich alles auf, sowohl das Versagen der Weisen, die in einer von Geisterhand geschriebenen Inschrift nicht mit Abkürzungen rechnen, sondern voll ausgeschriebene Wörter suchen und nicht finden können, als auch der Zwang für Daniel, zunächst die Gewichtsbezeichnungen zu lesen, die sich ihm durch die Auflösung der Abkürzungen ergeben, und erst dann von ihnen zu der Deutung auf Verbalformen überzugehen. Die kanonisch gewordene Fassung des Textes im Alten Testament hat die Wörter der Inschrift ihren Grundsätzen gemäss und im Interesse der Lesbarkeit voll ausgeschrieben und damit den ursprünglichen Tatbestand verschleiert.

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NOTE ON יצא

That the stem יצא has in several passages of the Bible a meaning different from the usual one has been pointed out already. On this ground the passage in Jeremiah xxi 12 has been translated as follows: 'lest mine anger bursts into flame' or 'blazes like fire' [1]). This interpretation is not plausible, to my mind, for the following reasons:

1. The combination of יצא + אש (אש יצאה; תצא אש(ו) and the like) appears twelve times in the Hebrew Bible [2]). In ten passages the verb בער does not run parallel with the expression referred to (viz., in all passages with the exception of the verses in Jer., where the very words are repeated), and old translations of all these passages (neither the LXX nor the Targumim) do not support the meaning 'shone forth', 'flashed'. Why should we suppose in Jer. another meaning than in all the other passages, in which the very same expression occurs? Even more:

2. The combination of יצא + אש is natural in the Hebrew language, which calls the attention to the *movement* of the fire [3]). Fire is *going*

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[1]) G. R. DRIVER in *V.T.* I (1951), p. 244. By the way, the very same idiom occurs already in Jer. iv 4.

[2]) Ex. xxii 5; Lev. ix 24, x 2; Num. xvi 35, xxi 28; Jud. ix 15 (twice), 20; Jer. iv 4, xxi 12; Ez. v 4, xix 14, xxviii 18.

[3]) Is 'pursued' perhaps the original meaning of דלק and not the secondary one?

(Ex. ix 23; Ps. xcvii 3), it is *descending* (2 K i 10, 12, 14; Job i 16; 2 Chr. vii 31), *ascending* (Jud. vi 21) and *eating* (very often). Therefore it is natural to say that fire is 'coming forth' or 'going out' from the place of its origin to further places.

3. It is true, that the Targum translates in Jer. iv 4 (= xxi 12) דלמא ידלק כאשתא רוגזי, but this version does not imply that יצא has a different meaning just in this passage. For this version has the same wording also in Amos (v 6), whereas the Hebrew text has there: פן יצלח כאש בית יוסף. Whatever may be the right interpretation of יצלח (even if we assume the text to be corrupted), it is neither the same as יצא nor as בער. This is sufficient to show us, that also in Jer. (in the verses referred to) the Targum translated according to the sense, and not literally.

4. Still, I do not want to deny that יצא has also the secondary meaning of 'shone forth', 'flashed' [1]). I should like to draw attention to two passages in which this proposed meaning fits well. We read in Is. lxii 1:

'... until the righteousness thereof go forth as brightness,
and the salvation thereof as a lamp that burneth'.

Here in the Hebrew text we find יצא and not יצאה אש and nevertheless יצא is parallel with בער. Already S. D. Luzzatto maintained in his commentary [2]) that נֹגַהּ in the above-mentioned passage means Venus, the morning star, as usual in Aramaic and Post-Biblical Hebrew. If so, then indeed יצא כנגה should be rendered by 'shine forth like the morning star', and this passage can be a main argument for this meaning of יצא in the Hebrew Bible [3]). According to that the passage in Is. should be rendered as follows:

'...until the righteousness [thereof shine] forth as the morning star
and the salvation thereof [shine forth] as a lamp that burneth.'

The second passage is Jud. v 31: ואהביו כצאת השמש בגבורתו... which is rendered 'but *let* them that love him *be* as the sun when he goeth forth in his might'. Although it is true that the expression צאת השמש is not unusual [4]), the following בגבורתו does not really fit

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[1]) Cf. also Ges.-B. s.v. (in the note on the beginning of the item).

[2]) *Il Profeta Isaia, volgarizzato e commentato* ... da Samuel Davide Luzzatto, Padova 1867, p. 608 s. The same interpretation has been suggested again in *Monatsschrift für Gesch. und Wissenschaft des Judentums*, vol. 80 (1936), pp. 453-4.

[3]) Cp. especially Prov. iv 18.

[4]) Gen. xix 23; Is. xiii 10.

this conception [1]). The rising sun is not very strong [2]). The 'might' of the sun is felt at most at noon. Therefore it seems more justified to render the above passage

'but they that love him are like the shine of the sun in his might'.

Furthermore, it seems to me that the above meaning of יצא is found also in the Hiph'il, viz. in Ps. xxxvii 6: והוציא כאור צדקך ומשפטך כצהרים
which should be rendered, therefore: 'And he shall let thy righteousness shine as the light [of the sun [3])] and thy judgment as the noonday' [4]).

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DER KALENDER UND DAS ALTER DES PRIESTERKODEX

Gegen die übliche nachexilische Ansetzung des P habe ich eine Reihe von Argumenten angeführt (bereits in *ZAW* 1930 und dann ausführlich in *Toledot ha-emuna ha-jissreelit*, 1. Buch). Dr AUERBACH (*V.T.* ii, 1952, S. 334 ff.) gibt sich keine Mühe, diese Argumente zu widerlegen. Er begnügt sich vielmehr damit, dass er sie als „Mittel der Logik" tadelt. Nur indirekt macht er den Versuch, einen der Beweise (wohl den unbequemsten) zu entkräften, nämlich den aus dem Passahgesetz des P in Ex. xii 1-20. Was er aber da sagt, ist sehr erstaunlich. Nach P ist das Passahlamm ein Hausopfer und wird gebraten, nach D (Dt xvi 1-6) wird das Passahopfer nur am auserwählten Ort dargebracht und wird gekocht. Nun ist der Ritus des P offenbar der ältere. Trotzdem behauptet AUERBACH, dass das Gesetz des P jünger sei als das des D. Dabei erklärt er nicht, wie ein solches Gesetz nach 622 entstehen konnte. Er sagt auch nichts über Ex. xii 21-27, das zu J gehört und dieselbe Vorschrift enthält wie P. AUERBACH geht also den sachlichen Problemen ganz aus dem Wege.

Er glaubt aber, ein neues Kriterium gefunden zu haben, welches

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[1]) Prof. V. MAAG suggested to me (orally), that בגבורתו may be an abstract for כגבור. But even in Ps. xix 6 יצא is not connected with כגבור. But cp. *Ḥiqré Lashon* by Dr M. SEIDEL, Jerusalem 1932 (Hebrew), p. 49, about the meaning of תרס.

[2]) Already Medieval Hebrew commentators (e.g. R. David Qimḥi and Gersonides) felt this difficulty and therefore understood the verse as elliptic: 'as the sun that goes forth [till noon, when he is] in his might'.

[3]) אור 'the light' without further explanation is in some places the light of the sun, cp. Hab. iii 4; Job xxxi 26, xxxvii 21.

[4]) Cp. further Hos. vi 5 (read with ancient versions: ומשפטי כאור יצא).

uns ermöglicht, die Frage nach dem Alter des P endgültig zu lösen, nämlich: die Datierungsweise. Im alten Israel hat das Jahr im Herbst begonnen. Die Monate waren mit kanaanäischen Namen bezeichnet. Diese Namen waren um 622 noch in Gebrauch und allgemein bekannt, wie angeblich aus Dt. xvi 1 hervorgehe. Im Jahre 605 wird dieser Kalender durch den babylonischen verdrängt, dessen Jahr im Frühling mit dem Monat Nisan beginnt. Von nun an werden in Juda die Monate von Nisan ab gezählt und mit den entsprechenden Ordnungszahlen bezeichnet. Diese Datierungsweise taucht zuerst in Jer. xxxvi 9 auf. So datiert Jeremia alle seine späteren Weissagungen und so datiert Hesekiel durchweg. Denn im Jahre 605 war in Juda der babylonische Kalender als Staatskalender eingeführt und man musste nun einmal babylonisch datieren. Nun rezipiert auch P die babylonische Datierung. Daraus folgt, dass er erst nach 605 niedergeschrieben ist. Die Wissenschaft braucht sich daher nicht mehr mit „literarkritischen und philologischen Überlegungen" abzuquälen. Die Datierungsweise löst die Frage vollkommen sicher und ganz einfach.

Allein das alles ist zu gut, ja zu paradiesisch, um wahr zu sein. So einfach lässt sich die Frage nicht lösen. Die These vom Kalenderwechsel im Jahre 605 ist sehr anfechtbar und wird sich kaum aufrecht erhalten lassen. Bestünde sie aber auch zurecht, so liesse sich aus ihr jedenfalls kein Kriterium entnehmen für die Ansetzung von P.

Denn die Kalenderbestimmungen des P sind doch nur Rahmenwerk und sind mit den Gesetzen keineswegs organisch verbunden. Mag der Kalender auch jung sein, so ändert doch das nichts an der Tatsache, dass die Gesetze des P in nachexilischer Zeit bereits archaisch waren, was für die Zeitansetzung allein entscheidend ist. Es ist eine Tatsache, dass P weder die Grundidee des D noch auch nur ein einziges spezifisches D-Gesetz kennt. Das Zehntgesetz des P passt für die nachexilische Zeit durchaus nicht und konnte auch nicht verwirklicht werden. P kennt das nachexilische Levitentum nicht: er kennt weder Torhüter noch Sänger. Ja, er kennt den Tempelgesang überhaupt nicht! Ebensowenig kennt er Tempelsklaven. Das Mischehenproblem der nachexilischen Zeit berücksichtigt er ebenfalls nicht: er enthält gar kein Gesetz über Mischehen. Und so fort. Kann die Datierungsweise einen derartig archaischen Kodex jung machen? Wäre die These vom Kalenderwechsel im Jahre 605 richtig, so folgte daraus nur, dass der alte Kodex dem neuen Kalender angepasst wurde und dass sein Datierungssystem durch Änderung der Monatsbezeichnungen nach 605 modernisiert wurde. Nichts folgt aber daraus für das Alter des

Kodex selbst. Der „Schlüssel" AUERBACHS ist also gar kein Schlüssel.

Nun ist aber die These an sich auch nicht richtig.

Vor allem muss mit Nachdruck hervorgehoben werden, dass der babylonische Kalender die Monate nicht zählt, sondern mit Namen benennt. Ist im Jahre 605 der babylonische Kalender in Juda zum Staatskalender geworden, warum hat man es dann unterlassen, auch die Monatsnamen einzuführen? Wie kamen denn die Babylonier auf die Idee, für Juda einen extra „babylonischen" Kalender zu erfinden? Ja noch mehr! In Babylonien haben ja die Juden bald die Monatsnamen übernommen. Wir finden sie bereits in Sach. i 7; vii 1. Damit war nun der eigentliche babylonische Kalender rezipiert. Trotzdem konnte dieser babylonische Kalender den quasi-babylonischen nicht verdrängen. Jahrhunderte lang existieren die beiden Kalender nebeneinander. In den späteren kanonischen Schriften, in den Apokryphen, bei Flavius, bis in die Mischnahzeit hinein werden die Monate sowohl mit Namen, wie auch mit Zahlen belegt. Namen und Zahlen erscheinen getrennt oder nebeneinander, sich gegenseitig erklärend. Die angebliche Einführung des babylonischen Staatskalenders in Juda hatte also bei den Juden zwei babylonische Kalender produziert: zunächst ein Zerrgebilde und dann einen wirklichen babylonischen Kalender, wobei sich das Zerrgebilde Jahrhunderte lang zäh erhalten hat. Unbegreiflich ist es jedenfalls, warum P gerade den quasi-babylonischen Kalender aufgenommen hat. Zur Zeit Nehemias, als P redigiert wurde, waren die Monatsnamen bei den Juden bereits längst in Gebrauch. Warum hat denn P, als er den heidnischen Kalender sakrosankt machte, die Monatsnamen nicht mit übernommen?

In Anbetracht des zähen Festhaltens an den Monatszahlen, ist es überaus merkwürdig, dass nach der These AUERBACHS die alten einheimischen Monatsnamen im Jahre 605 im Nu verschwinden. Kurz vorher waren sie angeblich noch allbekannt. Die Schlacht bei Karkemisch macht ihnen jedoch ein jähes Ende. Denn sie kommen weder bei Jeremia noch bei Hesekiel noch bei irgend einem Späteren auch nur ein einziges Mal vor. So ein abruptes Ende ist doch wohl beispiellos. Mit diesen Namen muss es sicher eine andere Bewandtnis haben.

Ebenso merkwürdig ist es, dass bereits seit 605 auch Privatpersonen die quasi-babylonische Datierung ausschliesslich gebrauchen. Denn Jeremia, Hesekiel und 2 Kön. xxv datieren nur quasi-babylonisch. So was konnte doch die Einführung eines neuen Staatskalenders nicht

zustande gebracht haben. Die Behörde zwang doch wohl Jeremia oder Hesekiel nicht, ihre Weissagungen nur quasi-babylonisch zu datieren. Man bedenke doch, dass die Juden bis auf den heutigen Tag doppelt datieren!

Freilich ist es richtig, dass die Datierungsweise des P (die angeblich „babylonische") in der prophetischen Literatur zuerst bei Jeremia auftaucht. Das beweist aber nicht, dass dieselbe erst damals infolge eines Kalenderwechsels aufkam. Einen Übergang von der altisraelitischen Datierungsweise zur quasi-babylonischen gibt es in der prophetischen Literatur ganz und gar nicht. Denn vor Jeremia liegen uns in der prophetischen Literatur gar keine Datierungen nach Monaten und Tagen vor. Kein Monat ist da weder mit einem Namen noch mit einer Zahl belegt. Das Neue bei Jeremia ist nicht das Datieren nach Zahlenmonaten, im Gegensatz zu seinen Vorgängern, sondern das Datieren nach Monaten überhaupt. Nichts weist also hier auf einen Kalenderwechsel hin.

Ebensowenig liegt in Kön. ein Übergang von einem System zum andern vor. 2 Kön. xxv datiert nach Zahlenmonaten. Aber dieses System ersetzt hier kein angeblich älteres. Denn in 1 Kön. xii — 2 Kön. xxiv wird kein einziges Mal nach Monaten datiert. Im ganzen Buch finden sich nur in vier Stellen Monatsdaten. In 1 Kön. xii 32-33 ist nur eine Zahl angegeben. In 1 Kön. vi 1, 37, 38; viii 2 stehen nebeneinander kanaanäische Namen und Zahlen. Auerbach meint nun, die Zahlen wären eine Einfügung aus nachexilischer Zeit, als „die alten Namen bereits verschollen waren", denn früher wusste doch „jedes Kind", was die Namen bedeuten. Diese Erklärung ist aber ganz unzutreffend. Wie erwähnt, haben die Juden Jahrhunderte lang Zahlen und babylonische Namen nebeneinander gebraucht. Und überhaupt, wo zwei oder mehr Systeme gleichzeitig gelten, wird zwei- oder mehrfach datiert. Die Urkunden aus Elephantine sind zweifach datiert. Die Griechen mussten sich oft doppelter oder dreifacher Datierung bedienen (Pauly-Wissowa, xx, Sp. 1569). Die genannten Stellen in Kön. stammen vielmehr aus ältester Zeit, wo man noch zugleich kanaanäisch und israelitisch datierte. Sämtliche Stellen handeln von der Zeit Salomos. Nichts ist natürlicher als die Annahme, dass beide Kalenderangaben auf zeitgenössische Aufzeichnung zurückgehen. Später sind die kanaanäischen Namen in Vergessenheit geraten, obwohl man an dem Herbstjahr an sich festhielt. Sie sind lange vor 605 verschollen und kommen nirgends mehr vor. — 1 Kön. vi 1 erwähnt eine Ära, die mit dem Auszug aus

Ägypten beginnt. Das weist wohl auf das Frühlingsjahr hin. Auch in 2 Sam. xi 1 wird dies wohl vorausgesetzt.

In der Tora gibt es ausserhalb P nur ein Geschichtsdatum mit Monatsangabe: Dt. i 3. Dieser Monat ist aber auch ein Zahlenmonat. Dass der Vers aus P stammt (STEUERNAGEL u.a.), ist pure Dogmatik. Die kanaanäischen Namen, die sich in 1 Kön. vi und viii finden, kommen in der Tora nicht vor. Kommen andere vor? Nach AUERBACH sind abib, gibeol, afilot in Ex. ix 31-32 Monatsnamen. Das ist aber sicher nicht richtig. Wohl mag es so erscheinen in seiner Übersetzung. Denn er übersetzt: abib-Pflanze, gibeol-Pflanze, afilot-Pflanze. Aber gerade dem Worte „Pflanze" entspricht im Texte absolut garnichts und die Übersetzung ist daher irreführend. Man kann unmöglich sagen: Gewächs soundso ist Monat soundso. Was abib in Ex. ix 31 bedeutet, erhellt aus Lev. xi 14, und demgemäss sind auch die anderen Worte zu erklären. Ob abib in der formelhaften Aussage in Ex. xiii 4 und besonders in Ex. xxiii 15; xxxiv 18; Dt xvi 1 ein Monatsname ist, bleibt ungewiss (aus kanaanäischen Quellen ist der Name nicht belegt). Dass diese Formel 622 ohne Erklärung verstanden wurde, beweist jedenfalls nicht, dass damals die kanaanäischen Monatsnamen noch im Gebrauche waren. In keinem Falle ist daraus zu entnehmen, dass in Juda damals allein das Herbstjahr bekannt war. Denn alle Pentateuchquellen kennen einen doppelten Kalender mit Jahresanfang im Herbst und im Frühling.

In Ex. xxiii 16; xxxiv 22 ist das Herbstjahr angedeutet. Dieses Jahr hat niemals im Cheschvan begonnen, wie AUERBACH behauptet. Ex. xxiii 16 ist dafür eine zu schwache Stütze, denn der Ausdruck „am Ausgang des Jahres" ist zweideutig und kann auch bedeuten: unmittelbar nach Jahresende (vgl. 1 Sam. xxv 37; 1 Kön. viii 9-10; Dt. xxiii 5 u.a.). Mit „dem ersten Regen" konnte das Jahr niemals begonnen haben, wie AUERBACH meint. Denn für den ersten Regen gibt es auch in Palästina keinen festen Termin. Der kommt manchmal schon im Tischre, manchmal aber erst im Kislev oder sogar noch später. Das Herbstfest war, wie der aus späterer Zeit bekannte, aber sicher uralte, Ritus des Wassergiessens beweist, ein Regenfest und gehört also zum neuen Regensjahr. Im Norden feierte man es im Cheschvan (1 Kön. xii 32-33), also doch sicher als Fest des neuen Jahres. Auch das Neujahrsfest des P am 1. Tischre beweist, dass das Herbstjahr im Tischre begann. Warum hat P das Neujahrsfest auf den ersten Tischre und nicht auf den ersten Nisan festgesetzt? Die Erklärung, die AUERBACH dafür gibt, ist sehr wunderlich. Die freiwillige

Annahme des heidnischen Kalenders als sakralen Kalender und dessen Zurückführung auf Mose beurteilt AUERBACH als „bürgerliche Assimilation". Die Ansetzung aber eines Festes mit Schofarblasen an den ersten Nisan wäre schon „religiöse Assimilation", da dieser Tag durch ein babylonisches Fest „besetzt" war, obwohl das babylonische Fest ein elftägiges Fest war und mit Schofarblasen nichts zu tun hatte. Vollends unerklärt bleibt es, dass P, wenn er schon die Angst bekommen hat, nicht das Schofarblasen auf den angeblichen Neujahrstag am 1. Cheschvan verlegt hat. Es ist klar, dass der Jahresanfang am Cheschvan nichts als Phantasie ist. Das Herbstjahr begann am Tischre. Das Herbstfest feierte man am Tischre oder, im Norden, am Cheschvan.

Es ist daher merkwürdig, dass in allen Festkalendern der Tora nicht das Herbstfest, sondern das Passahfest als erstes gezählt wird. Das bedeutet doch realiter nichts anderes, als dass auch in den Kalendern von J, E und D das sakrale Jahr im Frühling beginnt, genau so wie in P. In allen Kalendern sind beide Jahre miteinander verquickt. Denn auch P rechnet mit zwei Jahresanfängen. Auch diese Tatsache berücksichtigt AUERBACH nicht. Für P ist das Frühlingsjahr das sakrale Jahr. Das Herbstjahr aber ist nach ihm das bürgerliche Jahr: nach demselben werden Sabbat- und Jobeljahre gezählt und infolgedessen werden nach dieser Jahreseinheit Kauf und Verkauf von Boden, Häusern und Sklaven berechnet (Lev. xxv). Ebenso ist für D das Herbstjahr das Sabbatjahr (Dt. xxxi 10) und infolgedessen von profan bürgerlicher Bedeutung (xv 1-11). Zwar werden Sabbat- und Jobeljahr geheiligt. Aber als allgemeine Jahreseinheit ist das Herbstjahr ein Zeitmass für bürgerliche Zwecke.

Ist es nun denkbar, dass P den heidnischen Kalender sakrosankt machte und auf Mose zurückführte und mit dem Auszug aus Ägypten motivierte und dabei das angeblich einheimische altheilige Jahr gerade als profan-bürgerliches Jahr beibehalten hatte? Wurde 605 der babylonische Kalender als Staatskalender rezipiert, so galt er doch als bürgerlicher Kalender. Und nun soll ihn P gerade zum sakralen gemacht haben! Lässt sich etwas verkehrteres denken?

In Babylonien gab es zwei Jahresanfänge, im Nisan und im Tischre. Auch in Ägypten gab es zwei Jahresanfänge, in Griechenland sogar vier. Im alten Israel gab es, wie in Babylonien, ein Frühlings- und ein Herbstjahr. Liegt hier babylonischer Einfluss vor, so muss die Beeinflussung in sehr alter Zeit stattgefunden haben. Es ist möglich, dass die israelitischen Stämme aus ihrer Urheimat verschiedene

Bräuche mitgebracht haben. Die Zahlenmonate sind jedenfalls nicht babylonischen, sondern wohl ägyptischen Ursprungs. Denn in Ägypten hatten die Monate in ältester Zeit keine Namen, sondern sie waren innerhalb der drei jeweiligen Jahreszeiten mit Zahlen (von 1 bis 4) bezeichnet (ERMAN-RANKE, *Aegypten*, S. 398). In Israel wurden sie durchgängig gezählt. In Kanaan war für das Bauernvolk das Herbstjahr das natürliche Jahr. Und so kamen hier die beiden Jahresbestimmungen zur allgemeinen Geltung: das Frühlingsjahr war sakral, das Herbstjahr war bürgerlich. In Kanaan übernahm man auch die Monatsnamen. Jedoch gerieten dieselben allmählich in Vergessenheit und in spätköniglicher Zeit waren sie nicht mehr im Gebrauche. Im chaldäischer Zeit nahm man dann die babylonischen Namen an. Der Kampf aber zwischen den neuen Namen und den uralten Zahlen dauerte noch Jahrhunderte an. Die Geschichte des Kalenders bestätigt nur das hohe Alter des P.

Zum Schluss noch ein Wort über den sonderbaren philologischen Beweis AUERBACHS. In Num. x 24 findet er eine Wortmissbildung, die späte Niederschrift bezeugt, nämlich: *bne binjamin*. Jedoch findet sich diese „Missbildung" in mehreren sicher alten Stellen: Rich. i 21; xx-xxi mehrmals; 2 Sam. ii 25; iv 2; xxiii 29; Jer. vi 1.

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AUERBACHS NEUESTER BEWEIS FÜR DEN MOSAISCHEN URSPRUNG DER ZEHNGEBOTE WIDERLEGT

In seinem Buch *Moses* (Amsterdam, G. J. A. Ruys, 1953) macht der Israeli Forscher DR ELIAS AUERBACH einen originellen Versuch zu beweisen, dass die Zehn Gebote in ihrer Kurzform von Moses stammen. Besonders dunkel erscheint ihm das zehnte Gebot. Alle Gebote verbieten Handlungen oder gebieten sie. Das zehnte Gebot verbietet einen Wunsch. Wenn Begehren Handlung einschliesst, so ist das Begehren von Haus, Weib und Vieh schon durch das siebente und achte Gebot verboten. Auffallend ist auch, dass das Haus der Frau in Ex. voraufgeht, aber in Dt. ihr folgt. Das lässt darauf schliessen, dass das Haus ursprünglich an erster Stelle stand und Dt. die Reihenfolge änderte, nicht umgekehrt. Wie kann Moses in der Wüste das Begehren von Häusern verbieten? In der Wüste gibt es keine Häuser.

AUERBACH löst die Schwierigkeiten mit der Annahme, dass der ursprüngliche Text lautete: "Du sollst *kein Haus* begehren". Moses

wollte offenbar die Erhaltung des nomadischen Lebens, ähnlich wie es später die Rekabiten und einige Nabatäerstämme wollten, die im Ackerbau, Hausbau und Weinbau einen sittenverderbenden Luxus erblickten. Ist das richtig, so müssen die Zehn Gebote aus einer Zeit stammen, in der man noch nicht mit der Eroberung des Landes rechnete, der des frühen Aufenthalts in Qadesch. Nach der Eroberung wurde das Gebot unverständlich und verändert und erweitert.

Diese neue These ist meiner Ansicht nach nicht haltbar. Aus folgenden Gründen: Wenn Moses ein Ur-rekabite wäre, würde er Ackerbau und Weinbau ebenso verboten haben wie Hausbau. Ferner, wenn er nur den Hausbau verboten hätte, würde er sich anders ausgedrückt haben. Er würde gesagt haben: "Du sollst dir kein Haus *machen* oder *bauen*" (siehe Ex. xx 20-22), aber nicht: "Du sollst kein Haus *begehren*". Das würde nur die Aneignung bestehender Häuser verbieten, nicht den Bau neuer. Solche Häuser gab es aber nicht in Qadesch. Vor allem aber ist die These höchst unwahrscheinlich, da ausser der Rekabitensekte keiner der israelitischen Gesetzgeber, Propheten, Dichter und Priester von einer mosaischen Verurteilung des Hausbaus irgend etwas weiss. Schon der Tempel in Schilo wird als "Haus" bezeichnet (1 Sam. i 24). Die Dunkelheit des Zehnten Gebotes lässt sich viel einfacher lösen. Der Urtext hatte nur: „Du sollst nicht begehren deines Nächsten Haus". Das Wort „Haus" hat im Hebräischen, wie in anderen Sprachen, die Bedeutung von Wohnhaus oder von Haushalt (Familie). Um Missverständnisse zu vermeiden, wurde das Gebot sehr früh folgendermassen erläutert: Du sollst nicht begehren das Weib deines Nächsten, seinen Sklaven oder seine Sklavin, seinen Ochsen oder seinen Esel und alles was deinem Nächsten gehört. Als der efraimitische Herausgeber des Urdeuteronomiums den Text las, war er verwundert über die Reihenfolge und stellte die Frau vor das Haus und fügte das Feld hinzu, da Nord-israel ein Ackerbaustaat war. Die fünf letzten Gebote lehren in negativer Form die Heiligkeit des Lebens, der Ehe, des Eigentums, des feierlichen Wortes und der Familie.

Die Zehn Gebote in ihrer ursprünglichen Kurzform sind gewiss das Werk eines rationalen hebräischen Genius, wahrscheinlich, wie ich in meinem Buch *The Birth of the Bible — A New Approach* (1950, Bloch)" nachzuweisen versuchte, des jahwistischen Meistererzählers, den ich mit dem Propheten und Staatsmann Nathan identifiziere, dem Lehrer des weisen Salomon, für den er wahrscheinlich seine Meistererzählungen ursprünglich schrieb. Als er in seiner Geschichte die

Mosaische Gesetzgebung berichtete, gab er sie in Form eines kurzen Dekalogs mit einem Vorspruch und Nachspruch, alles in poetischer Form. Die Zehn Gebote sind das Werk eines reflektierenden Künstlers, aber nicht das Werk eines Gesetzgebers. Der Gesetzgeber gibt keine prägnante, lapidare, abstrakte Zusammenfassung, sondern wirksame konkrete Gesetze mit Strafandrohungen.

Will man die Gesetze des historischen Moses kennen lernen, muss man auf die ältesten apodiktischen Bestandteile des Bundesbuches zurückgehen, vor allem auf den alten Strafkodex und die nomadischen Teile des Kultgesetzes (Ex. xxi 12, 15-17; xxii 17-19; xx 20, 21a, 22a, 23a; xxiii 18). Diese geben uns ein gutes Bild von dem Charakter des historischen Moses. Er war eine konservative und keine revolutionäre Persönlichkeit. Er wollte keine widerspenstige Jugend. Die Kontinuität der Geschlechter muss erhalten und gestärkt werden. Die Autorität der Eltern muss durchaus geschützt werden. "Wer seine Eltern schlägt oder verflucht, hat es mit dem Leben zu büssen". Moses wollte die Freiheit jeder Person, solange sie nicht Gewalttätigkeit oder Unterdrückung anderer miteinschloss. „Wer einen Menschen schlägt, dass er stirbt, muss getötet werden. Wer einen Menschen stiehlt und verkauft, muss getötet werden". Wenn jemand einem anderen Unrecht tut, muss er denselben Schaden leiden, den er dem anderen zugefügt hat: Leben für Leben, Auge für Auge, Zahn für Zahn. Diese Formel ist auch mosaisch, denn sie liegt allen "mosaischen" Gesetzbüchern zu grunde. Jedes Unrecht muss durch gerechte Wiedervergeltung gesühnt werden. Der Missetäter muss abgeschreckt werden von der Wiederholung seiner Missetat.

Bei der sittlichen Beurteilung dieser Rechtsauffassung dürfen wir nie daran vergessen, dass Moses ein Sklavenvolk zu erziehen hatte, das nur daran gewohnt war, der Peitsche des Aufsehers zu gehorchen, aber sonst völlig ungeschult war. Wenn es nicht die starke Hand des Gesetzgebers spürte, verfiel es in Zuchtlosigkeit. Moses hatte nicht nur alle Aufruhr- und Zersetzungsbestrebungen zu unterdrücken, sondern auch alle räuberischen und gewalttätigen Triebe zu bändigen. Daher verbot er bei Todesstrafe alle böswillige Zauberei und widernatürliche Unsittlichkeit (Ex. xxii 17, 18). Er gab den befreiten und wiedervereinigten Stämmen *einen* Gott und *einen* nationalen Namen. Moses war seiner Natur nach zu konservativ, als dass er einen neuen Namen für sein Volk und seinen Gott erfand. Jahu mag der Name des Gottes des Gewittersturms und des Rachezorns gewesen sein, wie er in dem Wüstengebiet von Ägypten bis Edom

und Moab verehrt wurde. Er wohnte auf den Bergeshöhen, nicht nur auf dem Sinai oder Horeb. Einige der Hebräerstämme, die nicht mitversklavt waren, hatten schon vorher diesen Gott unter dem Namen Jahweh verehrt. So wurde Jahweh der gemeinsame Name für den Gott der Väter, und verdrängte allmählich die verschiedenen Formen von El oder der anderen Götter, die die Stämme hatten. Der Name Israel muss auch älter sein als Moses. Wenn Moses ihn erfunden hätte, würde er das Volk *Israjah*, aber nicht *Isra-el* genannt haben.

Moses änderte nichts an den alten kultischen Formen. Er lehnte für den Kult alle technischen Neuerungen ab. Die Altäre sollten aus unbehauenen Steinen oder Erdhaufen bestehen und keine Stufen haben. Die Gottheit sollte nicht in Gold oder Silber dargestellt werden. Die Speiseopfer sollten ohne Sauerteig gebacken sein. Moses liebte das Einfachste, Ungekünstelte, Ursprüngliche im Kult. Moses war ein Organisator und Volkserzieher. Er wollte Vereinfachung und Vereinheitlichung. In der gesamten „mosaischen" Tradition und Gesetzgebung ist keine einzige Spur davon zu finden, dass er wie die Rekabiten den Häuserbau, Ackerbau und Weinbau verbot.

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FORMAL AGREEMENT OF PARALLEL CLAUSES IN THE ISAIAH SCROLL

An appreciable number of the variant readings of DSIa exhibits a closer *formal* agreement between *terms* in parallel clauses than the corresponding readings in the MT. This stylistic trait results mainly from the addition or omission of the definite article [1]), the addition, omission or substitution of prepositions [2]), and variations in the forms of verbs [3]). Occasionally a word or two are added to balance one or two in the parallel clause [4]).

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[1]) Addition: ix 18; xxxiv 3; xlii 9; lii 10 — הגואים//כול אפסי (ה +) ארץ (comp. xlv 22); lvi 11 and lvii 1. Omission: ii 2; x 1; xi 5; xiv 16, xviii 6a (comp. 6 b); xxxviii 11. See also J. HEMPEL, *ZDMG*, vol. 101 (1951), pp. 151-152.

[2]) Addition: i 12; vi 10; xiii 18; xlii 22; xlv 18 — (!) תהו (+ ל) לוא//לשבת; xlix 2 (?); xlix 4; lviii 13; lxvi 4. Omission: lv 2 — שבעה (> ל) בלוא//בלוא לחם. Change: xl 17; xliv 4; xlvi 6; lxvi 15 — סופה (> כ + ב) ו//באש.

[3]) vi 4; x 6; xiv 24, 30; xxxv 8; xlii 3 יכבה (MT יכבנו)//ישבור; xliii 9 (twice); xliii 10; xlvii 14; xlix 8; lvii 1; lix 5; lxii 1; lxiii 11-המעלה (MT המעלם)//השם (comp. suffix in xlii 3 above); lxiii 16; lxv 1. (ct. xlii 3, lxiii 11.).

[4]) lx 13; lx 14; lx 19; lxi 4. The following special cases may be added to the

It will be seen from the examples discussed below and from those cited in the footnotes that, as compared with the corresponding MT readings, the DSI variations are for the most part minimal, yet meaningful. The tendency alluded to appears thus to be sufficiently marked to make it improbable that it is accidental. On the other hand, one finds among these parallels some which are syntactically suspect and suggest that formal correspondence is realised in them to the detriment of their meaning or style. Side by side, then, with variants which may well contain original readings, one finds in DSI parallels which may best be explained as deliberate variations of a text more akin to the MT. One wonders, therefore, whether the closer formal correspondence between parallel clauses in DSI might not be indicative of a rather pedantically literal approach to the interpretation of parallel clauses by the users of the Scroll. Taken in conjunction with simplificatory tendencies in the use of the tenses and the equally marked tendency in DSI to avoid parataxis and asyndeton, the closer formal agreement between parallel clauses is consistent with the Scroll being a text prepared for instructional purposes. In the absence of a complete picture built up chapter by chapter, of the incidence of the various syntactical peculiarities in DSI, one finds it as difficult to demonstrate this critically as to account for the seemingly sporadic appearance of the closer parallels in the Scroll. The modest purpose of the following remarks, however, is to illustrate the nature and scope of these parallels.

a) It cannot be doubted that slight diversity in parallel clauses often enhances their poetic effect and that such diversity is an established mode of expression in Biblical Hebrew. In DSI, however, the tendency is not infrequently to disregard it in favour of closer formal agreement. The readings אביונים (MT אביון) which parallels עניים (xxxii 7) and מחשוכים (MT מחשך) which parallels מעקשים (xlii 16) are cases in point. Other examples of this variety are the

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examples cited in the preceding notes: xvii 14, where אינו (+ ו) // the demonstrative force of והנה; xxiii 9 — ... גאון כל transposed // ... כול נכבדי; xxx 6 — חילם (MT חֵילֵיהֶם) // the unusual form אוצרותם (comp. parallel plural forms in DSI lxvi 4a with those in MT). The reading חֵילֵהֶם in the Leningrad Codex (B 19A) and the Cairo Codex of the Prophets appears to be mid-way between the plural and singular; so חֵילֹהֶם in MSS (*Bibl. Hebr.*); xl 12 — בזרת//בשועלו (+ ו)

The examples cited in the footnotes 1-4 are not intended to be exhaustive.

following: חיים (>ה) ארץ// יושבי חדל (xxxviii 11), בשועלו// בזרת (+ ו) (xl 12), חסד (+ ה) אנשי//הצדיק (lvii 1) and MT ... גאון כל transposed כול נכבדי// (xxiii 9). In i 7 DSI reads ושממו עליה (MT וּשְׁמָמָה), the verb and preposition formally approximating the parallel אוכלים אותה. The DSI reading would seem, however, to require a change of the sequel to מהפכת (על +)כ, yet the change is not effected. In x 6 DSI reads ולשום (MT ולשימו) which, though it formally parallels the infinitives in the first clause, only imperfectly suggests that Israel is the object of the verb; indeed, strict construction yields מרמס as the object, making nonsense of the clause [1]).

b) In a number of instances closer agreement between parallel clauses results from the tendency in DSI to indicate explicitly subordination by the addition of logical exponents. [2]) This is the case, for example, of the *lamedh* preposition added to רמוס (+ ל) לראות// in i 12 and to משוסה (+ ל) לבז// in xlii 22 (comp. xlii 24). The somewhat pedantic reiteration of the private sense is the purpose of the *mem* prefixed to עשות (+ מ) משבת// in lviii 13. Two curious examples are the following: in xiii 18 DSI reads פרי בטן]לוא ירחמו (+ על) ו ועל// בנים לוא תחוס עינם, involving a subordination to the verb *riḥēm* unknown in the pre-exilic books of the OT, nor elsewhere in DSI. In lxvi 4 DSI reads מגורותיהמה (+ ב) ו בתעלוליהמה//, the additional preposition rendering the sense obscure, that is, if the word which carries the preposition means, as is generally accepted, 'dreaded thing(s)'. The well-marked tendency in DSI to avoid parataxis [3]) finds a striking illustration in lxii 1, although in this case no additional prepositions are involved. Here the MT phrase כלפיד יבער becomes כלפיד תבער altering the sense from 'like a torch (that) burneth' to 'like a torch she (i.e. 'her salvation') shall burn', thus paralleling יצא

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[1]) The DSI readings חרב כ and כחץ ל in xlix 2 would be another such example of tighter parallels, if one could be certain that the second reading = כלחץ (cf. *Bibl. Hebr.*). The very awkwardness of the word would then lend countenance to the argument that DSI shows a tendency to artificial parallels—but, whence comes the *lamedh*?. Another possible explanation of the superscript *kaf* and *lamedh* is that they hint at alternative readings identical with those of MT, though on this view the effect of the *kaf* and *lamedh*, occupying exactly the same positions over the first of their respective words, would have to be explained differently in each case.

[2]) Examples which do not involve parallels are found in i 20; ix 13; xxxii 14, 17; xxxvi 9 (!); xxxvii 38; xliii 23; xlix 4; lviii 4 a. o., including the accusative particle.

[3]) Note especially x 24, where the asyndetic subordinate clause in MT becomes a simple co-ordinate clause by reading משבט for בשבט, with a resulting loss of the

by תבער, the subjects being the masculine *ṣedeq* and the feminine *yeshûʿāh*, respectively.

c) The present writer has pointed out elsewhere a number of simplifications in the use of the tenses in DSI [1]). These and others are reflected in the DSI parallels. Thus, for example, in vi 4 וינועו is parallelled by the perfect נמלא whereas MT reads יִמָּלֵא, the imperfect in MT being descriptive of a "nascent" or "unfolding" state, to use DRIVER's wellknown terms, rather than a factual report about a state consummated at a definite moment in the past. In xxxv 8 DSI reads יהיה (MT היה) which is parallelled by the active form יקראו (MT יִקָּרֵא) and the variants are in keeping with the DSI tendencies to avoid the prophetic perfect [2]) and a passive form when the latter is used in an impersonal sense [3]). אובד (MT אָבַד) in lvii 1 clearly parallels the present participle נאספים and implies the reading נאסף in the latter part of the verse. In xlvii 14 היו is treated as a perfect which has reference to the past and hence, probably, the parallel הצילו where MT reads יצילו. Similarly in xiv 24 DSI reads תקום // תהיה where MT diversifies the verbal forms by having a prophetic perfect in the first clause and the imperfect in the second. A special case is lxiv 10 where the DSI reading היו (twice) for MT היה at first sight seems to improve the syntax. This is, however, doubtful, since syntax would require ותפארתנו not to be governed by בית in the construct state and that would make the exegesis of the relative clause extremely difficult. It is possible, therefore,

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concessive sense; li 10, where the *acc. loci* is made explicit, though the MT phrase is capable of being a direct-object clause. In lvii 15 the reading *ûbhaqqôdesh* excludes the more subtle adverbial meaning 'and as a holy one', of which the MT reading *wᵉqādôsh* is susceptible. Other examples pointing away from parataxis are found in xxix 13; xxxi 1. Compare also the effect of the DSI reading גגד for MT ראיתי in xliv 16 (contrast xlvii 14) and of the additional conjunction כיא in xlviii 8. Note further the subordinating function of the additional *waw* in xlii 21-יגדל (+ ו); lii 1-יבוא (+ ו) and instances of the infinitive construct with an additional *lamedh* prefixed, subordinated to a finite verb in i 12, 13; viii 4; xxviii 12; xxx 9 and xlii 24 where the preposition is prefixed to the inf. abs.

[1]) *Vetus Testamentum*, Vol. III, No. I, 1953, pp. 92-95.

[2]) For example, in xi 9; xxxiv 14; xliii 3, 20; xlvi 13; xlix 13 and possibly also xlix 8.

[3]) For example, in i 26; xiv 20; xvi 10; xlix 24; lviii 12 b — וקראו (MT וְקָרָא) //ובנו; lxi 3; lxii 2, 4, 12 (וקראו//יקראו consec.). In xxvi 1 MT יוּשַׁר becomes ישיר with the odd result that 'this song' becomes the subject.

that the first היו is a somewhat careless variation to balance the second, which may well be the original reading [1]).

d) Additional balancing words are found in the following instances: lx 14 ... בני (+ כול) // כול מנאציך, lx 19 יומם // + בלילה and lxi 4 יקוממו // + וחדשו. A more complex case are the additional words ... נתן]לך ו in lx 13, the refined effect of which is to reserve the metaphor 'glory of Lebanon' for *cedars*. The highly finished nature of this variant is shown by the consideration that the parallel predicates '*is given*' and '*shall come*' alone would not produce the over-all result that the trees specifically mentioned in the second clause are not a mere echo of the phrase 'glory of Lebanon' in the first; the significant finishing touch is supplied by the *waw* which joins the two clauses [2]).

In view of the stylistic trait discussed in the foregoing the following cases of seemingly impaired parallels are of special interest:

iii 25—MT וגבורתך. DSI reads וגבוריך, which improves the parallel to מְתֵיך and agrees with the corresponding word in the LXX. The *waw-tav* written above the suffix cancel out, however, the improvement. It is just possible that the word as corrected stands for *gibbôrôthayikh*, which would offer a feminine counterpart of sorts to *mᵉthayikh*. On the other hand, the superscription might point to an acquaintance with an alternative reading identical with the MT reading and could represent an attempt by a scribe to correct what he took to be an Aramaicising plural גבורתך, into the corresponding Hebrew plural *gᵉbhûrôthayikh* [3]).

xiv 16. DSI reads ארץ (> ה), which formally parallels ממלכות. With the article attached to each of the two participles qualifying 'the man' the passage would be perfectly balanced, were it not vitiated by the *hê* suspended above the line. The *hê* might represent, however, a correction in deference to a reading identical with that in the MT,

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[1]) It is not without interest that 3 MSS of the Targum translate וכל מחמדינו by וכל בית רגגא, apparently in order to justify the singular of the verb (see apparatus in *The Targum of Isaiah*, ed. J. F. Stenning, Oxford, 1949).

[2]) Comp. xxxv 2 and xli 19 which appear to support the view taken of lx 13.

[3]) Comp. H. Yalon (*Kirjath Sepher*, vol. xxvii, 1951, p. 167a) on עצתך in DSI xlvii 13 which he regards as a pure Aramaic form of the plural, while the MT reading עֲצָתֶיךָ represents, in his opinion, a combination of the Hebrew and Aramaic plurals. C. C. Torrey (*The Second Isaiah*, Edinburgh, 1928, note ad loc.) regards the MT reading as combining a Hebrew singular and plural; so D. Yellin, *Diqduq ha-lāshôn hā-'Ibhrîth*, Jerusalem, 1942, p. 220, n. 1.

without rectifying the phrase by cancelling the article prefixed to the participle *margîẓ*.

xlviii 16. The DSI reading בעת (MT מעת // מראש) appears to refer back to the creation of the world mentioned in v. 13 rather than to the summoning of Cyrus (vvs. 14-15) as is the case in the MT. If it is not the original reading, it might be due to dogmatic considerations, viz. to prevent the misinterpretation, of which the MT reading is susceptible, that God's existence began with the world's coming into being. The present writer has suggested elsewhere [1]) that the DSI reading היה (for MT יהיה) in xliii 10, which, curiously enough, improves there the parallel to נוצר, may similarly aim at discountenancing the idea that God might conceivably be other than eternal.

xli 17a merits mention, though an explanation of it does not readily suggest itself to the writer.

Where MT has two sentences in parallel juxtaposition DSI has a composite sentence consisting of a *casus pendens* with complement elements and a predicate supplied by what is in MT the second of parallel sentences. DSI reads as follows: 'the *needy* poor *who* seek water and there is none, their tongue is parched with thirst'. A noteworthy feature here is that the difference in structure of the MT and DSI passages is accounted for in terms of an omitted *waw*—conjunctive and an added *hê*, used possibly as a relative particle. It may, perhaps, not be pedantic to point out that, exegetically speaking, the DSI reading might mean that not *all* the 'needy poor' are exposed to the suffering described; nor is it impossible that '*needy*' connotes here *righteous* (see *BDB*, s.v. אביון). The parallel clauses in 17 b, however, suggest that the corresponding first half of the verse was originally made up of parallel clauses.

lxiv 9. The DSI readings מדבר (+ כ) and ממה(+ ו) ש (= shômēmāh, for MT Shᵉmâmâh) appear to mitigate the harshness of the picture of Zion and Jerusalem painted by the perfect parallels in the MT. [2])

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[1]) *Op. cit.* p. 95.

[2]) In lxii 4 — שוממה for MT שְׁמָמָה is apparently intended as a parallel to עֲזוּבָה which is treated as an adjective.

ADDITIONAL REMARKS

to "The Canaanite God Šälaḥ" [1])

To p. 41, n. 11: See also W. F. ALBRIGHT, *BASOR* 127 (1952), p. 35.

To p. 41, n. 12: See also W. F. ALBRIGHT, *JBL* 54 (1935), p. 182, n. 27, with a somewhat different explanation.

To p. 45, bottom: 3a) The Ugaritic epic of King Krt (Krt: 15-21) tells of the mischief that befell Krt's family. In five parallel phrases it relates the death of his kindred to five causes. All the causes seem to be personified by gods. The first is *kṯr* (16). The second is *zbln* the "Prince", (17). It is not clear which god this is, but a similar form is used as an epithet of a god [2]). The third is *ršp* (19). The fourth is *ym* the god of the subterranean waters, who is represented by his servant(s) and messenger(s) *ġlm ym* (19 f.). Messengers of gods frequently play a role in the epics of Ugarit (references *UH* § 18.1570). *Ym* is followed by the fifth, *šlḫ* (20), the god of the hellish creek.

To p. 48, middle: In Mesopotamia, the ophidian (!) deity Saḫan written MUŠ(. AN), another manifestation of the infernal river, is identified with the earthly river Euphrates (A. DEIMEL, *Sumerisches Lexikon* II, 374.4). His name appears in a dialectal form (Emesal) as ^{d} š e - r a - a ḫ (DEIMEL, *l.c.*) which form happens to be almost identical with Sälaḥ.

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A NOTE ON זור "TO STINK"

The most common root in O.T. containing the sense of "bad smell", "stench" is באש ; it is well known that this root, besides the literal meaning, also assumes that of "to be abominable, hateful", "to loathe", in Hiphil "render a p. or a th. abominable, disliked". This usage is clear in Ex. v 21, Gen. xxxiv 30 (Hiphil), 1 Sam. xiii 4, 2 Sam. x 6, xvi 21 (Niphal), although, of course, the expression originate from the instinctive judgement of primitive man for whom

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[1]) *V.T.* IV, 1, pp. 41 ss.

[2]) Cf. p. 44, n. 9. Ug. *zbl* : *zbln* = Heb. *Z*^{e}*βul* : *Z*^{e}*βulun* (LXX: Ζαβουλών) = Ug. *ršp* (the next god mentioned in our text); Arab. *arsūf* (n.l.) : Mari *rušpā* (n.d.)/ Phen. *rašpuna* (n.l.; cf. J. LEWY in *Mélanges Syriens . . . R. Dussaud* I, 1939, p. 273-275), etc. For *-ān/-ōn* as a hypocoristic ending of personal names cf. M. LIDZBARSKI, *Ephemeris . . .* II, 1908, pp. 18 f.

likes and dislikes were feelings based upon concrete and physical experiences. In one passage in O.T., namely Job xix 17, where the verb זור is used instead of באש, the concrete basis of the conception in question is still detectable, cf. Arab. *ḏāra* "to stink", *ḏayyara* "to make stinking"; *ḏiyār* "loathsome, stinking thing" is a noun, derived from this root, subsequently specialized for the fresh dung of camels with which the teats of the mother-camel were smeared in order to prevent the young camel from sucking [1]). In an old poem by *Jarwal ibn Aus al-Hutay'a* there is a passage, in which the poet, alluding to this well known practice among the bedouin, describes the dislike of the wife for her husband. The verse runs as follows:

wa-kuntu ka-ḏāti-lba'ali ḏārat bi-'anfihā
fa-min [2]) ḏāka tabghī ghairahu au tuhājiruh.

"And I was like a wife into whose nose the smell of ḏiyār had come (i.e. whose husband had become repulsive to her) "and who therefore desired another than him, or would abandon him". Now, in Job xix 17 we read רוּחִי זָרָה לְאִשְׁתִּי וְחַנּוֹתִי לִבְנֵי בִטְנִי. The Revised Version translates as follows: "My breath is strange to my wife, and my supplication to the children of my mother's womb". Although the translation of זָרָה given there is possible, the parallelism with חנן ("to stink", "to be loathsome") [3]) clearly shows that זָרָה here must be related to the Arabic *ḏāra* mentioned above, a suggestion which can also be supported by reference to the verse by Jarwal ibn Aus, quoted above, the close relationship of which with Job xix 17 has already been pointed out by Buhl [4]). The genuine bedouin background of Job's words is here evident, presupposing — like the words by Jarwal ibn Aus — the familiarity of the audience with a detail of bedouin life, and also — by the use of the word בֶּטֶן in the second half of the line — their knowledge of bedouin tribal

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[1]) Cf. Lane's *Arabic Dictionary* p. 990. — Another way of preventing the young camel from sucking was to bind the she-camel's udder with a *ṣirār*, see G. Jacob: *Das Leben der vorislamischen Beduinen*, 65f.

[2]) *ZDMG* vol. 46, 183 the reading *faman ḏāka* is given which, however, makes no sense. We must here read *fa-min ḏāka*, cf. Lane's *Dictionary*, 957.

[3]) Which has nothing to do with חנן "to be gracious", but should be combined with Arabic خَنّ (Gesenius-Buhl), a word which originally implied utterance of any sort through the nose (Lisan al-Arab: ḥurūju-ssauti min al-'anfi).

[4]) Gesenius-Buhl's *Dictionary* s.v. זור III.

organisation [1]). So, the proper translation of Job xix 17 will be "*The smell* [2]) *of me has become like the smell of dung to my wife, I have become a stench to my fellow-clansmen*". The passage is of tremendous interest because of the cultural background it reveals, and also because it explains the origin of Hebr. זור "to be strange". Resulting from this semantic development באש replaced זור in its meaning of "to stink".

Lexicographers have not, to our knowledge, paid sufficient attention to this original meaning of זור, having confined themselves to giving its meaning as: "Ekel erregen, widrig sein", "be loathsome" [3]). So far, we have only tried to show that the implication of foul smell constitutes an essential part of the original meaning of the root, and that this meaning is actually to be found in Job xix 17. Having illustrated this, it would now seem pertinent to look for other passages in O.T., where זור has the same meaning [4]).

The text in Is. lix 5 is in the Revised Version translated as follows: "They hatch basilisks' eggs, and weave the spider's web; he that eateth of their eggs dieth, and *that which is crushed* breaketh out into a viper" (וְהַזּוֹרֶה תִּבָּקַע אֶפְעֶה). The word הַזּוֹרֶה, so it appears from the vocalisation, was misunderstood by the Massoretes. The word is generally explained as partic.pass.fem. (= הַזּוּרָה) of זור "to press out", an interpretation which is, no doubt, influenced by Job xxxix 15. However, Job xxxix 15 deals with the crushing of eggs, while Is. lix 5 talks about the hatching of eggs, so that the two passages can hardly be said to be parallel, and the occurrence in both of them of the root זור may be regarded as purely incidental. Besides, from the context it seems natural to expect הזורה to be a poetical variant of בֵּיצָה, somehow describing the mortal danger of eating which is set forth in the first half of the line.

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[1]) The translation "the sons of my mother's womb" is, in spite of Job iii 10, not satisfactory. Several suggestions have been put forward as to the interpretation of the expression. W. Robertson Smith (*Kinship and Marriage*, 1903, 38) is right, however, in equating the word with Arabic *baṭn* which was one of the smallest subdivisions of a tribe. Concerning the names of the different groups within a *shaʿb*, see e.g. Th. Chenery, *Th. Assemblies of Al Hariri*, 369.

[2]) Read ריחי for רוחי.

[3]) Gesenius-Buhl s.v.; Brown, Driver and Briggs s.v.; cf. also Koehler s.v.

[4]) Num. xi 20 is so obvious a case that it need not occupy us here. To the phrase יֵצֵא מֵאַפְּכֶם there, cf. what we have said above about the original meaning of Arabic خَرَجَ, of which the phrase in question is a Hebrew translation.

In one of the Hodayoth from the Dead Sea Scrolls, which SUKENIK has published [1]), the following phrase occurs: למזורות יבקעו אפעה ושוא, obviously taken from Is. lix 5, the first half of which is quoted in the Damascus Fragments (v 13-14). The variant מזורות in the Hodayoth-passage is interesting, because it can only be explained as the Hebrew equivalent of the Syriac *maḏūrāṭā* which means "*bad eggs*" [2]). That is exactly what is meant in the biblical phrase, in which הזורה (being partic. pass. fem. of זור "to stink") means "*the stinking* (*egg*)", the proper translation of the passage being: "*He, who eats of their eggs shall die, the stinking* (*egg*) *hatches out* (*as*) *a viper*" [3]). I suspect that we have here an allusion to, if not a direct quotation of a popular proverb.

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THE LEVITES IN DEUTERONOMY

VT 4(54) 325-327

It has been a common assumption that the compilers of Deuteronomy "recognized no clerical distinctions, and conceded the same functions to all" [4]) within the tribe of Levi. Whereas the Priestly

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[1]) *Megilloth Genuzoth* vol. II, pl. VII, 8f.

[2]) Plur. of *maḏūrṭā*, from the root *m*ᵉ*ḏar* "to be foul" (PAYNE SMITH's *Thesaurus Syriacus* col. 2019-2020); hence also מזור "festering wound" (Jer. xxx 13). Of course זור "to stink" and [מזר] Syr. ܡܕܪܐ "to be foul" are ultimately the same root.

[3]) LXX, although apparently based on a text, slightly different from M.T., supports this interpretation, as it translates הזורה by οὔριον which means "*addled egg*". — In the same way I translate the passage from the Hodayoth: "They hatch bad eggs into a viper and falsehood". Due to bad copying the phrase has been misplaced, the continuation בהתרומם גליהם obviously belonging to the words וכהמון מים רבים שאון קולם נפץ זרם להשחית רבים.

Prof. G. R. DRIVER, who agrees to my interpretation of הזורה in Is. lix 5, has in a letter to me made an interesting suggestion as to the translation of אפעה in the passage quoted from the Hodayoth. He writes: "Parallelism with שוא suggests that what is meant here is not אפעה = أفعى "viper", but another אפעה from I فغا "withered", IV "went bad"; the sense then is: "They hatch bad eggs into what is rotten and vain", i.e. they produce ill effects. So in Isaiah: "He who eats of their eggs shall die, and the bad egg shall produce a bad result". For צפעני is parallel with עכביש, not with אפעה; and the accidental resemblance of אפעה from فغا with אפעה from فعى has caused אפעה here to be taken in the commonest sense, i.e. as meaning "viper". Then ימות (a disastrous result) is nicely parallel with תבקע אפעה (a rotten result)."

In support of this interpretation Prof. DRIVER has later drawn my attention to Is. xli 24 where מאפע "from what is worthless" should not be emended into מאפס.

[4]) So J. E. CARPENTER, *The Composition of the Hexateuch*, p. 238.

stratum of the Hexateuch has "drawn a sharp distinction between the priests and the common Levites," in Deut. "it is implied that *all* members of the tribe of Levi are qualified to exercise priestly functions" [1]). Indeed, in Deut. "the terms 'Levites' and 'priests' were synonymous" [2]).

It is this view, so widely held, that is responsible for the difference in the rendering of the first words of Deut. xviii 1 in the English Authorized Version (A V) and most modern translations. A V reads: „The priests the Levites, *and* all the tribe of Levi, shall have no part nor inheritance with Israel." The American Revised Standard Version (R S V), on the other hand, following the *American Translation*, reads: "The Levitical priests, that is, all the tribe of Levi..." Both of these translations are interpretations of the relation between "the priests the Levites" (or "the Levitical priests") and "the tribe of Levi." The interpretation is, of course, necessary because the Hebrew is ambiguous in that it has no conjunction between the two phrases. A V's *and* and R S V's *that is*, however, betray widely different conceptions. For A V the phrase "all the tribe of Levi" is a larger designation which expands the group mentioned in the first phrase, "the priests the Levites"; the latter are only one segment of the tribe of Levi. The R S V rendering, however, presupposes that the two are identical terms, that the whole tribe of Levi can be described as "Levitical priests." This interpretation is in keeping with the common view regarding the differences between D and P on the Levites, mentioned in the first paragraph.

In my study of Deut. for the *Interpreters' Bible* I began with the same assumptions that governed the R S V translators on this issue, but before the project was completed I came to the conclusion that these assumptions had over-simplified the matter and in part are wrong. A careful study of D's use of the phrase "the priests the Levites," and of other contexts where the word "Levites" appears alone, has led me to the conclusion that A V is correct after all in its interpretation of Deut. xviii 1.

Let us note briefly the occurrences of the term "the priests the Levites."

1) Deut. xvii 9 is within a passage that specifies the type of case

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[1]) S. R. Driver, *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament* (1913 ed.), p. 82.

[2]) So R. H. Pfeiffer, *Introduction to the Old Testament*, p. 263.

that shall be brought before the supreme court at the central sanctuary. This court consisted of a lay judge and certain clergy. The latter can be called either "the priests the Levites" (vs. 9), or simply the "priest(s)" (vs. 12; ch. xix 17). In this case, they are clearly altar-clergy whose work is specified by the technical phrase for that service, "minister before Yahweh," used in vs. 12.

2) Chapter xvii 18 is in the midst of the passage about the king, who shall make for himself a copy of "this law" from that which is in the possession of "the priests the Levites". The latter again are priests of the central sanctuary (ch. xxxi 9-13). The implication is that they are men in authority, and, though it is not stated, we may infer that they were probably altar-clergy (see below).

3) Chapter xviii 1 so clearly refers to the altar-clergy at the central sanctuary (cf. vs. 5) that we need not pause longer over it.

4) Chapter xxi 5 has a variant of our phrases: "the priests the sons of Levi." In a case of unsolved murder a ceremony is specified which is to be led by the Levitical priests. Vs. 5 clearly indicates that they are altar-clergy, but it is not said whether or not they are from the central sanctuary. The passage is about a custom which is surely very archaic, and it seems unlikely that the Levitical priests in this instance were connected with the central sanctuary, but of this we cannot be sure.

5) Chapter xxiv 8 enjoins the people to take heed to the plague of leprosy and to do everything which "the priests the Levites" shall teach them. According to P in Lev. xiii-xiv this was a function of the altar-clergy at the central sanctuary, and we may infer here that altar-clergy are meant.

6) Chapter xxxi 9 says that "this law" was given by Moses into the charge of "the priests the sons of Levi" at the central sanctuary, who were commanded to read it publicly at the feast of Tabernacles every sabbatical year (vs. 10). See above No. 2.

7) Finally, Chapter xxvii 9 says that Moses and "the priests the Levites" gave charge to obey Yahweh in the matter of the ceremony to be held at Shechem when the Jordan was crossed. Here again the identity of these clergy is not specified, but from Josh. viii 30-35, where the Deuteronomist describes the ceremony as it was carried out, we would infer that he meant the altar-clergy who were in charge of the services of the central sanctuary. If so, then the difficulty sometimes felt in ch. xxvii 12-14 might be done away. There it is said that while the tribe of Levi was to take its stand with five other tribes over against

Mt. Gerizim during the ceremony, the "Levites" are to recite the curses. In this case, the "Levites" are evidently the Levitical priests or altar-clergy, who are only a small part of the tribe of Levi.

Further support of this supposition is to be found in the fact that in Deuteronomy and in the Deuteronomic history it is "the priests the Levites", or altar-clergy, of the central sanctuary who are specifically charged with the duty of bearing the Ark of the Convenant. Ch. xxxi 9 (which is related to xvii 18), Josh. iii 3 and viii 33 (which is related to Deut. xxvii 9) make reference to this duty; and 1 Kings viii 3-11 says that it was the "priests" (meaning the altar-clergy, cf. vs. 11) who bore the Ark into the Temple in preparation for the service of dedication.

On the other hand, where the term "Levite(s)" appears alone in Deuteronomy, without the qualifying word "priests", it refers with two possible exceptions to clergy who are scattered throughout the country and who are classed with the sojourner "within thy gates". These Levites are people without property and dependent upon the liberality of the landowners for their living. Their status is that of a client, similar in point of need to the sojourner. Thus chs. xii 12, 18, 19; xiv 27, 29; xvi 11, 14; xxvi 11, 12, 13.

The two possible exceptions are chs. xviii 6 and xxvii 14. The latter has been dealt with above in connection with the Shechem ceremony. The former says that any Levite who comes to the central sanctuary shall be accorded full rights to "minister in the name of Yahweh", like his Levitical brethren who "stand there before Yahweh" (vs. 7). This passage certainly relates to altar-clergy, and not to the client-Levites, as is clear not only from the context but from 2 Kings xxiii 9 where it is said that after the reform of Josiah "the *priests* of the high places came not up to the altar of Yahweh in Jerusalem".

Were the client-Levites, for whom the Deuteronomic law shows such concern, all of them altar-priests? It is quite clear that in Deuteronomic literature the terms "priest(s)" and "the priests the Levites" refer specifically to those clergy who officiate at altar ceremonies. In fact, the Deuteronomists seem to have been very careful with their terminology at this point. In the past it has been assumed that no such care was shown by these writers, but that they used the words "Levite(s)", "priest(s)", "the priests the Levites", and "the priests the sons of Levi" indiscriminately, meaning the same thing by them all. Yet if the Levites were all altar-priests, getting their living from the offerings made to the various places of worship throughout the

country before the reform of Josiah, why should they have been in a client-status, continually threatened with physical need? How, too, would the Levitical cities have existed when they were not the only centers of altar-worship? The answer to these questions in the past has been that the cities of the Levites are a late or unhistorical institution [1]), and that the injunctions in Deut. regarding client-Levites were framed, not with past custom in mind, but in view of the situation that would obtain when the reform of Josiah had centralized all altar-worship in Jerusalem.

It seems clear today, however, that this is too simple an answer to the problem. It is highly improbable that one whole tribe could function as altar-priests, because there were too many involved. On the contrary, we have the persistent tradition in the O.T. that one of the chief functions of the Levites was the work of teaching and exposition. References to this function are to be found in Deut. xxxiii 10; 2 Chron. xvii 7-9; xxxv 3 and Neh. viii 7-9. Indeed, the legal work of the tribe of Levi was probably its most extensive and important function, especially when we note the breadth of meaning given to the word *torah*. Von Rad has recently called attention to this aspect of Levitical duty, and has made out an excellent case for the view that both Deuteronomy and the Holiness Code are examples of the expository teaching and preaching carried on by the Levites. Neither of these works is primarily a juridical document; it is instead a type of exposition which points to a history behind it and to a certain kind of personnel responsible for it [2]).

If large numbers of the tribe of Levi were teachers, instead of being altar-clergy, then the terminological usage of the Deuteronomists is immediately clarified. Certainly, there was a variety of religious function within that tribe; and, if we suppose that there were teachers, their status would inevitably be that of clients, far more insecure than that of Levites whose duties kept them at altars. One may well wonder why it is that we do not hear more about such teachers. The answer would probably be that the O.T. literature concerned with Levites was, with the exception of Deuteronomy, mostly written by the Jerusalem priesthood (P and Ezek.), or by a

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[1]) Though see now W. F. Albright, "The List of Levitic Cities," *Louis Ginzburg Jubilee Volume* (1945), pp. 49-73, for a geographical, historical and linguistical analysis of this problem.

[2]) Gerhard von Rad, *Studies in Deuteronomy* (Studies in Biblical Theology, No. 9); translated by David Stalker, London and Chicago, 1953.

Levite who was connected with the Jerusalem Temple in which Levites were assistants of the altar-clergy, guards, judges and musicians (so the Chronicler).

If the thesis of this paper is correct, then we must further assume that the difference between P and D with regard to the Levites has been exaggerated. For P the term "priest" is reserved for the altar clergy of the central sanctuary. For the period of the Tabernacle and for the time after the reform of Josiah in 621 B.C., the term "the priests the Levites" as used by the Deuteronomists meant exactly the same thing. It presumably had a wider usage before 621 B. C. for all altar-clergy wherever they may have been, as we noted above in connection with Deut. xxi 5 (with its variant expression) and xviii 6. Yet when P and D are speaking about the same thing, they mean the same, though they use different terminologies. Certainly Jeremiah (xxxiii 18), Ezekiel (xliii 19, xliv 15) and the Chronicler (2 Chron. xxiii 18), all of whom make rare use of the expression "the priests the Levites", mean by it the altar-priests of the central sanctuary. They thus use it synonymously with "priests" and refer to those men whom P calls "the sons of Aaron".

If the above thesis is correct, then its implications are many and important, particularly for the understanding of Deuteronomy and for the clarification of problems in the history of the Israelite priesthood which have often been too simply solved in the past. Into these implications we need not enter until the correctness of the thesis is tested by others.

Chicago G. Ernest Wright

REVIEWS

Biblical Hebrew: A Response.

The review of my *Biblical Hebrew* by H. Neil Richardson, which appeared in *VT*, Vol. III, No. 4, is so amazing that I would not write a response, if I did not feel the sense of obligation to some outstanding scholars who have already published favorable opinions of the book. Those who never read the book would never be able to tell what it contains, from Richardson's review. To those who have studied Hebrew according to the book, the review seems to have no significance whatever.

First, the reviewer says that the book, which he calls "inductive", makes "the student begin with the Book of Ruth". If one reads page xii, he may learn that many instructors using the book would not begin reading the Book of Ruth until after Lesson XVII. The question as to whether or not the inductive method is suitable for adults could be answered only after an extensive study of methodology, not on the basis of "a restudy after six years' teaching Hebrew". But, of course, there is some difference between Harper's *Elements of Hebrew* and my *Biblical Hebrew*.

Second, the reviewer explains that in Ruth i 1 there are "fourteen out of nineteen words which have not been given" up to Lesson X. Should it not be questioned, if the book were strictly inductive, why no explanation is required for the remaining five words? As a matter of fact, these five words belong to the group of 86 words introduced up to page 17, according to the frequency of their appearance in the Bible. Moreover, in the light of the precaution given on page xii, students would not expect smooth-sailing at Ruth i 1; and wise instructors select proper phrases or verses from Ruth or Genesis or other books of the Bible at least up to Lesson XVIII. Furthermore, if one were to begin reading Ruth i 1, it would be found that of the nineteen words of that verse, one word appears twice, one is the feminine construct of another, two other words have the same root, and four others constitute place names! Yet the arrangement of the vocabulary section makes it comparatively simple to find any form of the words appearing in that verse.

Third, the reviewer says that "Nakarai has introduced some new methods of transliteration". The use of "colon" for a long vowel is a universally accepted linguistic designation. There is nothing new in the use of Greek characters in linguistic science, and "coronal-palato-alveolar emphatic plosive, unvoiced" is the exact scientific description of the sound of *ṭ*, which is to be distinguished from "coronal-alveolar plosive, unvoiced", namely *t*. Any student who has had a course in elementary phonetics can produce proper sounds by reading these descriptions. Representing the sound of a foreign language by that of the native language, as the reviewer seems to prefer, can never be exact. Every word used in the explanation of Hebrew sounds in my book is found in many abridged English dictionaries. If it is new to the students or instructors, they should learn its meaning.

The fact is that unfortunately the modern linguistic terms have not been fully utilized in the textbooks on Hebrew.

Fourth, the reviewer should know that recent research in Semitic languages has shown the inadequacy of the designation, "intensive" stem. I did not use the word "plurative" with complete satisfaction, although I am not the only user of that word. I may consider using "repetitive", but there are many instances where the *pi'e:l* and *pu'al* and *hiθpa'e:l* stems are not "intensive". On the other hand, I am aware of the fact that there are some cases where "plurative" do not seem to apply.

Fifth, the reviewer says that "In the light of the truth of this statement, this reviewer has long used the term 'weak' as preferable to 'irregular' ". There are "weak" consonants in Hebrew, but there is no common agreement as to their number, among various scholars. Does a "weak" verb contain one or more "weak" consonants? If so, how does one classify "laryngeal" verbs and "biliteral" verbs, which do not contain "weak" consonants? There are "regular" and "irregular" verbs in my book. Manifestly it is not logical to classify all verbs into "regular" and "weak", as the reviewer seems to suggest.

Sixth, the reviewer points out, referring to page 22 of my book, that I fail "to state that demonstrative pronouns when used adjectivally take the article". I "fail" to mention it on that page, inasmuch as it is more fully explained on page 51, and even though the words are lacking on page 22, the examples clearly show this fact.

Seventh, the reviewer says that "whatever he means . . . this cannot be correct". These words refer to my finding only one mark of the stem, namely, vowel *a* in *yəṣaw*, *pi'e:l*, imperfect, 3. m. sg. of *ṣa:wa:h*. What else is there to mark the stem, which is explained on page 28? The only other diacritical mark in this word is the *šəwa:'* which is the mark of also *pu'al*.

Eighth, the reviewer quotes only a small part of my preliminary caution on page xii on the use of the notes found at the end of each Lesson. Of these notes, it is stated on that page: "The notes are additional information that may well be considered in class discussion. Students who merely wish to know something about Biblical Hebrew may ignore the notes". Accordingly, the criticisms against the treatment of *'t*, *l'*, and *'l* seem to be invalid, especially in view of the meaning of *'t* given on page 128, and the explanation of the usage of *l'* and *'l* on page 59.

Ninth, the reviewer thinks that the use of *qṭl* for paradigms should be substituted by actual verbs. In other words, he is of the opinion that the paradigms made consistently from the root *qṭl* are more confusing than the paradigms based upon several verbs. Are not complete paradigms hypothetical? What does the reviewer propose to do with the irregular verbs, which seldom appear in every form required for the paradigms? Furthermore, where does he place verbs like *nhh*? He suggests that two of the three columns of *Qal* be designated stative. This is more fully explained on page 44 of my book.

I appreciate RICHARDSON's efforts to review the book. However, I regret that he does not say how it differs from other textbooks on Hebrew, according to the principles of book reviewing. It is extremely regrettable

that all of his criticisms are groundless, and that those who read the review cannot comprehend the nature of the book. After more than twenty-five years of teaching Hebrew, I do not claim to know Hebrew well enough to pass hasty judgment upon a textbook written by another. Any righteous criticism of my book is coveted from all.

Indianapolis, Indiana TOYOZO W. NAKARAI.

Oudtestamentische Studiën, uitgegeven door P. A. H. DE BOER. Deel X, E. J. Brill, Leiden, 1954. 256 p.

This volume contains six articles. The first 154 pages are devoted to an exegetical study of *zar* in the Old Testament by L. A. SNIJDERS. The verb *zwr* is first discussed, and then follow three chapters on the meaning of *zar* in the Prophets, the Writings, and the Pentateuch. Two Hebrew roots *zwr* are distinguished, the first, which is related to *sur-srr*, having the basic meaning "deviate, go away from, be far", while the second, rarer, *zwr-zrr*, which is related to *ṣwr-ṣrr*, means "squash, crush" (as in Isa. lix 5). The idea of deviation, or distance, is central to the author's interpretation of the Old Testament passages concerned. Thus *zarim*, when used of foreign peoples, especially of the Babylonians, indicates those who are far from, strange to, other peoples, whose established order they overthrow. The word *zar*, when so used, in fact merits translation rather as „enemy, oppressor, barbarian" than „stranger", which is too neutral a term. Again, *mayim zarim* (2 Kings xix 24, Jer. xviii 14) means „water running away". Further, the *zar* is one who is regarded as outside the community (e.g., Job xix 15), or the family circle (e.g., Ps. cix 11). The *'išša zara* in the early chapters of Proverbs is one who deviates from the correct way of life. She is not a foreigner; it is her behaviour which is strange. The *qeṭoreth zara* is the incense offering which deviates from the *qeṭoreth tamid*—it is offered at another place and on another occasion; while *'eš zara* is fire which deviates from the order of worship —it is not brought before Yahweh at the right moment. *Zar* too is used of one who stands apart from the group of Aaron and his sons as the non-consecrated person, the layman. The author's examination of the word *zar* is carried out in much detail and with constant reference to the ancient versions. In the course of his discussion he directs attention to many incidental points of interest, for example, the emotional content inherent in the use of the word *zarim*, and again, the caution which the book of Proverbs enjoins against standing surety, especially for a *zar*, and its connection with the way in which trade was viewed in Wisdom circles. It is regrettable that the obscurity of the English style in which the article is written, combined with the somewhat confusing method of presentation, makes it difficult always to keep track of the author's argument. The large number of misprints too is to be deplored.

Fresh, but admittedly tentative, suggestions concerning Gen. x are put forward by J. SIMONS. The basic plan of this table of nations consisted, it is suggested, of verse 1 (or 1a), which is of the nature of a general introductory formula; verses 2-5, which are an enumeration of Japhet peoples, in *bene*-formulae, with a concluding clause; verses 6, 7, 20, which are an

enumeration of Ham peoples, in *bene*-formulae, with a conclud-clause; verses 22, 23, 31, which are an enumeration of Shem peoples, in *bene*-formulae, with a concluding clause; and verse 32, which is a general final clause. This basic plan is shown to result in a geographical grouping of names in which ethnographically heterogeneous elements stand side by side. Some individual names and identifications are discussed. For example, Puṭ is held to be Libya, Gen. x itself and Nah. iii 9 supplying arguments in favour of this identification. The excison of Madai in verse 2 and of Lud in verse 22 is recommended.

In an interesting and able article J. VAN DER PLOEG investigates those passages in the Old Testament in which the word *šoterim* occurs. He concludes that the office of *šoterim* was introduced into Israel probably in the monarchic period. At least it seems that the office received its name in this period. The *šoterim* were officers who assisted judges, military commanders, organizers of forced labour, and so on, and often it fell to them to communicate the orders of their superiors to the Israelites. Their name shows that they drew up official documents. The root *štr*, it is suggested, was originally an Akkadian root, meaning "write", which found its way into the other Semitic languages. The main function of the *šoterim* was, however, not writing, but speaking. It was this that distinguished them from ordinary scribes (*soferim*).

To the many explanations which have been advanced of *'ereṣ hammagog* in Ez. xxxviii 2, A. VAN DEN BORN ingeniously adds another. He suggests that *hammagog* may conceal a reference to Alexander the Great. "The Macedonian", in Greek ὁ Μακεδών, would normally be rendered in Hebrew by *hammaqedon*, but a form *hammagedon* would be possible. Perhaps some reader of Ez. xxxviii, reflecting upon Rosh, Meshech and Tubal, entered on the margin of his text that these three countries constituted "the territory of the Macedonian", in Hebrew *'rṣ hmgdn*, abbreviated to *'rṣ hmg'*. This abbreviation may in turn have been filled out by a later reader to *'rṣ hmgg*, influenced as he may have been by the context with its reference to Gog. In connection with Rev. xvi 16, it is suggested that at the time of the composition of the New Testament work there may have been a memory of some mountain which was the scene of a military exploit of Alexander (Armageddon = "Mountain of the Macedonian"). In the second part of his article, the writer attempts to show—convincingly, it would seem—that Haggibʿah and Gibʿon are one and the same place, and that from a study of the relevant Old Testament passages an almost complete history of the locality can be obtained.

An attractively written reconsideration of Ex. xviii leads CHR. H. W. BREKELMANS to conclusions different from those which are commonly drawn by adherents of the Kenite origin of the Yahwistic religion. Jethro went to Moses, and not Moses to Jethro, because he wished to associate himself with the great Israelite tribes which seemed to be blessed by their God — in fact, to make a covenant with a successful Israel (cp. Gen. xxvi 28 f.). This is the import of verse 11. The Old Testament preserves the Israelite version of the story, and accordingly it is no surprise that Jethro is made to speak as if he himself were an Israelite. Jethro offered sacrifices at the

making of the covenant, because chieftains acted as the cultic leaders at such a ceremony, and the title *kohen midian*, applied to Jethro, could refer to his function as chieftain. The reason why Jethro, and not Moses or Aaron, offered sacrifices is perhaps that it was the one who asked for an alliance who had to offer the other a sacred meal. In making an offering to Yahweh, Jethro was honouring the God of the Israelites. It need not necessarily be inferred that he was, or became, a worshipper of Yahweh.

P. A. H. DE BOER has collected a large amount of valuable material from a variety of sources, among them the Hebrew canonical books, the LXX, the Targums, the Peshitta, and the Dead Sea Scrolls, in support of a theory, which he successfully sustains, that *qwh* "wait" and *qwh* "be assembled" are related. The LXX translators saw in these Hebrew terms the idea of cohesion, or firm basis, and this idea is here carefully worked out. The noun *qaw* is applied properly to an object used for measuring, but the idea of measure is not distinct from the idea of assembling. So *qaw* means "gather together in obedience to a law, set in order, give coherence to". *Mqwh* in the concrete indicates a mass of water—in the abstract a firm hope. *Tqwh* in the concrete means a cord—in the abstract a solid hope. The verb *qwh* in the Qal and Pi'el derives the idea of hope from that of solidity or coherence; in the Niph. is seen the idea of assembling according to a norm. On the basis of his conclusions, the author throws new light on some difficult passages (Isa. xviii 2, 7; xxviii 10, 13; Ps. xix 5). The article is a notable contribution to Semitic lexicography.

Cambridge D. WINTON THOMAS

BOOK LIST [1])

J. AISTLEITNER, *Untersuchungen zur Grammatik des Ugaritischen*, Berlin 1954. 187 S. Price D.M. 15.—.
Nebenfrucht eines in Vorbereitung stehenden Wörterbuches der ugaritischen Sprache, Herausgeber AISTLEITNER (Budapest) und EISSFELDT (Halle, Deutschland).

Australian Biblical Review, ed. S. B. GUREWICZ. Price: 10/— per volume.
The official organ of the Fellowship for Biblical Studies and the Department of Semitic Studies, Melbourne. Articles, notes and reviews, a large proportion of which deal with the Old Testament.

A. BRUNO, *Die Psalmen*. Eine rhythmische und textkritische Untersuchung. Stockholm, 1954. viii + 282 S. S. Schw. Kr. 25:—

J. C. DANCY, *A Commentary on 1 Maccabees*, Oxford 1954, pp. 206. Price: 18/—.
A commentary on the text of the English Revised Version, designed primarily, but not only, for students.

G. R. DRIVER, *Semitic Writing, from Pictograph to Alphabet*, The Schweich Lectures of the British Academy 1944. Revised edition. London 1954. xvi + 238 pp., 57 plates. Price (in U.K. only) 30 *s*. net.

אנציקלפדיה מקראית. Volume II, Bialik Foundation, Jerusalem, Isr., 1954. xxx pp. + 952 cols. *Vide* I. L. SEELIGMANN in *Book List 1954*, ed. H. H. ROWLEY.

B. GEMSER, *Hebreeuse Spraakkuns*. Vormleer, Sinsleer en Oefeninge. Pretoria 1953. Price: 37/6.
An outstanding textbook for beginners. Paradigmata, exercises, glossar and indexes enhance its value.

S. B. HOENIG, *The Great Sanhedrin*. A study of the origin, development, composition and functions of the Bet Din ha-Gadol during the Second Jewish Commonwealth, Philadelphia (Dropsie College) 1953, pp. xviii + 310.
A scholarly, documented study of the subject, including many excurses on special points.

Ch.-F. JEAN, *Dictionnaire des inscriptions sémitiques de l'ouest*, Livraison I, Introduction, Lexique א־ – גוא, Brill, Leiden 1954. 64 pp. Fr. fr. 920.

Y. KAUFMANN, *The biblical account of the conquest of Palestine*, Jerusalem Isr., 1953. pp. viii + 98.

ששה סדרי משנה, ed. Ch. ALBECK and Ch. YALON, seder *Nizîqîn*, pp. 506; seder *Mōʿed*, pp. 515. Jerusalem, Isr. 1953.
A new edition with vocalization.

F. L. MORIARTY, *Foreword to the Old Testament Books*, Weston, Mass., 1954. ix + 118 pp. Price £ 1.00.

H. WHEELER ROBINSON (ed.), *The Bible in its Ancient and English Versions*, Oxford 1954, pp. 349 + 8 plates. Price $ 1-1/—.
A new impression, to which have been added the illustrations and a concise account, by W. D. MCHARDY, of the Dead Sea Scrolls.

T. H. ROBINSON, *Job and his Friends*, London 1954, pp. 125. Price 7/6.
A popular exposition of the substance of the book.

M. Z. SEGAL, ספר בן סירא השלם, Jerusalem, Isr. 1953, pp. xv + 72 + 374.

G. ERNEST WRIGHT and an Ecumenical Committee in Chicago, *The Biblical Doctrine of Man in Society*, SCM Press Ltd, London 1954. 176 pp. Price 7 *s*.

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[1]) The mention of books in this list neither implies nor precludes subsequent review at length.

Ἅγιος IN THE SEPTUAGINT, AND ITS RELATION TO THE HEBREW ORIGINAL

BY

HENRY S. GEHMAN

Princeton

The root *qādaš* (holy) suggests the idea of separation in that a person or a thing is withheld from ordinary or profane use and consequently treated with special care or consideration, dedicated to the Divine, or devoted to sacred purposes. An object is set apart not only in a negative sense, but also in a positive one, inasmuch as it is treated as belonging to the divine sphere. In this sense *qādaš* and its derivatives may be applied to God, to persons associated with the sanctuary, or to various objects connected with worship. This usage is taken over by the LXX and adequately represented by Greek, ἁγιάζω, ἁγίασμα, ἁγιασμός, ἁγιαστήριον, ἅγιος, ἁγιότης, ἁγιωσύνη. In this article, however, only the word ἅγιος will be considered.

While ἅγιος in the LXX is the rendering of *qādaš* in various forms, it may also in a free translation represent other Hebrew words, of which the most important examples may be noted.

ʾĒl (God). In Sirach xliii 10 (11) *bidbar ʾēl*: G reads ἐν λόγοις ἁγίου (in the words of the Holy One); Sirach xlvii 8 (9) *lᵉ ʾēl ʿelyōn*: ἁγίῳ ὑψίστῳ (to the Holy One, the Most High); in Sirach xlviii 20 (22), where I. Lévi restores YHWH, G reads ὁ ἅγιος (the Holy One).

ʾĕlōhīm (God). Jer. iii 21, "They have forgotten *YHWH ʾĕlōhēhem*: G θεοῦ Ἁγίου αὐτῶν; Is. lx 9 *šēm YHWH ʾĕlōhayk*: G τὸ ὄνομα Κυρίου τὸ ἅγιον, where the adjective is substituted for *ʾĕlōhayik*. In Lev. xviii 21, in order to avoid identification of *ʾĕlōhim* with pagan gods, *šēm ʾĕlōhekā* is translated τὸ ὄνομα τὸ ἅγιον.

hāʾārōn (the ark). In 2 Ch. v 9 this is rendered by a neuter plural, τὰ ἅγια (the holy place, i.e., the nave). In this passage there is a Hebrew variant *haqqōdeš*, which is found in MT 1 Kings viii 8.

bad (pl., sticks, staves [for carrying the ark]). The word apparently by popular etymology was derived from *bādad* (separate) and under-

stood in the sense of 'parts', 'separate parts', 'parts sticking out', whence the rendering τὰ ἅγια (sacred staves), 1 Kings viii 7; with this translation may be compared τὰ ἡγιασμένα in the same sense, which occurs twice in the following verse as a rendering of *habbaddīm*.

bad (linen). This word has the etymological meaning 'part', whence 'piece of cloth', from which was developed the sense of 'linen', 'linen garments', as in Ezek. x 6f., where it is rendered ἡ στολὴ ἡ ἁγία.

√ *bārar* (Hiph., purify, cleanse) occurs in the infinitive, Jer. iv 11, where it is rendered εἰς ἅγιον (unto what is holy), with the concept of separation and purification.

√ *hōd* (majesty, splendor). Sirach l 11 (12), *ba'ālōtō 'al mizbē(a)ḥ hōd* (in his going up to the altar of majesty); G renders freely: ἐν ἀναβάσει θυσιαστηρίου ἁγίου.

√ *z'būl* (dominion). 2 Ch. vi 2, *banītī bēt z'būl lāk*; in the parallel *z'būl* was understood as 'dwelling', and accordingly G gave a theological interpretation: οἰκοδόμηκα οἶκον τῷ ὀνόματί σου ἁγιόν σοι, where the idea of God's dwelling in the Temple is removed by the insertion of τῷ ὀνόματί σου and *z'būl* is rendered ἅγιον.

√ *ṭāhōr* (clean, i.e., ceremonially), as applied to a clean place where sacrifices are eaten, is rendered ἅγιος, Lev. x 14, ἐν τόπῳ ἁγίῳ.

√ *ṭōb* (good). In Ps. cxlii (cxliii) 10 the *rū(a)ḥ* of God is referred to as *tōbāh*; this is freely rendered τὸ πνεῦμα σου τὸ ἅγιον.

√ *yattīr* (Aramaic, 'surpassing'). In Dan. v 12 *rū(a)ḥ yattīrāh* (surpassing spirit, i.e., preeminent ability) is freely rendered πνεῦμα ἅγιον.

māqōm (place). In Is. xxvi 21 G freely translates this τὸ ἅγιον (holy place, i.e., Heaven).

nāzīr (one consecrated, Nazirite). When G renders this by ἅγιος, it is to be taken as a noun, since it is modified by a genitive. In Jdg. xvi 17 *n'zīr 'ĕlōhīm* is rendered ἅγιος θεοῦ and is to be understood in the same sense as the Hebrew. In Jdg. xiii 7 the same Hebrew combination is rendered ἅγιον θεοῦ, neuter in agreement with the subject τὸ παιδάριον, but it is a noun with the same meaning as the Hebrew.

nēzer (sign of consecration). In Lev. xxi 12 *nēzer šemen* is rendered τὸ ἅγιον ἔλαιον (the holy oil), where the Greek reflects the idea of separation inherent in *nēzer*. In Zech. ix 16 *'abnē nēzer* (stones of a crown) is rendered λίθοι ἅγιοι (holy stones), which again suggests the sense of separation in *nēzer*. In line with this development, Symmachus,

2 Kings xi 12, rendered *hannēzer* (the crown) by τὸ ἅγιον, which is to be interpreted as 'the crown'.

√*ṣābā'* (pl., hosts). In Is. xiv 27 *YHWH ṣᵉbā'ōt* is rendered freely ὁ θεὸς ὁ ἅγιος.

√*ṣāpan* (Qal. passive participle, 'treasured'). In Ps. lxxxii (lxxxiii) 4, where *ṣᵉpūnekā* (thy treasured ones) refers to God's saints, G renders freely οἱ ἅγιοί σου.

qāšeh (severe, relentless). In Is. xxvii 1 this adjective describes the sword of YHWH. By a theological interpretation G read *qāšāh* as *qᵉdōšāh*, whence ἡ μάχαιρα ἡ ἁγία.

śāgab (Niphal, be exalted). In Is. xxxiii 5 *niśgāb YHWH* by a free translation is rendered ἅγιος ὁ θεός.

At this point consideration will be given to words derived from the root *qādaš*, which naturally is the most important word in this discussion.

qādōš (sacred, holy). This is rendered by the adjective ἅγιος. It is used in connection with a place in the court of the tent of meeting, Ex. xxix 31; Lev. vi 16 (9), 26 (19), 27 (20); vi 36 (vii 6); xvi 24; with the Temple, Ps. lxiv (lxv) 5; a place in the ideal Temple, Ezek. xlii 13; the camp of Israel, Deut. xxiii 14 (15); the first of Tishri, when Ezra read the Law, Neh. viii 9-11; the Sabbath as holy to God, Is. lviii 13; the words of God, Job. vi 10; the nation of Israel, a people of God, Ex. xix 6; Num. xv 40; xvi 3; Deut. vii 6; xiv 21; xxvi 19; Hos. xi 12 (xii 1); the remnant, Is. iv 3; a Nazirite, Num. vi 5, 8; the Levites, priests, Num. xvi 5, 7; the name of God, Ps. xcviii (xcix) 3; cx (cxi) 9; God and the people, Lev. xi 44 *bis.*; xix 2 *bis*; God and priest, Lev. xxi 6-8; angels, Job v 1; God, Josh. xxiv 19; Ps. xcviii (xcix) 5, 9; Is. v 16; vi 3 *ter*; Ezek. xxxix 7.

In G, however, ἅγιος for *qādōš* is also used as a noun. In Eccl. viii 10 *māqōm qādōš* (the reading of many mss.), referring to the Temple, is rendered τὸ ἅγιον, which is to be translated 'the Temple'. In Ps. cv (cvi) 16 Aaron is called ὁ ἅγιος Κυρίου; *cf.* also Sirach xlv 6 (7). An angel is referred to as ὁ ἅγιος, Dan. viii 13 *bis*. In Is. lvii 15 ἅγιος (+ ἐν ἁγίοις) is a name of God. He is also known as ὁ ἅγιος (the Holy One): 1 Sam. vi 20; Hab. i 12; iii 3; Is. xl 25; xliii 15; Sirach iv 14 (15); the Holy One of Jacob, Is. xxix 23; the Holy One of Israel, 2 Kings xix 22; Ps. lxx (lxxi) 22; lxxvii (lxxviii) 41; lxxxviii (lxxxix) 19; Is. i 4; v 19, 24; x 20; xii 6; xvii 7; xxx 12, 15; xxxi 1; xxxvii 23; xli 20; xliii 3, 14; xlv 11; xlvii 4; xlviii 17; xlix 7; lv 5; lx 9, 14; Jer. xxvii (l) 29.

The use of the plural of ἅγιος is especially noteworthy. In Ps. xxi (xxii) 4 *qādōš* (holy) refers to God; G, however, places the Hebrew preposition *b* before the neuter plural of ἅγιος, which accordingly must be interpreted as 'Temple': σὺ δὲ ἐν ἁγίοις κατοικεῖς. For the use of ἅγια (neuter plural) in the sense of 'Temple', *cf.* the renderings of *miqdāš*, *infra*. For οἱ ἅγιοι as 'saints', *cf.* Ps. xv (xvi) 3; xxxiii (xxxiv) 10; Zech. xiv 5; as 'saints' under persecution, Dan. vii 25; viii 24. The term οἱ ἅγιοι also denotes angels: Job xv 15; Ps. lxxxviii (lxxxix) 6, 8; Sirach xlii 17.

A Hebraism, moreover, is transferred to the Greek in the form of the plural of majesty; in Pr. ix 10; xxiv 26 (xxx 3) ἅγιοι means (the) 'Holy One' (God) and should not be translated as a plural. By a literalism G renders *qᵉdōšīm* as ἅγιοι. In Is. xli 16, *biqᵉdōš yiśrāʾēl* G read *qᵉdōš* as a plural construct, whence ἐν τοῖς ἁγίοις Ἰσραήλ: in this case Symmachus emends to the singular, ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ Ἰσραήλ. In Jer. xxviii (li) 5, *miqqᵉdōš yiśrāʾēl*, G likewise read *qᵉdōš* as a plural construct, whence ἀπὸ τῶν ἁγίων Ἰσραήλ; again this must be understood as a plural of majesty.

qādaš (to be set apart, consecrated, hallowed). In the Piel it means 'to consecrate'. In Ex. xxviii 3 the Piel infinitive was read as *qōdeš* (apartness, holiness, place set apart, sanctuary) and rendered εἰς τὸ ἅγιον, meaning either 'for holiness' or 'for the sanctuary'. The Hiphil signifies 'to set apart as sacred', but in 1 Ch. xxvi 28 *kōl hahiqdīš* is freely rendered τὰ ἅγια (holy things) + τοῦ θεοῦ. The Hithpael means 'to consecrate oneself'; in 2 Ch. xxx 24 *yitqaddᵉšū kōhănīm* was read as *ʾēt qodšē hakkōhănīm* and rendered τὰ ἅγια τῶν ἱερέων (the holy offerings of the priests). In 2 Ch. xxxv 6 *wᵉhitqaddᵉšū wᵉhākīnū* was read as *wᵉʾēt qodāšīm hāqīnū* and rendered τὰ ἅγια ἑτοιμάσατε (and the holy offerings prepare). In other words, this Hebrew verb has nowhere been rendered as a verb in G.

qaddīš (Aramaic, holy; plural, holy ones, saints). As an adjective ἅγιος is applied in G to the people of God, Dan. vii 27; Theodotion uses it in connection with the spirit of God, Dan. iv 5f., 15; and v 11 (AQ). As a noun in the plural ἅγιοι means 'saints', G Dan. vii 18, 21, 22 *bis*, 25; and in Theodotion, vii 27. In Theodotion, Dan. iv 10, 14, 20 ἅγιος, ἅγιοι denote angel(s) as 'holy one(s)'.

miqdāš (sanctuary). As a translation of *miqdāš*, 'sanctuary' in a general sense, the neuter plural τὰ ἅγια is used, probably in a collective sense with the connotation of the building and all pertaining thereto, or perhaps originally with the force of an abstraction.

This use of τὰ ἅγια to be understood as 'sanctuary' in the general sense is found in Lev. xix 30; xx 3; xxvi 2; Num. xix 20 + κῡ. When *miqdāš* refers to the tabernacle, it is rendered τὸ ἅγιον in Lev. xxi 23; the plural, however, occurs more frequently: Lev. xxi 12; Num. x 21; xviii 1; Sirach xlv 42 (30), and apparently with no difference of meaning. The holy of holies (Lev. xvi 33) in the tabernacle (*miqdāš haqqōdeš*) is called τὸ ἅγιον τοῦ ἁγίου. Referring to the Temple, *hammiqdāš* is rendered τὰ ἅγια: 2 Ch. xxix 21; Ezek. v 11; viii 6; ix 6; xxiii 38f.; xxiv 21; xxv 3. The neuter plural is also used to denote rooms (*miqdāšīm*) in the Temple, Jer. xxviii (li) 51 as well as the Temple and its precincts (*miqdāšīm*), Ezek. xxi 2 (7). In the case of the ideal Temple of Ezekiel, the singular (τὸ ἅγιον) is found in Ezek. xlv 4, 18; xlviii 8, but the plural (τὰ ἅγια) in Ezek. xxxvii 26, 28; xliii 21; xliv 1, 5, 7-9, 11, 15f.; xlvii 12; xlviii 10; this plural has to be understood in the sense of 'Temple'. Private sanctuaries (*miqdāšīm*) are denoted by the neuter plural (τὰ ἅγια), Nu. xxvi 31; Ezek. vii 24. The Temple as a fortified place (*miqdāš*), Dan. xi 31, is τὸ ἅγιον.

qōdeš (apartness, sacredness, holiness). This is rendered by the adjective ἅγιος (holy), and its uses fall into the following scheme:

I. *Positive*. A. ἅγιος, adjective. *1.* modifying or referring to nouns denoting time and sacred seasons: a) holy day in general, Neh. x 31 (32) b) Sabbath day, Ex. xxxi 14 (*cf.* xxxv 2); Neh. ix 14; Is. lviii 13; convocation on Sabbath, Lev. xxiii 3; rest on Sabbath, Ex. xvi 23; xxxi 15 c) Passover, feast of unleavened bread, first day, Ex. xii 16; convocation on first day, Lev. xxiii 7; Num. xxviii 18; convocation on seventh day, Ex. xii 16; Lev. xxiii 8 d) Pentecost, convocation, Lev. xxiii 21; Num. xxviii 26 e) New Year, convocation, Lev. xxiii 24; Num. xxix 1 f) Day of Atonement, convocation, Lev. xxiii 27; Num. xxix 7 g) Feast of Tabernacles, first day, convocation, Lev. xxiii 35; Num. xxix 12; eighth day, convocation, Lev. xxiii 36 h) set feasts, convocations, Lev. xxiii 2, 4, 37 i) year of Jubilee, neuter adjective in agreement with τὸ ἔτος, Lev. xxv 12 k) fruit of trees in fourth year dedicated to God, Lev. xix 24. *2.* Modifying or referring to nouns denoting sacrifices: a) offerings in comprehensive sense, wave offering, Lev. xxiii 20; Num. vi 20; animal offered to God, Lev. xxvii 9; votive animal and its substitute, Lev. xxvii 10, 33; peace offering at installation of Aaron and his sons, Ex. xxix 33; priests' dues, Num. xviii 10; Num. xviii 9 (1°) *haqqōdāšīm*, ἁγίων adjective modifying ἡγιασμένων; firstlings (oxen, sheep, goats) Num. xviii 17; sacrificial sheep, *ṣō'n qodāšīm*, πρόβατα ἅγια, Ezek. xxxvi 38 b) flesh in sacrifice,

Hag. ii 12; Jer. xi 15 c) shewbread, 1 Sam. xxi 4 (5) d) holy oil, ἔλαιον Num. xxxv 25; Ps. lxxxviii (lxxxix) 21; Sirach xlv 15 (18); ἔλαιον χρίσμα, Ex. xxx 25 *bis*; ἔλαιον ἄλιμμα χρίσεως, Ex. xxx 31f; τὸ ἔλαιον τῆς χρίσεως, Ex. xxxviii 25 (xxxvii 29) e) tithes, Lev. xxvii 30, 32 f) land as oblation, ἅγιον, Ezek. xlv 1 (2°); land as priests' portion holy unto God, Ezek. xlviii 14. *3.* Modifying or referring to nouns denoting both the sanctuary in a comprehensive sense and worship. 1. ἅγιος (holy) pertaining to Tabernacle a) Tabernacle and its contents, Ex. xl 7 (9); curtain in Tabernacle or Tent of Meeting, Lev. iv 6; a place, probably in court of Tent or Tabernacle, Lev. x 17 (1°); x 18 (2°); xiv 13 (1°); xxiv 9 (1°); utensils (ark or ephod), Num. xxxi 6; vessels (sacred utensils and furniture) of Tabernacle, Num. iv 15 (2°); xviii 3; ark, 2 Ch. xxxv 3 b) services in sanctuary, '*ăbōdat haqqōdeš*, κατὰ τὰ ἅγια καθήκοντα, 'according to the holy (= of sanctuary) fitting services', Ex. xxxvi 1 c) shekel (σίκλος), Ex. xxxix 1 (xxxviii 24); xxxix 2 (xxxviii 26); Num. iii 50; vii 13-79; xviii 16; δίδραχμον, Ex. xxx 13; Num. iii 47; *šeqel haqqōdeš* as a standard (σταθμὸς ἅγιος) Lev. xxvii 3, 25 d) garments of Aaron and priests: στολή, Ex. xxviii 2, 4; xl 11 (13); Sirach xlv 10 (12); ἱμάτιον, Lev. xvi 4; priest's crown, *nēzer haqqōdeš*, τὸ καθηγιασμένον ἅγιον, Lev. viii 9; Aquila has τὸ πέταλον τὸ ἅγιον in Ex. xxix 6. 2. ἅγιος (holy), pertaining to the Temple of Solomon a) Temple (ναός), Ps. v 8; x (xi) 4; lxxviii (lxxix) 1; cxxxvii (cxxxviii) 2; Jonah ii 5, 8; Micah i 2 b) holy of holies (*dᵉbīr*, ναός), Ps. xxvii (xxviii) 2 c) courts of Temple: αὐλή, Ps. xxviii (xxix) 2; xcv (xcvi) 9; ἔπαυλις, Is. lxii 9 d) objects, utensils, furniture in Temple, 1 Kings viii 4; 1 Ch. ix 29; 2 Ch. v 5; Ezra viii 28 e) valuables in Temple treasury, 1 Ch. xxvi 26; xxviii 12. 3. ἅγιος (holy), pertaining to the Second Temple, Sirach xlix 12 (14). *4.* Modifying or referring to nouns denoting place. 1. ground, Ex. iii 5; place, Josh. v 15; God's habitation (Canaan), Ex. xv 13; house, field, set apart or dedicated to God, Lev. xxvii 14, 21. 2. Mountain of God, Zion, but not named, Ps. iii 5; xiv (xv) 1; xlii (xliii) 3; xlvii (xlviii) 2; xcviii (xcix) 9; Joel ii 1; Ob. i 16; Zeph. iii 11; Zech. viii 3; Is. xi 9; lvi 7; lvii 13; lxiii 18; lxv 11, 25; Ezek. xx 40; Mt. Zion, Ps. ii 6; Ob. i 17; Joel iii (iv) 17; τόπος, Temple hill, Ps. xxiii (xxiv) 3; τὸ ὄρος τὸ ἅγιον Ἱερουσαλήμ, Is. xxvii 13; ὄρος = Jerusalem, Dan. ix 16 (G, Th); mountains of Jerusalem, Ps. lxxxvi (lxxxvii) 1; Jerusalem, Joel iii (iv) 17; πόλις alone, Is. xlviii 2; Dan. ix 24 (Th); πόλις with Jerusalem, Neh. xi 1; Is. lii 1; lxvi 20; mountain as seat of worship ἐπὶ δίκαιον ὄρος τὸ

ἅγιον αὐτοῦ, Hebraism for *nᵉwēh ṣedeq har haqqōdeš*, where G for theological reasons transferred the expression from the vocative by reading *nᵉwēh* as *ʿal*, Jer. xxxviii (xxxi) 23; God's holy mountain (of Jerusalem and Palestine), Dan. xi 45 (Th); 2 Ch. viii 11, ὅτι ἅγιός ἔστιν οὗ εἰσῆλθεν ἐκεῖ κιβωτὸς Κῡ: here ἅγιος has no noun with which it agrees in gender and number; it may refer to τόπος understood in the sense that the ark had sanctified the whole area by its presence, and accordingly the daughter of Pharaoh could not live in the city of David. 3. mythical mountain, Ezek. xxviii 14. *5.* ἅγιος (holy) modifying or referring to nouns connected with the ideal future. 1. physical (a) road (ὁδὸς ἁγία) in period of ideal restoration of Israel, Is. xxxv 8 (b) ἡ γῆ ἡ ἁγία (Palestine), Zech. ii 12 (16). 2. neuter, descriptive of the new condition or age which is holy to God, Zech. xiv 20. *6.* ἅγιος (holy) modifying or referring to nouns denoting heaven as God's habitation: οὐρανός, Ps. xix (xx) 7; ὕψος, Ps. ci (cii) 20; τόπος, Ps. lxvii (lxviii) 6; οἶκος (heaven), Deut. xxvi 15; Is. lxiii 15; κατοικτήριον, 2 Ch. xxx 27; νεφέλαι (*mᵉʿōn* for theological reasons was read by G as *ʿānān*), Zech. ii 13 (17); God's throne (in heaven) Ps. xlvi (xlvii) 9; heavenly Temple, ναὸς ἅγιος, Hab. ii 20. *7.* ἅγιος (holy) modifying or referring to nouns denoting persons. 1. holy in ritual sense, Israelites, Ex. xxii 31 (30); priests, Lev. xxi 6 *bis*; 2 Ch. xxiii 6; Ezra viii 28. 2. Israel as God's chosen people, Jer. ii 3. 3. Israel as holy seed, σπέρμα τὸ ἅγιον (the omission of the article before σπέρμα is a Hebraism), Ezra ix 2; σπέρμα ἅγιον, Is. vi 13 (Symmachus and Theodotion); holy people remaining faithful to God, Dan. xii 7. 4. stones of Temple (the choicest citizens of Jerusalem), Lam. iv 1. 5. Israel in the future as the redeemed of God, Is. lxii 12. *8.* ἅγιος (holy) modifying or referring to nouns having a direct connection with God a) arm, Ps. xcvii (xcviii) 1; Is. lii 10 b) name, Lev. xxii 2; 1 Ch. xvi 10; xxix 16; Ps. xxxii (xxxiii) 21; cii (ciii) 1; civ (cv) 3; cv (cvi) 47; cxliv (cxlv) 21; Sirach xlvii 10 (12); Ezek. xx 39; xxxvi 20-22; xxxix 7 *bis*; the possibility of defiling God's holy name, Ezek. xliii 7f. c) Spirit of God, Ps. l (li) 13; Is. lxiii 10f. d) God's word, Ps. civ (cv) 42 e) God's covenant (διαθήκη ἁγία), Dan. xi 28, 30 *bis* (Th).

B. ἅγιον, used as a noun. *1.* (what is holy, holiness). 1. singular a) ἅγιον (*qōdeš*), '(the) holy' in contrast to the profane, Ezek. xxii 26; xliv 23 b) ἅγιον (*qōdeš*), 'holiness', in the sense of commerce dedicated to God, Is. xxiii 18 c) τὸ ἅγιον (*haqqōdeš*), 'holiness': priestly attire, ἡ στολὴ τοῦ ἁγίου, Ex. xxix 29; τὰ ἱμάτια τοῦ ἁγίου, Ex. xxxi 10

(Th); ἀφόρισμα τοῦ ἁγίου, Ex. xxxvi 38 (xxxix 30); *cf.* τὸ πέταλον τὸ ἁγίασμα, Ex. xxix 6 d) τὸ ἅγιον (MT with article or pronominal suffix), 'holiness' of God, Ps. lix (lx) 8; lxvii (lxviii) 18, 25; lxxvi (lxxvii) 14; lxxxviii (lxxxix) 36; cvii (cviii) 8; Is. lxiv 10 (9). 2. plural, τὰ ἅγια (MT singular, *haqqōdeš*) a) '(the) holy' in contrast to the profane, Lev. x 10; Ezek xlii 20 b) 'holiness', of Temple, (*bēt haqqōdeš*), ὁ οἶκος τῶν ἁγίων, 1 Ch. xxix 3; of God, Amos iv 2; in abstract sense, or of God understood, 2 Ch. xx 21. *2.* 'holy thing', 'holy object'. 1. singular, ἅγιον (*qōdeš*), vessel used in Temple worship in the new age = λέβης, Zech. xiv 21. 2. plural, τὰ ἅγια a) (*qōdeš*) 'holy things', everything connected with the service in the house of God, 1 Ch. xxiii 28; ordinances, commandments, Mal. ii 11; law, Zeph. iii 4 b) *haqqōdeš* furniture and vessels of Tabernacle, Num. iv 20 c) (MT plural) 'holy objects' in Temple, 1 Kings vii 37 (51); 2 Ch. v 1; xv 18 *bis*; xxiv 7; treasures in Temple, 2 Kings xii 4 (5), 18 (19) *bis*; everything connected with worship, sacrifices, divine regulations, Ezek. xxii 8, 26. *3.* 'sacrifice', 'offering' 1. ἅγιον singular (MT, singular) a) sacrifice in general (prob.), 2 Ch. xxxi 18; τὸ ἅγιον, guilt offering, Lev. xxii 14; woman unclean from childbirth not to touch πᾶν ἅγιον, Lev. xii 4; usufruct of land to Jubilee, Lev. xxvii 23; tithe, Lev. xxvii 30; what is devoted to God, Jos. vi 19; land as oblation α), ἅγιον (*qōdeš*), portion of land made over to sacred purposes, Ezek. xlv 1 (1°) β) τὸ ἅγιον (*haqqōdeš*), portion of land in Jerusalem as oblation set apart for workers in city, Ezek. xlviii 18; entire oblation of land, domains belonging to priests, Levites, and city, Ezek. xlviii 20; oblation of land set apart for prince, Ezek. xlviii 21 b) τὸ ἅγιον (*haqqodāšīm*), heave offering of τὸ ἅγιον forbidden to priest's daughter married to non-priest, Lev. xxii 12. 2. plural (τὰ) ἅγια, 'sacrifices' 'offerings'. a) (MT singular), Lev. v 16; stranger, sojourner of priest, or hired servant not to partake thereof, Lev. xxii 10 *bis*; non-priest eating unwittingly of consecrated food (ἅγια), Lev. xxii 14; peace offerings, Lev. xix 8, where τὰ ἅγια Kū may be due to dittography of *yod* in *qōdeš YHWH*; shewbread, 1 Sam. xxi 6 (7) γ'; land as oblation (τὰ ἅγια, *haqqōdeš*): portion of land in Jerusalem for workers in city, Ezek. xlviii 18; for whole house of Israel, Ezek. xlv 6; for prince, Ezek. xlv 7 *bis*; xlviii 21; for priests, Ezek. xlviii 10 (1°). b) (MT plural), offerings of all sorts including priests' dues, Ex. xxviii 34 (38) *bis*; Lev. xxii 2f; general designation of sacred gifts, Deut. xii 26; sacrifices in general, Neh. x 33 (34); what is due to God (tithes, first fruits, and other dues) Lev. v 15 (1°);

Sirach vii 31 (34); offerings, priests' dues, Num. xviii 9 (2°) [in this verse *cf.* G ἀπὸ τῶν ἡγιασμένων ἁγίων, where Symmachus interpreted *miqqōdeš* as a Pual participle singular, rendering ἡγιασμένον modified by τῶν ἁγίων]; the cleansed priest may eat τὰ ἅγια, Lev. xxii 7; the priest with a blemish may eat the priestly dues (τὰ ἅγια), Lev. xxi 22; the non-priest was not to eat thereof, Lev. xxii 15f.; priest, leprous, unclean, or with issue not to eat thereof, Lev. xxii 4, 6; heave offerings of holy things, Num. xviii 19; offerings at Passover, 2 Ch. xxxv 13; tithe of tithe, Num. xviii 32. In Ezek. xliv 13 *qodšē*, referring to sacred furniture, is rendered τὰ ἅγια (offerings) υἱῶν τοῦ Ἰσραήλ; *cf.* Lev. xxii 2f., 15, to which G perhaps conformed. *4.* 'Sanctuary', in inclusive sense. I. With reference to the Tabernacle 1. singular, τὸ ἅγιον (*haqqōdeš*). a) Tabernacle in general sense, xxxvi 3f., 6; Num. iv 16, where MT has no article; in connection with vessels, Num. iii 31; with service in sanctuary, Num. vii 9; with shekel, Ex. xxx 24 b) 'holy place', i.e., nave, Ex. xxvi 33 (1°); xxviii 23 (29), 31 (35), 39 (43); xxxi 11; xxxix 13 (1), 19 (41); Lev. vi 30 (23); x 18; xvi 3, Num. xxviii 7 c) 'holy of holies', 'most holy place', i.e., inner sanctuary, Lev. xvi 2, 16f., 20, 23, 27. 2. plural, τὰ ἅγια (*haqqōdeš*) a) in general sense, Lev. x 4; Num. iii 28, 32; iv 15 (1°, 3°); viii 19 (for sense, *cf.* xviii 22); with shekel, Lev. v 15; Num. vii 85 b) 'holy place', i.e., nave, Ex. xxix 30; xxxix 1 (xxxviii 24); Num. iv 12; xviii 5. II. Temple (of Solomon). 1. singular, τὸ ἅγιον (*haqqōdeš*) a) 'Temple' in general sense, Ps. xix (xx) 3 without article in G and MT; Ps. lxii (lxiii) 3, where for theological reasons G changed the verb from the active to the passive to remove the anthropomorphism b) 'holy place', i.e. nave, 2 Ch. xxix 7. 2. plural, τὰ ἅγια (*haqqōdeš*). a) 'Temple' in general sense, 2 Ch. xxix 5; xxx 19; Ps. lxxiii (lxxiv) 3, where Theodotion and Symmachus have the singular τὸ ἅγιον; Ps. cxxxiii (cxxxiv) 2; cl 1, where Symmachus has τὸ ἅγιον; Is. xliii 28 b) 'holy place', i.e., nave, 1 Ch. xxiv 5, where MT has no article, 2 Ch. v 11. III. 'Temple' (Second). 1. singular τὸ ἅγιον (*haqqōdeš*), 'Temple' in general sense, Dan. ix 26 (G Th Aq); MT with possessive, τὸ ἅγιον ἡμῶν in apposition to ὁ οἶκος, Is. lxiv 11 (10); MT without article, τὸ ἅγιον, Dan. viii 14 (G Th). 2. plural, τὰ ἅγια (*qōdeš*), Dan. viii 13, where Theodotion has τὸ ἅγιον. IV. 'Temple' (of Ezekiel). 1. singular, τὸ ἅγιον (*haqqōdeš*) a) 'Temple' in general sense, Ezek. xlii 13 b) 'holy place', i.e., nave, Ezek. xlii 14; xliv 27. 2. plural, τὰ ἅγια (*haqqōdeš*). a) 'Temple' in general sense, Ezek. xliv 19; xlvi 19 b) holy of holies, most holy place, inner sanctuary, Ezek. xli 21.

5. τὸ ἅγιον (holy place), heaven, Jer. xxxii 16 (xxv 30). *6.* οἱ ἅγιοι (holy ones, saints); Israel as a kingdom of priests or 'holy ones:' Ps. cix (cx) 3, *qōdeš* (holiness) by dittography of the following *mem* was read as *qodāšīm* (holy ones). *7.* ἅγιοι (holy ones); supernatural beings or angels, Ex. xv 11, where *qōdeš* is interpreted as plural. *8.* ὁ ἅγιος, 'the holy One', i.e., God. In Lev. xxii 32 *šēm qodšī* was read as *šēm haqqōdeš*, whence τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ ἁγίου. ὁ ἅγιος is used to render *qōdeš*, ἡ διαθήκη τοῦ ἁγίου, Dan. xi 28, 30 *bis*. In Dan. xi 45 *har ṣᵉbī qōdeš* is rendered τὸ ὄρος τῆς θελήσεως τοῦ ἁγίου.

II. Superlative. The Hebrew superlative *qōdeš qodāšīm* (holiness of holinesses, holy of holies) is taken over literally into the Septuagint. The treatment of this superlative may be thus analyzed.

A. adjective. 1. neuter a) singular, ἅγιον ἁγίων (most holy), modifying or referring to nouns as follows: something devoted to God (ἀνάθεμα ἅγιον ἁγίων, Lev. xxvii 28; incense, ἅγιον τῶν ἁγίων, Ex. xxx 36. In connection with the altar two forms are used: ἅγιον τοῦ ἁγίου, Ex. xxix 37; ἅγιον τῶν ἁγίων, Ex. xxx 10; xl 9 (10). b) The plural ἅγια τῶν ἁγίων may refer to the Tabernacle and holy objects within it, Ex. xxx 29; ἅγια ἁγίων refers to the limits of the territory of the Temple of Ezekiel, Ezek. xliii 12. 2. The expression *qōdeš haqqŏdāšīm* (the holy of holies, *i.e.*, the inner sanctuary) is rendered as a masculine adjective in 2 Ch. iii 10: ὁ οἶκος ὁ ἅγιος τῶν ἁγίων (the most holy place). B. The uses of this expression as a noun are rather extensive. *1.* Here comes the meaning of 'sacrifice' or 'offering'. I. singular a) *qōdeš haqqŏdāšīm* (the holiness of holinesses, the holy of the holies). According to Ezra ii 63 deposed or illegitimate priests were not to partake of τὸ ἅγιον τῶν ἁγίων (the most holy [offering]). b) *qōdeš haqqŏdāšīm*. According to Neh. vii 65 priests without proper genealogy were not to partake of τὸ ἅγιον τῶν ἁγίων (the most holy [offering]). c) *qōdeš qodāšīm* (holiness of holinesses, holy of holies) rendered as ἅγιον ἁγίων (most holy [offering]), is applied to the portion of land as an oblation for the priests, Ezek. xlviii 12; in Lev. xxiv 9 Symmachus makes it refer to the shewbread. The rendering ἅγιον τῶν ἁγίων refers to the meal offering in Lev. ii 3. II. 1. The G uses the plural where the *nomen regens* in MT is in the singular, *qōdeš qodāšīm* (holiness of holinesses, holy of holies). a) ἅγια τῶν ἁγίων (most holy [offerings]) refers to the meal offering, Lev. ii 10, and to the shewbread, Lev. xxiv 9 b) *qōdeš haqqŏdāšīm* (ἅγια τῶν ἁγίων) in MT 1 Ch. vi 49 (34) refers to the sanctuary, but G transfers it to sacrifices as a holy service. c) *qōdeš qodāšīm* (ἅγια ἁγίων) refers to the

meal offering, Lev. vi 17 (10); x 12; guilt offering, Lev. vi 31, 36 (vii 1, 6); xiv 13; the sin offering, Lev. vi 25 (18), 29 (22); x 17. 2. In MT the *nomen regens* may be in the plural: *qodšē haqqŏdāšīm* (the holinesses of holinesses, the holies of holies) rendered τὰ ἅγια τῶν ἁγίων (the most holy [offerings]); this expression is used for the meal offering, sin offering, and guilt offering eaten by the priests, Ezek. xlii 13 (1°, 2°), with which *cf.* 2 Ch. xxxi 14; offerings permitted to be eaten by deformed priests, Lev. xxi 22; sacrifices offered only by priests of the line of Sadok, Ezek. xliv 13. *2.* The use of the superlative in connection with the sanctuary. This falls into the following classification. I. The Tabernacle. 1. *qōdeš haqqodāšīm* (the holiness of holinesses, the holy of holies), rendered τὸ ἅγιον τῶν ἁγίων (the most holy [place]). a) It may be applied to the court of the tent of meeting, Num. xviii 10; for the sense, *cf.* Lev. vi 16 (9), 26 (19); vi 36 (vii 6). b) As the *holy of holies*, it signifies the inner sanctuary, Ex. xxvi 33. II. In case of the Temple (of Solomon), *qōdeš haqqŏdāšīm*, rendered as a singular, τὸ ἅγιον τῶν ἁγίων refers to the inner sanctuary, 1 Kings vi 17 (16); the same sense is found in 2 Ch. iii 8, ὁ οἶκος τοῦ ἁγίου τῶν ἁγίων; *cf.* 1 Kings vii 36 (50), where ἁγίου τῶν ἁγίων is in apposition with τοῦ οἴκου τοῦ ἐσωτάτου. On the other hand, both nouns may be in the plural in G: 2 Ch. iv 22; v 7. III. In case of the Second Temple, *qōdeš qodāšīm* (ἅγιον ἁγίων) is used in a general sense, Dan. ix 24 (G Th). IV. In case of Ezekiel's Temple, *qōdeš haqqŏdāšīm* (τὸ ἅγιον τῶν ἁγίων) means 'the holy of holies' or the inner sanctuary, Ezek. xli 4. On the other hand, *qōdeš qodāšīm* (ἅγια τῶν ἁγίων) refers to the Temple in a general sense, Ezek. xlv 3.

From this survey of the adjectival and nominal use of ἅγιος in the LXX it appears that in a number of cases one has to be conversant with LXX Greek or have the Hebrew text beside the Greek in order to understand the Greek version. If the Hebrew text in some instances is obscure and the meaning can be determined only by close scrutiny of the context or by the use of a commentary, it must be admitted that the Greek translators have well succeeded in representing the ideas of *qādaš* and words derived from this root. It seems that there was considerable freedom in the translation of the neuter, which in reference to the Temple was used in the singular or in the plural without apparent difference in meaning. In the books which have no Hebrew counterpart the plural τὰ ἅγια (not the neuter singular) is the word employed for sanctuary in broad sense of the Temple: Judith iv 12f; xvi 20 (24); 1 Mac. iii 43, 59; vi 18, 54; xiv 15 *bis*, 36,

42f., 48; 2 Mac. xv 17. The variation of ἅγιον and ἅγια is represented in various books, and the occurrences within the same book do not justify us in assuming that they emanate from different translators. The most we can say is that the translators were not consistent and that the editorial supervision or revision was not strict, and in consequence the final rendering was not reduced to uniformity.

ETUDES
SUR LE „PAPYRUS PASCAL" D'ELEPHANTINE

PAR

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Le papyrus d'Eléphantine communément appelé „*lettre pascale de Darius II*" présente, pour l'étude de l'Ancien Testament, un intérêt tout particulier. Il serait superflu d'en redire une fois de plus les raisons. Il suffit de rappeler que ce document, étroitement lié à la législation juive, est daté. Et daté d'une époque où, précisément, les sources qui nous renseignent sur l'histoire du Judaïsme sont rares, lacunaires, incertaines sur plus d'un point. L'étude d'un texte aussi important a été souvent reprise, sans que l'on soit parvenu à dissiper toute l'obscurité qui l'entoure. Les deux plus récentes collections de textes extra-bibliques relatifs à l'Ancien Testament en font naturellement état: K. Galling, *Textbuch zur Geschichte Israels* (Tübingen 1950); J. B. Pritchard, *Ancient Near Eastern Texts* . . . (Princeton 1950). Le premier reproduit le texte araméen restauré par Cowley; le second présente une traduction de Ginsberg, fondée sur une restauration légèrement différente. Il s'agit donc d'un texte classique. Or, nul exégète, nul orientaliste, n'ignore combien de problèmes il soulève, étant donné le mauvais état de conservation dans lequel il nous est parvenu. Aussi ne sera-t-il pas inutile d'en reprendre systématiquement l'examen, même si, au terme d'une telle entreprise, bien des questions restent pendantes.

Parmi les multiples travaux qui lui ont déjà été consacrés, je me suis référé notamment aux suivants: Sachau, *Aramäische Papyrus und Ostraka* . . . , 1911 (la pl. 6 fournit une bonne photographie du document); Ungnad, *Aramäische Papyrus aus Elephantine*, 1911; Lagrange, *in*: *R.B.* 1912 (p. 575 sq.); Staerk, *Alte und neue aramäische Papyri*, 1912; van Hoonacker, *Une communauté judéo-araméenne à Eléphantine*, 1915; Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri of the fifth Century*, 1923 (édition classique, citée ici en abrégé: *A.P.*; le papyrus pascal y porte le no. 21); Vincent, *La religion des Judéo-araméens d'Eléphantine*, 1937

(*A.P.* 21 est étudié aux p. 234-311); HENNEQUIN, art. *Eléphantine*, *in*: *SDB*, T. II, col. 997-999; PEDERSEN, *Israel*, III-IV (p. 705-707); LODS, *Histoire de la littérature hébraïque et juive*, 1950 (p. 557-559), reprenant et complétant: *Les prophètes d'Israël* (p. 349-351); DUPONT-SOMMER, *Sur la fête de Pâque dans les documents araméens d'Eléphantine*, *CRAI*, 1945, (p. 174), publié intégralement dans: *REJ*, 1946-1947 (p. 39 sq.); KRAELING, *The Brooklyn Museum Aramaic Papyri*, 1953 (p. 92-96). Cette bibliographie est bien loin d'être exhaustive, puisqu'elle omet des noms comme ceux de LÉVY, MEYER et LIDZBARSKI. Il convient d'y ajouter encore les études consacrées à la langue des Papyri d'Eléphantine: BAUER-LEANDER, *Grammatik des Biblisch-Aramäischen* (en abrégé: *BLA*); LEANDER, *Laut- und Formlehre des Ägyptisch-Aramäischen*; JOÜON, *Notes grammaticales, lexicographiques et philologiques sur les papyrus araméens d'Egypte* (*Mélanges de l'université Saint-Joseph de Beyrouth*, T. XVIII, p. 1-100).

A plusieurs reprises, les éditeurs et commentateurs du „papyrus pascal" se sont ingéniés à en reconstituer le texte, fort mutilé. Ils sont parvenus à des résultats sensiblement divergents. C'est pourquoi bon nombre de critique préfèrent se tenir sur une prudente réserve. Les restitutions proposées sont jugées „plus ou moins risquées" par A. DUPONT-SOMMER (*REJ*, 1946-47, p. 39), et plus d'une fois, le papyrus est reproduit *avec ses lacunes* (ainsi KRAELING, *op. cit.*, p. 93). Il est vrai qu'aucun historien ne saurait tirer des conclusions fermes d'un texte restauré conjecturalement. S'ensuit-il qu'on ne puisse proposer des restaurations vraiment probables, si l'on a soin de se plier aux exigences d'une méthode rigoureuse? Il ne le semble pas. D'ailleurs, dans le cas précis du „papyrus pascal", la méthode à suivre est toute tracée.

S'agissant d'un texte juridique d'origine juive, le premier point à établir est de savoir à quelle législation et, plus précisément, à quels passages des codes conservés dans la Bible l'auteur se réfère. Si ce point peut être éclairci à l'aide des seuls fragments du papyrus qui aient été conservés sans aucun doute possible, on aura quelque chance de pouvoir reconstituer tout ou partie des autres en se fondant sur les parallélismes ainsi découverts. L'étude approfondie de ces parallélismes (législatifs et, accessoirement, littéraires) doit donc être menée en premier lieu, faute de quoi les hypothèses émises seraient nécessairement aventureuses. Encore faudra-t-il soumettre toutes les suppositions envisagées à une vérification matérielle aussi précise

que possible: dans ce but, ont devra non seulement déterminer la longueur des lacunes à remplir, mais „récrire" le texte présumé en utilisant les mêmes caractères que le scribe a tracés sur son papyrus; comme ils sont assez inégaux, il faudra, après avoir sérié les lettres semblables, retenir leur calibre moyen et les reproduire en tablant sur un écartement moyen. Sans prétendre arriver par cette voie à des résultats absolus, on fera du moins apparaître la vraisemblance, l'improbabilité ou l'impossibilité de certaines conjectures. Une fois exécuté — dans la mesure du possible — ce travail de restauration textuelle, les problèmes généraux soulevés par le document pourront être étudiés dans des conditions un peu moins défavorables.

I

Lignes 1 et 2.

La suscription de la lettre (ligne 11) permet de reconstituer avec certitude le début des lignes 1 et 2: (1) אל אחי (2) ידניה וכנותה חילא יהודיא אחוכם חנניה. A la suite de SACHAU, l'ensemble des commentateurs vocalise le nom du chef de la communauté juive d'Eléphantine: *Yedoniah*. Or JOÜON (*Notes* ... p. 44) fait remarquer à juste titre que, dans A.P. 37/17, le même nom est écrit יאדניה. Ce fait invite à le vocaliser: *Yadeniah*, nom de bonne consonnance hébraïque („Que Yah juge !"). Les parallélismes de *A.P.* 30/1, 37/1, 38/1 et 38/12, montrent que le mot כנותה („compagnons, associés") doit être pris dans un sens assez large et ne désigne pas toujours la même catégorie de personnes. En 30/1, sont associés à Yadeniah: „les prêtres qui sont dans la forteresse de Yeb"; en 37/1: „Ma'uziyah, Uriyah et les militaires"; en 38/1: „Uriyah et les prêtres du Dieu YHW, Mattan b. Yoshibyah et Neriyah b. ..."; et 38/12: „Uriyah et les prêtres et les juifs de la garnison"; selon toute vraisemblance, l'expéditeur de cette dernière lettre est Ma'uziyah b. Natan, mentionné dans *A.P.* 37/1, 33/2, scribe de profession auquel sont dûs les contrats *A.P.* 18, 20, 25 et *Brooklyn* 4 & 7. *A.P.* 38/1 invite à distinguer Yadeniah et Uriyah des prêtres nommés ensuite: il n'y a donc pas lieu de tenir les deux premiers pour des prêtres (JOÜON, *Notes* ..., p. 42, qui traduit 38/1 et 12: „ ... et les *autres* prêtres")[1]. VINCENT (p. 240 et 468-472)

[1]) Dans *A.P.* 38/12, SACHAU (p. 12) lit: מעוזיה בר צחא. Mais le dernier mot est pratiquement illisible, comme le remarquent UNGNAD et COWLEY, qui liraient volontiers en cet endroit בר נתן. STAERK laisse le mot en blanc. Les faibles traces encore visibles sur la planche de SACHAU correspondraient plutôt à נתן qu'à צחא. La comparaison entre l'écriture de cette lettre privée et celle des cinq

a donc raison de tenir le chef de la communauté pour un laïc; en revanche, il entend de façon trop stricte le mot „collègues" et le restreint indûment, dans *A.P.* 21 et 30, aux seuls membres du conseil des notables, associés à Yadeniah dans l'administration de la communauté; il lui faut, pour cela, suppléer une copule ו dans 21/2: „A mes frères Yadeniah, et ses collègues, (*et*) l'armée juive". L'omission de la copule se rencontre parfois dans le cours d'une énumération (*A.P.* 20/4); mais rien n'indique que ce soit le cas dans *A.P.* 21/2 et 30/1: dans ces deux derniers textes, le sens de כנותה est explicité par l'apposition qui le suit. La „lettre pascale" est adressée à tous les militaires juifs d'Eléphantine, tandis que la supplique à Bagôhi a pour expéditeurs les seuls prêtres du temple de YHW, „associés" pour la circonstance à l'ethnarque Yadeniah. [1])

Joüon (p. 41-44) a étudié en détail le sens du mot חילא dans les textes d'Eléphantine. A côté de la signification courante: „l'armée", „la garnison", il reconnaît à ce terme, en certains passages, une valeur de collectif: „les soldats", „les militaires" (cf. 30/8). A sa suite, on traduira donc le présent texte: „A mes frères Yadeniah et ses compagnons, les militaires juifs". יהודיא, accordé avec un collectif, „peut représenter un singulier ou un pluriel" (*id. ibid.*, p. 42); mais le pluriel paraît préférable (cf. 30/8). En tous cas, avec Kraeling (*op. cit.*, p. 41, note 3) on exclura la traduction „colonie", proposée par Aimé-Giron dans son édition du papyrus de Saqqara (fragment C, ligne 6), et retenue pour *A.P.* 21/2 par A. Dupont-Sommer (*REJ*, 1946-47, p. 40: „la colonie juive").

La formule de politesse stéréotypée ne laisse pas d'étonner sous la plume d'un Juif orthodoxe: [שלם אחי אלהיא[ישאלו. Formule de

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contrats dûs à la plume de *Maʿuziyah b. Natan* donne un ferme appui à cette hypothèse. Les contrats s'échelonnent entre 434 et 416; la lettre est antérieure à 411, mais postérieure à 419. Or on y remarque certains traits qui se retrouvent dans les contrats avec une constance frappante: ן très incurnés; ם presque fermés parfois; tendance générale à terminer le ך, le ן, le ת par un crochet dirigé vers la gauche; formes identiques pour les ק et les ט (notamment dans *A.P.* 38 et *A.P.* 25, qui date de 416, cf.: la planche de Sayce and Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri discovered at Assuan*, pap. J). Kraeling (p. 84) a donc raison d'attribuer *A.P.* 38 à Maʿuziyah b. Natan.

[1]) Telle est également l'opinion de Sachau et de Meyer (cf. Kraeling, *op. cit.*, p. 222). Commentant *A.P.* 30/1, Cowley (p. 111) la combat vigoureusement. A ses yeux, Yadeniah est le chef des prêtres d'Eléphantine. *A.P.* 38/1 et 12 me semble exclure formellement cette hypothèse; or il s'agit là d'un texte écrit par un scribe de métier, un notaire, donc un juriste habitué à la précision du langage. Il reste que le titre d'*ethnarque* ne peut être employé ici qu'au sens large: „the head of the Jewish community" (Kraeling, p. 49).

chancellerie, soit: mais les notaires d'Eléphantine n'hésitaient pas à la modifier pour substituer „le Dieu du Ciel" aux „dieux" du paganisme (cf. *A.P.* 30/1-2) — et cela, même dans des lettres privées (*A.P.* 38/2-3 et 40/2). Il est vrai que d'autres épistoliers se montrent moins scrupuleux (*A.P.* 37/1-2; 39/1; 56/1; *Brook.* 13/1). Cowley, après Meyer, suggère que le pluriel אלהיא, comme l'hébreu אלהים, avait cessé d'être regardé consciemment comme tel (p. 63). On ne saurait le prétendre pour *A.P.* 39 et *Brook.* 13, où il est précisé: „tous les dieux" . . . Kraeling en conclut (p. 84) que Ḥananiah, comme les Juifs d'Eléphantine, avait à l'égard des dieux du paganisme une attitude libérale et tolérante. Hennequin (*SDB*, II, col. 999) se fonde sur l'usage de cette expression équivoque pour douter qu'il s'agisse d'un Juif orthodoxe écrivant au nom des autorités religieuses de son peuple. La suite de cette étude montrera que Ḥannaniah (qui n'est pas un Juif d'Eléphantine) communique à ses „frères" des précisions législatives provenant directement du Code sacerdotal: ce fait garantit son orthodoxie et ne favorise guère l'hypothèse d'une attitude „libérale" !

Deux explications restent possibles. Joüon (*Notes* . . . , p. 25-29) a montré que le pluriel indéterminé אלהן a toujours, à Eléphantine, le sens de „Dieu" (comme l'hébreu correspondant). En outre, dans *Aḥiqar* 126, le pluriel déterminé est à entendre de même, puisqu'il est accompagné de deux verbes au singulier. Supposer là une faute de scribe (Cowley, Perles, Kraeling) est arbitraire, car le singulier אלהא, dans les textes d'Eléphantine, ne signifie jamais „Dieu" tout court: on ne le trouve qu'en apposition à un nom propre (Joüon, p. 26). On pourrait donc légitimement supposer que Ḥananiah emploie אלהיא, sinon comme un équivalent exact de l'hébreu אלהים, du moins en un sens affaibli; dans cette perspective se justifierait la traduction de Ginsberg: „ . . . may God seek . . .". Il ne serait pas pour cela nécessaire d'imaginer le verbe ישאל au singulier, comme dans *Aḥiqar* 126; en revanche, on ne saurait tirer argument du verbe au pluriel pour attribuer à Ḥananiah une formule franchement polythéiste (Kraeling, p. 84), puisque, de toute façon, le verbe est situé dans une lacune du texte.

La seconde explication, qui me paraît la plus plausible, exclut toute discussion byzantine sur le sens de אלהיא. Acceptons franchement le fait que le „papyrus pascal" commence par une formule de politesse protocolaire, couramment utilisée par les fonctionnaires et les scribes appartenant à l'administration des Achéménides. Ne serait-ce pas

l'indice que Ḥananiah, pour communiquer à ses „frères" juifs des instructions approuvées par la chancellerie royale, a recouru aux bons offices d'un quelconque scribe qui faisait carrière dans un rang subalterne? Rien, en effet, ne nous prouve qu'il a écrit sa lettre *lui-même*. Le fait qu'il excipe d'un rescrit envoyé par l'administration centrale au satrape d'Egypte Arsham invite à penser que le lieu d'envoi de sa lettre n'est autre que la capitale administrative de l'Egypte. N'est-il pas dès lors vraisemblable que, n'ayant pas pris la précaution de préciser au scribe *non-juif* auquel il dictait sa lettre quelle formule de politesse il lui fallait employer, son secrétaire improvisé aura reproduit mécaniquement celle dont il usait d'ordinaire? S'il en est ainsi, la présence d'une expression polythéiste au début du „papyrus pascal" est dénuée de toute signification [1]).

Lignes 3 et 4 A.

Ici commence la lettre proprement dite, après l'adresse et la formule de politesse laissée (peut-on croire) aux bons soins du secrétaire: . . . . וכעת שנתא זא שנת 5 דריוהוש מלכא מן מלכא שליח על ארשם. De la fin de la phrase, il ne reste que les deux dernières lettres: יא.

La pièce administrative adressée à Arsham n'est pas sans parallèle: Esdr. vi 2-5 (édit de Cyrus); Esdr. vi 6-12 (instructions de Darius Ier sur la reconstruction du Temple de Jérusalem); Esdr. vii 21-24 (ordres envoyés par Artaxerxès aux trésoriers de Transeuphratène pour les inviter à acquiescer aux exigences d'Esdras); Neh. ii 7-9 (lettres de recommandations accréditant Néhémie). La variété même

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[1]) La formule protocolaire שלם ישאל s'entend peut-être mieux si on lit le verbe au *haf'el*, avec le sens de „accorder" (Joüon, *Notes* . . . , p. 55, suit sur ce point Brockelmann, *Grundriss* . . , p 266). Effectivement, le ־ה־ tombe assez fréquemment à l'imparfait et au participe, dans la langue d'Eléphantine comme dans l'araméen biblique (références dans Rowley, *The Aramaic of the O.T.*, p. 83-84, et dans Cowley, *A.P.*, p. 31: remarque sur le pap. 10/9). L'usage est ancien, puisqu'on le trouve déjà dans Esdr. iv 12, v 5 et 8, vi 5 et 14, ainsi que dans un contrat daté de l'an 456 (*A.P.* 10). Il étonnerait d'autant moins ici qu'il s'agit d'une formule très courante, soumise par là même à une usure plus rapide. La même règle s'appliquerait à tous les exemples parallèles (répertoriés dans Cowley, *op. cit.*, p. 311). Quant au sens attribué à שאל haf., il a de bons appuis en heb. (Ges.-B. 798 a; Köhler, 937 a), m-heb. et jud.-aram. (Jastrow, 1507 a et b: „accorder un prêt"; Dalman, 412 a), syr. (Brun , 651 a; Brockelmann, 749 a: „prêter", c'est à dire „consentir à une demande"), arabe (*sa'ala*, f. iv, „accorder à quelqu'un sa demande", selon Belot, *Vocabulaire arabe-français*). Cette explication de l'expression me paraît plus simple et plus naturelle que celle de Kraeling (*op. cit.*, p. 287): „The idiom imagines the gods *desiring* favorable omina for their devotees".

de ces parallèles permet d'échafauder des hypothèses fort diverses quant à la teneur du rescrit royal auquel se réfère Ḥananiah.

La construction grammaticale exigée par l'emploi de שליח n'est pas plus aisée à déterminer. On pourrait, avec LAGRANGE, attribuer à ce verbe un sujet placé en fin de phrase: „une lettre" (פתגמא: Esdr. iv 17, v 7; נשתונא: Esdr. iv 18, *A.P.* 17/3; אגרתא: Esdr. iv 11, v 6, *A.P.* 30/7 et 24, 38/10, 40/3, 41/5), „une décision royale" (רעות מלכא: Esdr. v 17). Le fait que le verbe soit au masculin ne constitue pas un obstacle à de telles hypothèses, car le sujet (même féminin) serait placé après le verbe et séparé de lui par un complément circonstanciel, comme dans Esdr. vi 2 (cf. *BLA*, 101 c); la liberté de construction de l'araméen autoriserait pleinement une telle tournure (*BLA*, 99 a, 100 p, 101). Toutefois. l'emploi impersonnel du verbe שלח en style de chancellerie ou de correspondance est si fréquent qu'il demeure ici le plus probable (Esdr. iv 14, vi 13, vii 14; Dan. iii 2; *A.P.* 16/8, 17/3, 26/6 et 21, 30/29, 38/9, 42/10 bis, 54/2) [1]). On traduira donc: „ . . . de par le roi il a été mandé à Arsham . . .". Mais il est bien impossible de dire comment la phrase continuait. COWLEY déclare un peu vite: „לאמר ou לם is needed after שליח to introduce the decree in l. 4". En effet, en araméen d'Egypte et en araméen biblique, on ne trouve pas moins de huit constructions différentes pour introduire l'objet de la missive ou de l'ordre envoyé. Si cet objet est exprimé par un nom ou un pronom, on a: a) la construction directe (*A.P.* 26/6, discuté); b) la prép. ב (*A.P.* 38/9); c) la préposition על (*A.P.* 40/3, Esdr. iv 14). Si cet objet est exprimé dans un compexe incluant un verbe, on a: a) le style direct introduit par לאמר (*A.P.* 16/8, 30/7, 31/6); b) le style direct sans aucune particule pour l'introduire, comme s'il y avaient deux points (*A.P.* 54/2); c) le jussif précédé de לם (adverbe, et non conjonction de subordination: cf. LEANDER, *Laut- und Formlehre* . . . , 61 e) —

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[1]) Les documents publiés par DRIVER (*Aramaic documents of the fifth century*) présentent de même une grande variété de constructions. Avec le verbe actif, l'objet est exprimé dans 8/3 (= מליא); 4/3 (contrairement aux indications de l'Index), 12/5 et 11 (קבלת: une plainte); de même, avec le verbe au *'it^h^p.*, le sujet est exprimé dans 10/2 (אגרת: verbe au féminin placé après le sujet). Par contre, le verbe est employé absolument (ellipse de l'objet à l'actif et du sujet au passif) dans 3/5 (rapproché par DRIVER de *A.P.* 26/21 et 21/3: notre texte), 4/1, 8/1, 12/1 (suivi de כן אמר et du style direct), 7/5 (objet de la communication introduit par על), 12/8 (style direct à l'indicatif avec לם, sans autre mot qui l'introduise). Je laisse de côté les fragments de texte. Au total, l'emploi „elliptique" du verbe est le plus fréquent; mais il est impossible de prévoir à l'avance quelle tournure le suivra dans chaque cas particulier.

ce qui pourrait s'entendre de trois façons: soit comme une manière de discours direct, soit comme une proposition finale ou consécutive, soit comme une complétive exprimant le contenu de l'ordre donné (*A.P.* 26/21-32: cette dernière interprétation me semble la meilleure); d) une proposition introduite par די (Esdr. iv 15), interprétée comme une finale par certains commentateurs (v.g. RUDOLPH, *H z A.T.*), comme un discours direct par d'autres, — le די étant purement explétif (*BLA*, 70 r); e) l'infinitif introduit par ל (*A.P.* 30/24, Esdr. vii 14, Dan. iii 2): on pourrait encore voir là une proposition finale à l'infinitif, mais, tout compte fait, il s'agit plus probablement d'un discours indirect exprimant le contenu de l'ordre envoyé: „Un ordre a été envoyé par le roi (portant qu'il fallait) inspecter . . .”; „Le roi Nabuchodonosor envoya un ordre (portant qu'il fallait) rassembler . . .”; „Qu'une lettre leur soit envoyée par toi au-sujet de ce temple du Dieu YHW, (portant qu'il faut) le rebâtir . . .”. Bref, aucune construction ne s'impose. Les parallélismes n'éclairent en rien la fin de la ligne 3 et la première partie de la ligne 4.

Lignes 4 B et 5 A.

La mention du rescrit royal est désormais terminée. Ḥananiah s'adresse directement à ses correspondants à la seconde personne du pluriel et leur donne ses propres ordres en vertu de l'autorité dont il est, de toute évidence, investi: כען אנתם כן מנו ארב[עת עשר יומן . . .]. La mention du 15 Nisan à la ligne suivante ne permet pas de douter sérieusement qu'il faille lire ici, en suppléant deux mots et demi: „Maintenant, vous, comptez ainsi quat[orze jours . . .]”.

Cette référence au 14 Nisan nous conduit aux textes législatifs suivants: Ezech. xlv 21: „Au premier mois, le 14e jour du mois, ce sera pour vous la fête de la Pâque; durant sept jours vous mangerez des azymes” [1]). Lev. xxiii 6: „Au premier mois, le 14ème jour du mois, entre les deux soirs (pour le sens exact de cette expression, cf. inf.), c'est la Pâque de Yahwé”. Nomb. xxviii 16: „Au premier mois, le 14ème jour du mois, c'est la Pâque de Yahwé”. Ex. xii 6: (à propos de l'agneau mis à part en vue de la fête le 10 du premier mois) „. . . Vous le garderez jusqu'au 14ème jour de ce mois, et toute

[1]) Pour Ez. xlv 21, la correction du T M semble s'imposer: déplacement de חג; lecture שבעת au lieu de שבעות; „vous mangerez”, avec grec et syr. COOKE (*ICC*, p. 503 et 507) et BERTHOLET (*H z A T*, p. 160) sont là-dessus en parfait accord.

l'assemblée d'Israël l'immolera entre les deux soirs." Cette législation est supposée par Nomb. ix 3 et 5, 2 Chr. xxx 15 et xxxv 2, Esdr. vi 19. Un seul texte mentionne, à propos du 14 Nisan, autre chose que la Pâque; c'est Ex. xii 18: „Le premier mois le 14ème jour du mois, au soir, vous mangerez des azymes jusqu'au 21ème jour, au soir". Mais nous retrouverons plus loin une allusion tellement claire à ce passage que nous pouvons le mettre en réserve pour l'instant. Ainsi, les parallélismes restants nous conduisent tous à supposer qu'il était question de la Pâque au début de la ligne 5; en outre, ils orientent tout de suite nos recherches vers le Code sacerdotal et vers Ezéchiel, non vers le Deutéronome ou les codes plus anciens.

Le verbe מנו employé pour la supputation des jours traduit exactement l'hébreu ספרו. Nulle part la Bible n'emploie cette expression à propos de la Pâque ou des Azymes, mais on la retrouve ailleurs: Lev. xv 13 et 28 (durée de l'impureté légale, fixée à 7 jours); Ez. xliv 26 (le prêtre qui s'est souillé par le contact d'un mort attend 7 jours pour reprendre son service liturgique); Lev. xxv 8 (supputation des sept semaines d'années au terme desquelles on entre dans l'année jubilaire); Deut. xvi 9 et Lev. xxiii 15-16 (supputation soit des sept semaines, soit des 50 jours, au terme desquels on célèbre la fête des Semaines). La formule appartient donc à la phraséologie des prescriptions rituelles; elle est attestée parallèlement dans le Deutéronome et la législation sacerdotale. Son utilisation par Ḥananiah n'aurait rien de particulièrement significatif si, par ailleurs, il n'était démontré que celui-ci se réfère à certains textes juridiques bien déterminés. Mais le fait qu'il s'efforce d'introduire à Eléphantine le calendrier liturgique conservé dans Lev. xxiii 4 sq. met spécialement en relief le parallélisme de Lev. xxxiii 15-16. Sans songer à une imitation littéraire *intentionnelle*, on peut supposer à bon droit une influence *indirecte* de ce texte sur la structure de sa phrase, et cette réminiscence fournit peut-être le moyen de reconstruire le début de la ligne 5 en tablant sur des données objectives.

Lignes 5 B et 6 A.

„Et depuis le jour 15ème jusqu'au jour 21ème de [Nisan . . .]". Le nom du mois ne fait aucun doute puisqu'il figure à la ligne 8. Cette fois encore, les parallélismes bibliques excluent les anciens codes et le Deutéronome, et conduisent à la législation sacerdotale et aux textes qui dénotent son influence. Mention du 15 Nisan comme

début des sept jours des Azymes: Lev. xxiii 6, Nomb. xviii 17; le même calendrier est évidemment supposé par Ex. xii 15, 2 Chron. xxx 21, xxxv 17, Esdr. vi 22; enfin, Ex. xii 18 nomme explicitement le 21 Nisan comme dernier jour de la fête. Ces références permettent de circonscrire les passages de la Bible dans lesquels on pourra utilement chercher l'expression employée par Ḥananiah au début de la ligne 6: il y a présomption pour qu'elle soit empruntée à la phraséologie d'école sont témoignent tous ces textes apparentés entre eux.

Lignes 6B et 7A.

[. . . דכין הוו ואזדהרו עבידה א[ל תעבדו . . .]" Soyez purs et prenez garde: du travail n[e faites pas . . .]". Le texte est parfaitement assuré. L'équivalence entre l'aram. דכה et l'héb. טהר fait d'autant moins difficulté qu'elle est constante dans le Targum d'Onqelos. La notation d'un *ḏ* primitif à l'aide du ד est attestée en aram. d'Egypte bien avant 420 (références dans Rowley, *op. cit.*, p. 19 sq.; le cas présent est discuté p. 22). On voit mal pourquoi Cowley écrit: „I take דכין as זכין ‚clean' ". Les équivalences indiquées par Rowley (p. 22) sont beaucoup plus justes: *ḏky* = be clean; *ẓky* = be pure, innocent (cf. *Aḥiqar* 46 et Dan. vi 23). La spécialisation de *ḏky* pour exprimer l'idée de pureté rituelle (proche de celle de propreté), et de *ẓky* pour désigner l'innocence morale (dans le Trg d'Onq, זכא traduit נקה et צדק) est donc ancienne en araméen — tout au moins dans les milieux juifs [1]).

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[1]) La question du rapport originel entre ces deux racines demeure obscure. Les indications données à ce sujet par les lexiques de Köhler et de Zorell sont incomplètes et, de ce fait, n'éclairent rien. L'hypothèse la plus probable, rappelée déjà par Ges.-B., est celle de Zimmern (*Akkadische Fremdwörter*, p. 25). La racine sémitique originelle serait *ḏky*, conservée telle quelle en arabe, et sous la forme *dky* en aram.-syr. Son sens serait celui de la clarté, de la limpidité, de la propreté physique (d'où la signification dérivée de „pureté rituelle"). En akkadien, la racine a naturellement été notée *zakū*; par ailleurs, sur son sens premier (qui était conservé) s'est greffé un sens second, attesté à la forme II_1: „für gerecht erklären", et à la forme III_1: „für rechtgültig erklären" (Bezold, 112 b). La forme *ẓky* de la racine en aram.-syr. et arabe serait en réalité un akkadisme, spécialisé par l'usage pour exprimer le sens moral et juridique (dérivé) de la racine. Quant à l'hébreu, il est normal qu'il ne connaisse que la forme זכה (plus une nouvelle formation זכך); mais il est visible que son sens oscille de la nuance physique (et rituelle) à la nuance morale, exactement comme *zakū* en akkadien. Il est probable que le besoin de distinguer graphiquement *ḏky* = 'be clean' et *ẓky* = 'be innocent' a hâté, pour ce terme en particulier, le processus en vertu duquel l'araméen en est venu à noter *ḏ* par ד.

La préoccupation de la pureté rituelle à l'occasion de la Pâque se retrouve en trois passages de la Bible. A la suite du récit étiologique de Nomb. ix 1-5, qui applique à la vie d'Israël au désert le calendrier liturgique énoncé avec précision dans Lev. xxiii 5 (celui-là même auquel le „papyrus pascal" se réfère), vient un second récit étiologique d'allure casuistique. Que faire si l'on n'est pas „pur" au temps fixé pour la célébration de la Pâque? Réponse: la célébrer au mois suivant. Le cas concret à propos duquel la règle est énoncée renvoie à Nomb. xviii 11-22; la suite du texte fait explicitement allusion au rituel pascal décrit dans Ex. xii 1-14. Selon toute apparence, l'ensemble du passage est le résultat d'une jurisprudence assez tardive.

La législation sur laquelle il s'appuie et la jurisprudence qu'il exprime constituent également la base sur laquelle se fonde le Chroniste pour présenter la Pâque d'Ezéchias (2 Chron. xxx 1-22): Pâque au second mois; souci de la pureté légale. La *loi écrite* touchant ce dernier point, à laquelle fait allusion xxx 18, paraît bien être celle de Lev. vii 20-21 (obligation d'être „pur" pour *manger* la chair d'une victime sacrificielle). Cette donnée vaut la peine d'être retenue, puisqu'elle nous fait connaître pour quel *motif* la „pureté" était requise lorsque l'on célébrait la Pâque, et sur quel *texte* les juristes s'appuyaient pour le démontrer. Lev. vii 20-21 constituait une base suffisante pour que le cas de conscience énoncé en Nomb. ix 6-13 se posât: le repas pascal était assimilé par la jurisprudence au repas sacré qui suivait le sacrifice de communion (le rituel d'Ex. xii 10 rappelle un autre point des règles relatives aux sacrifices de communion; cf. Lev. xxii 29-30, vii 15 et 17).

Cependant, 2 Chron. xxx 17 et Esdr. vi 20 mettent la pureté rituelle en rapport, non avec la manducation de la Pâque, mais avec l'*immolation* des victimes. C'est que, explique très bien Curtis, „had the lambs been slain and their blood caught by persons levitically unclean, the expiatory sacrificial blood would have been defiled" (*Chronicles*, *ICC*, p. 475). Mais chez le Chroniste, le rituel pascal diffère notablement de celui d'Ex. xii 1-10; de sacrifice *domestique*, la Pâque est devenue sacrifice *de Temple*, et le sang d'agneaux immolés, au lieu d'être placé sur les linteaux des portes, est versé sur l'autel comme dans les sacrifices d'expiation (cf. Lev. iv 7, 18, 25, 30). L'esprit du rituel de l'expiation a envahi jusqu'au rituel pascal. Le Chroniste témoigne donc ici d'une évolution certaine par rapport aux textes les plus élaborés du Code

sacerdotal [1]). En revanche, l'ambiance supposée par Nomb. ix 1-13 correspond bien à celle dans laquelle le „papyrus pascal" semble se situer.

Le verbe אזהרו („faites attention, prenez garde, soyez avertis, tenez-vous pour avertis") appartient à l'usage courant, tant en araméen (*Behis.* 51: *pʿal*; Esdr. iv 22: part. pass. *pᵉal*) qu'en hébreu (Ex. xviii 20: E[1], *hif*; 2 Rois vi 10, *hif*; Eccl. xii 12, *nif* correspondant exactement au *'itpʿel* du texte analysé ici; de même Ps. xix 12, *nif* rendu dans le Targ. par un *'itpʿel*). Mais puisque d'autres indices montrent la parenté de Ḥananiah avec le courant sacerdotal, il convient de se demander si, sur ce point encore, il n'use pas d'une phraséologie d'école. VINCENT (*op. cit.*, p. 289) relève à juste titre le parallélisme de Lev. xv 31; en effet, Lev. vii 20-21 (qui sert d'appui à l'ordre d'être „purs") appartient au Code de Pureté, auquel cette clausule sert de conclusion: „Vous avertirez (זהר *hif*) les enfants d'Israël de leurs impuretés etc. . . .". Mais il faut rappeler aussi 2 Chron. xix 10. Sans voir avec CURTIS un aramaïsme dans l'emploi de זהר en cet endroit (*ICC*, p. 404), il vaut mieux, comme en Lev. vii le rapprocher de l'usage qu'en fait Ezéchiel (iii 17-21: 7 fois; xxxiii 1-9: 7 fois). L'obligation d'*avertir* le pécheur afin qu'il se convertisse et le juste pour qu'il ne pèche pas constitue l'un des traits caractéristiques de la vocation prophétique d'Ezéchiel. En outre, le contexte immédiat de Lev. xv 31 et de 2 Chron. xix 10 est tissé d'expressions qui semblent dénoter l'influence d'Ezéchiel, tant pour la pensée que pour la phraséologie. Pour Lev. xv 31, voir: Ez. xxii 26 et xliv 23 (une fonction essentielle des prêtres est d'apprendre aux Israélites à distinguer le pur de l'impur); v 11 et xxiii 38 (la souillure du sanctuaire); iii 18-21, xviii et xxxiii 1-20 (usage du mot „mourir" comme expression de la punition divine). Pour 2 Chron. xix 10, voir Ez. xliv 24 (fonction de juge attribuée aux prêtres-lévites). On peut donc se demander si un aspect original de la vocation prophétique, telle qu'elle se présente chez Ezéchiel, n'a pas été incorporé à la spiritualité des milieux sacerdotaux après l'exil, et si l'emploi de זהר dans Lev. xv 31 et 2 Chron. xix 10 n'en est pas un signe discret mais digne de remarque. La même question se pose pour la lettre de Ḥananiah.

L'interdiction du travail au 1er et au 7ème jour des Azymes est

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[1]) Le Chroniste paraît témoigner également d'un assouplissement de la règle rituelle la plus stricte au bénéfice de la bonne foi de ceux qui „appliquent leur cœur à chercher Yahwé": celui-ci pardonne aux hommes de bonne volonté qui ont mangé la Pâque sans s'être purifiés (xxx 19).

explicitement prévue dans les textes suivants: Lev. xxiii 7-8, Nomb. xxviii 18 et 25, Ex. xii 16. Il n'est pas douteux que Ḥananiah promulgue ici cette législation. Les passages bibliques précités fournissent donc une base excellente pour la restauration de la ligne 7 A.

Ligne 7 B.

Le texte subsistant reprend au milieu d'une phrase: אל תשתו . . . וכל מנדעם זי חמית א . . . . . Malheureusement, aucun texte biblique ne porte interdiction d'une *boisson* quelconque lors de la célébration de la Pâque. Le seul parallèle précis se trouve dans la Mishna (traité *Pesachim*, III 1). „L'ordre donné à la ligne 7, écrit VINCENT, ne peut s'appliquer qu'à la bière égyptienne spécialement interdite pour les Juifs de la Diaspora d'Egypte" (*op. cit.* p. 273). On peut se demander si cette interprétation restrictive est bien exacte; car, si la Mishna nomme le *zythos* d'Egypte, c'est au cours d'une énumération destinée à préciser quels mélanges liquides *fermentés* tombent sous la même loi de proscrition que le pain *fermenté*, lors de la semaine des Azymes. Il s'agit là sans doute d'une jurisprudence tardive qui fait écho à une tradition de droit coutumier, non codifiée dans les textes du Pentateuque mais fort ancienne. On peut présumer qu'au 5ème siècle cette tradition avait un caractère plutôt *extensif*, s'appliquant à toutes sortes de liquides fermentés dont la nature (et probablement le nom générique) rappelait la fermentation du pain.

Or précisément, la même racine *ḥmḏ* est utilisée en hébreu pour désigner le pain fermenté proscrit durant la fête des Azymes (חָמֵץ), et une certaine catégorie de boissons interdite aux Nazirs (Nomb. vi 3): le חֹמֶץ (*ḥumḏ*). Le rituel du naziréat en distingue deux sortes: חֹמֶץ יַיִן et חֹמֶץ שֵׁכָר; on peut donc entendre par là toute espèce de „boisson aigre", provenant soit de la fermentation acide du vin, soit de celle du *šékar* (en français populaire, toute espèce de „piquette"). On sait que cette „piquette" était communément utilisée (Ruth ii 14) et que sa réputation n'était pas fameuse (Prov. x 26, Ps. lxix 22). Une courte enquête dans les langues voisines de l'hébreu montre que la racine *ḥmḏ* y était assez largement utilisée pour désigner la boisson aigre. L'akkadien *šikaru enṣu* (rac. *emēṣu*), traduit ordinairement par „vinaigre" (BEZOLD, p. 273 b), rappelle fortement le חֹמֶץ שֵׁכָר de Nomb. vi 3. L'égyptien a emprunté aux langues sémitiques le terme *ḥmḏ* pour désigner le vinaigre, et le copte l'a conservé (cf. lexique de

Köhler, p. 312 a). L'emploi de חומצא dans Targ. Prov. x 26 n'est pas nécessairement un hébraïsme tardif; en effet, le syriaque, à côté d'un verbe ܚܡܨ (jud-aram חמע), a conservé un verbe ܚܡܥ, „acidus factus est" (d'où ܚܡܥܐ, „acidus"), que Brockelmann tient pour un emprunt ancien au cananéen (*Lexicon syriacum*, p. 240 b). Enfin, en arabe, la racine *ḥmḍ* veut dire „être aigre, aigrir", en parlant du vin et du lait.

Toutes ces considérations ne nous font pas évidemment pas connaître le nom de la boisson proscrite par la „lettre pascale"; elles nous montrent du moins que, le vin étant hors de cause [1]), la bière n'est pas la seule hypothèse possible, bien que ce fût la boisson égyptienne la plus courante (Erman, *La religion égyptienne*, p. 143; Erman-Ranke, *La civilisation égyptienne*, p. 256 et 324.) Cowley suggère que le texte portait ici peut-être un nom de boisson égyptien; cela ne semble guère probable, car celui qui écrit est un Juif de Palestine ou de Babylonie, et il serait bien étonnant qu'il n'emploie pas un mot de consonnance sémitique. Les commentateurs retiennent souvent le mot שכר, qui pouvait désigner toutes sortes de boissons, y-compris la bière (Bertholet, *Histoire de la civilisation d'Israël*, p. 203; Barrois, *Archéologie biblique*, I, p. 350). C'est là une pure conjecture et, à tout prendre, un équivalent de l'hébreu חֹמֶץ me semble mieux réprondre aux données du problème. Au demeurant, il est impossible de proposer une solution vraiment probable.

Le mot חמיר requiert aussi quelques explications: désigne-t-il le „levain" ou le „pain fermenté"? Hapax en araméen d'Egypte, il n'est pas attesté en araméen biblique. Le Targ. d'Onqelos l'utilise constamment pour rendre l'héb. שְׂאֹר, tandis que, pour désigner le pain levé, il emploie חמיע (Ex. xii 15) et מחמעא (Ex. xii 19). De même, en syr. (et christo-palestinien) ܚܡܝܥ est le levain et ܚܡܝܥܐ le pain levé. En arabe, *ḫamīr* désigne le levain et, plus généralement, l'agent de

[1]) L'usage cultuel du vin est attesté par Nomb. xxviii 7 (libations); Esdr. vi 9 et vii 22 (aucune précision sur l'emploi qui en sera fait); 1 Sam. i 14-15 (festin cultuel lors du pélerinage annuel effectué au sanctuaire où réside l'arche: cf. Ex. xxiii 14-19 et xxxiv 18-26). Il y a donc lieu de penser que l'introduction du vin dans les repas cultuels israélites remonte à l'époque où Israël incorpora à son rituel archaïque des coutumes empruntées aux Cananéens. Jub. xlix 6 montre les Hébreux usant de vin lors de la célébration de la Pâque en Egypte: c'est là un anachronisme; mais il n'y a pas lieu de reculer jusqu'à l'époque gréco-romaine l'introduction du vin dans le repas pascal (Beer, éd. du traité *Pesachim*, p. 72; cf. Gray, *Sacrifice in the O.T.*, p. 375). A l'encontre de cette opinion, on notera par exemple la mention du vin dans la description du festin eschatologique (Is. xxv 5) et du festin de la Sagesse (Prov. ix 2-5).

toute fermentation. Mais JASTROW et DALMAN signalent que le jud-aram emploie le terme dans les deux sens. Le thème *qatīl* sur lequel il est formé donne: en hébreu, des adjectifs, notamment à sens passif, parfois substantivés (JOÜON, *Grammaire de l'hébreu biblique*, 88 b); en arabe, des adjectifs ayant „le sens d'un participe actif de verbe qualitatif" ou parfois „le sens du participe passif"; un grand nombre de ces adjectifs sont pris substantivement (GAUDEFROY-DEMOMBYNES et BLACHERE, *Grammaire de l'arabe classique*, p. 87-88); en araméen, le participe passif de la forme simple et des adjectifs à sens passif ou actif (*BLA*, 188 h"-l"; DALMAN, *Grammatik* . . . 1ère éd. p. 123-125). Il semble donc qu'avant d'être pris substantivement, חמיר eut d'abord une valeur de participe ou d'adjectif: „fermenté", d'où: „chose fermentée", puis: „ferment" (parce que l'agent de la fermentation est une chose déjà fermentée). Dans le cas présent, la structure de la phrase ne permet pas de décider si le mot est un substantif („levain"), un adjectif pris substantivement (du „fermenté", sens adopté par VINCENT et indiqué par COWLEY dans son index, *A.P.* p. 287: „leavened", alors que la traduction du document, p. 65, porte: „leaven"), ou bien le participe passif employé avec sa valeur verbale („rien qui soit fermenté"). Dans le permier cas, on songera aux parallélismes suivants: Ex. xii 15 *b* α et 19 *a* (P); Ex. xiii 7 *b* et Deut. xvi 4 (D). Dans le second et le troisième cas, on songera à Ex. xii 15 *b*β et 19 *b*-20 *a* (P); Ex. xiii 7 *a* et Deut. xvi 3 (D). Suivant le parallélisme retenu, l'interdit porté par Ḥananiah sera restauré de façons différentes: „ne mangez pas . . .", ou: „qu'on ne trouve pas chez vous . . .", ou: „qu'on ne voie pas chez vous . . .". Cette reconstitution de la fin de la ligne 7 et du début de la ligne 8 est solidaire de la solution adoptée pour la suite du texte.

Ligne 8.

Il ne subsiste qu'un fragment de phrase: 21 מערב שמשא עד יום . . . . . לניסן „. . . coucher du soleil, jusqu'au jour 21ème de Nisan . . .". Mais ce fragment est particulièrement significatif; il rappelle à n'en pas douter Ex. xii 18: „Le premier (mois), le jour 14ème du mois au soir (בערב, c'est à dire: au coucher), vous mangerez des azymes jusqu'au jour 21ème du mois au soir". L'apparentement des deux textes est relevé par VINCENT (*op. cit.* p. 303). Il permet de restaurer sur une base objective la phrase du papyrus, actuellement lacunaire à ses deux extrémités. Il conduit aussi de façon précise à une couche rédactionnelle bien déterminée de la législation sacerdotale.

Ligne 9.

Laissons de côté pour l'instant le fragment de mot par lequel débute la ligne mutilée: . . .?עלו בתוניכם וחתמו בין יומי? . . . Le premier mot nettement déchiffrable nous éclaire-t-il davantage? En lui-même le terme תוניכם ne fait pas difficulté, puisqu'il est attesté en jud-aram (Targ. Deut. xxxii 25; 1 Rois xxii 25 = 2 Chron. xvii 24; Job xxxi 33) et en syr. (BRUN, *Lex.* p. 5: „mansio, habitaculum, conclave"; BROCKELMANN, p. 819 a: „conclave"). ZIMMERN (*Akkad. Fremdw.* p. 32), suivi par BROCKELMANN (*loc. cit.*) rapproche le terme de l'akk. *tu'u*, „chambre" (BEZOLD, p. 288 b: „Gemach"). Cette parenté est à retenir, mais ne suffit pas à résoudre le problème étymologique. L'héb. תָּא (KÖHLER, p. 1015 a) et le jud-aram תְּוָא (JASTROW, p. 1649 b) pourraient, eux, dériver directement de l'akkadien; mais ici il s'agit d'une formation originale, forgée avec la désinence *-ān*. On songera à la racine *'wy*, qui a gardé en arabe le sens de „se retirer quelque part pour s'abriter, recevoir quelqu'un chez soi, lui donner l'hospitalité"; V: „se réunir"; VII: „s'établir quelque part"; d'où les dérivés: *ma'wa*ⁿ et *ma'wāt*ᵘⁿ, „demeure, habitation". La même racine fournit au syriaque les substantifs *'awwānā* et *'awwāntā*: „mansio, domicilium", et, pour le premier, „hospitium ubi quis noctem agit" (d'après BROCKELMANN); mais les formes verbales correspondantes n'ont conservé que l'idée de „réunion, société, unanimité". Le תָּוָן est donc l'endroit où l'on se retire, où l'on se réunit en commun, bref: la „chambre", à l'intérieur de la maison.

C'est que la maison orientale n'est pas constituée d'un simple bâtiment; elle comprend une cour encastrée entre les pièces qui donnent sur elle et communiquent avec l'extérieur par un couloir (BARROIS, *Arch. bibl.* p. 268-271); les maisons égyptiennes étaient de ce type (ERMAN-RANKE, *op. cit.* p. 226 sq.), notamment celles d'Eléphantine, pour autant qu'on puisse en juger à-travers les rapports des fouilleurs, trop laconiques sur ce point; elles „consistaient d'ordinaire en un enclos comprenant un espace à ciel ouvert (cour ou passage) et une construction avec un étage auquel on accédait par un escalier extérieur" (JOÜON, *Notes . . .*, p. 32; cf. KRAELING, *op. cit.*, p. 65 sq.). Le terme בית, qui désigne tout cet ensemble, manque donc de précision. Dans deux documents juridiques d'Eléphantine, il en vient à signifier „terrain à bâtir" (JOÜON, *loc. cit.*); Ex. vii 28 distingue formellement la maison (ביתך) de la „chambre

obscure où l'on couche" (חדר משכבך)[1]). Il ne paraît donc pas douteux que, dans la „lettre pascale" le mot תוניכם vise les pièces où l'on se réunissait pour manger, où l'on dormait, où l'on stockait les provisions, etc. . . . Les traductions de LAGRANGE (chambres intérieures), SACHAU (Gemächer), STAERK (Kammer) sont à retenir; celles de VINCENT (maisons, p. 246; demeures, p. 238), COWLEY, GINSBERG (dwellings), GALLING (Wohnstatt) restent trop imprécises.

Malheureusement, aucun document relatif à la Pâque ou aux Azymes ne renferme le mot hébreu correspondant חֶדֶר. On ne trouve que des parallélismes beaucoup plus généraux. SACHAU et UNGNAD songent à Deut. xvi 7: „Tu feras cuire (la Pâque) au lieu choisi par Yahwé ton Dieu, puis au matin tu t'en retourneras et tu iras à tes tentes". VINCENT allègue Ex. xii 22: „Nul d'entre vous ne sortira de l'entrée de sa maison jusqu'au matin". On pourrait également citer Ex. xii 15 *b*: „Dès le premier jour vous ferez disparaître le levain de vos maisons", ou mieux encore xii 19 *a*: „Durant sept jours, il ne se trouvera pas de levain dans vos maisons". En toute hypothèse, le terme précis „chambre" serait substitué à un terme plus général. Cela se comprendrait mal dans le cas d'une allusion à Deut. xvi 7, — que tout conduit d'ailleurs à éliminer, puisque, aux termes de la législation deutéronomique de la Pâque, il ne saurait être question d'immoler les agneaux rituels à Eléphantine ! Restent Ex. xii 15, 19 et 22. A priori, l'allusion *certaine* à Ex. xii 18 dans la ligne précédente attire l'attention sur Ex. xii 19; mais tout dépend du sens que l'on adopte pour les deux mots qui encadrent תוניכם.

VINCENT pense avoir découvert un parallélisme biblique important aux deux mots qui terminent la ligne 9. Il les lit בין יומין (*op. cit.*, p. 248; à la p. 237, un lapsus lui fait écrire יומים). Il voit là un duel et estime que „entre les deux jours" équivaut à l'expression biblique „entre les deux soirs", temps fixé pour l'immolation des agneaux de Pâque. „On pourrait presque dire, explique-t-il, qu'il y avait là un espace de temps qui pratiquement était considéré comme n'appar-

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[1]) Le Targ. d'Onqelos sur Ex. vii 28 rend cette expression par: באדרון בית משכבך. L'araméen *'idd'rōn* est rapproché par DELITZSCH de l'ak. *idrānu* (cf. JASTROW, *Dictionary* . . ., p. 45 d); ZIMMERN ne signale pas ce terme dans ses *Akkadische Fremdwörter*. A s'en tenir aux indications de BEZOLD (p. 20 a), *edrānu* signifie seulement „chagrin, cris de deuil"; mais la racine correspondante, parmi ses divers sens, veut dire „être obscur, assombri". Le rattachement de *'idd'rōn* à cette racine, avec le sens de „chambre obscure, alcôve", demeure donc probable. La racine est la même que celle de l'hébreu חדר, déjà attestée en ugaritique: *ḥdr* „chambre" (cf. GORDON, *Ugaritic Handbook*, p. 288).

tenant ni au 14 ni au 15 Nisan et dans lequel s'insérait le sacrifice de la Pâque". C'est tirer beaucoup de choses d'une expression obscure dont l'origine et la signification sont discutées [1]). H. CAZELLES, annotant Lev. xxiii 5, se demande si elle ne signifiait pas à l'origine: „entre le crépuscule et l'aube", prescrivant ainsi une fête nocturne (*Bible de Jérusalem*, *Le Lévitique*, p. 106, note g). KÖHLER (*Lex.*, p. 732 b) estime le duel fautif et la préposition בין surajoutée secondairement. JOÜON (*Grammaire* . . . , 91 g et 136 b) tend à y voir un duel de composition: „les deux parties extrêmes du temps appelé ערב". Cette explication me paraît la meilleure. Outre qu'elle est grammaticalement bien fondée, elle montre dans l'expression en cause une précision jurisprudentielle apportée à l'expression plus vague de Deut. xvi 6: „Tu immoleras la Pâque le soir, au coucher du soleil". Le moment précis du coucher du soleil ne dure qu'un instant; pour être en règle avec la LOI, il fallait donc interpréter cet ordre d'une façon large; mais dans quelles limites? Lev. xxiii 5, Ex. xii 6, nous font connaître l'interprétation des juristes officiels: „dans l'intervalle des deux parties dont se compose la soirée". La suggestion de VINCENT est donc absolument sans fondement.

On peut en outre se demander si la traduction „entre" pour בין n'est pas à éliminer radicalement dans notre texte. En fait, ce terme n'est pas une préposition à proprement parler, mais un substantif à l'accusatif de détermination temporelle (cf. en heb., JOÜON, *Gram.*, 126 i). Il en est ainsi dans Neh. v 18 (RUDOLPH, *Ezra und Nehemiah*, *H z A T*, *in loco*, avec référence à KÖHLER, *ZAW* 1940-41, p. 229). Les autres emplois de בין en aram. d'Eg. ne se prêtent guère à la traduction „entre". *A.P.* 45/7: „ . . . si je ne t'ai pas payé dans n . . jours" (c'est à dire: „dans l'intervalle de temps équivalent à une durée de n . . jours", [. . . בין יו]ם). *A.P.* 29/6 est considéré par COWLEY comme difficile: „ . . . moi, Nathan, je déclare que, si je ne t'ai pas payé pour le . . . . . du mois de Paḥons, l'an . . . . du roi Darius, durant ce mois-là . . ." (בין ירח זזה). „It is so difficult that I think the fragment must be out of place" . . . La solution du problème n'est pas si désespérée; il faut seulement renoncer à traduire בין par „entre": „dans l'intervalle de temps de ce mois-là" = „durant ce mois". On sait que, dans les pseudo-idéogrammes utilisés en Pehlvi, בין avait pris justement le sens de *in* et, selon les indications données par ROSENTHAL (*Die aramäistische Forschung*, p. 81), ce sens existait dès

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[1]) Le sens de l'expression est discuté par GRAY, *op. cit.*, p. 337 sq.

l'araméen d'empire [1]). L'expression employée par Ḥananiah à la ligne 9 est donc à traduire: „ . . . durant les jours . . ." (à compléter, évidemment). Notons que, dans le même esprit, בין הערבים pourrait peut-être aussi s'entendre de la façon suivante: „durant le soir (ערב) — lequel est composé de deux parties: l'une avant, l'autre après l'instant précis où se couche le soleil".

Les affinités juridiques et littéraires de la „lettre pascale".

Les seuls contacts avec le Deutéronome que nous ayons relevés dans les lignes mutilées de la „lettre pascale" sont les suivants:

— ligne 5: affinité littéraire possible de l'expression „comptez" avec Deut. xvi 19 (concurrencé d'ailleurs par Lev. xxiii 15-16).

— ligne 7: interdit jeté sur le „fermenté", comme dans Deut. xvi 3-4 (repris dans Ex. xiii 4); mais la législation correspondante du Code sacerdotal comporte le même interdit.

— ligne 9: parallèle vague de Deut. xvi 7; mais une référence à ce texte se heurterait à de graves obstacles (cf. sup.) et la législation sacerdotale présente des parallèles au moins aussi remarquables. On peut en dire autant d'Ex. xii 22. Donc, rien de démonstratif.

Au contraire, les contacts avec la législation sacerdotale et les écrits qui s'en inspirent sont nombreux et significatifs. Le tableau qui les résume (p. 368) appelle les remarques suivantes:

Nomb. xxviii 16-25 ne fait que reprendre Lev. xxiii 5-8 en y incorporant le détail des sacrifices à offrir durant la semaine des Azymes (Nomb. xxviii 19-24 développe Lev. xxiii 8 *a*): la ligne 5 („du 15 au 21 Nisan") renvoie donc à Lev. xxiii 6 et non à Nomb. xxviii 17. L'expression „ne faites aucun travail" (ligne 6) reprend textuellement celle de Lev. xxiii 7 et 8, mais en bloquant dans une seule phrase la mention des deux jours où le travail est interdit; Ex. xii 16 présente un blocage semblable: c'est que la reprise de Lev. xxiii 7 et 8 a pour seul but d'introduire la précision juridique énoncée au verset 16 *b*.

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[1]) Rosenthal s'appuyait sur les documents, encore inédits à l'époque, mais publiés depuis par Driver (*Aramaic documents of the fifth century B.C.*, Oxford, 1954). En fait, les emplois de בין dans ces documents au sens de '*in*' ou de '*on*' (références; *op. cit.*, p. 57) sont limités à des formules consacrées par l'usage, traduisant sans doute des idiotismes iraniens dans lesquels entrait la préposition *andaz*: 'in, within, among, between' (*op. cit.* p. 11). Jamais il ne s'agit d'un complément de temps. Il reste que בין était susceptible de traduire mot pour mot *andaz*, sous la plume des fonctionnaires de la chancellerie achéménide, bilingues par nécessité professionnelle. C'est l'indice que la signification du terme pouvait s'élargir jusque là.

Ligne	Objet traité	Lev. xxiii	Nb. xxviii	Ex. xii	Code de pureté	Ezéchiel	Nb. ix	2 Chron.	Esc
		Affinités d'ordre juridique							
4	14 Nisan	verset 5	verset 16	verset 6		xlv 21	3 et 5	xxx 15 xxxv 2	1
5	du 15 au 21 N.	6	17	(15 & 18)		id.		xxx 21 xxxv 17	2
6	„soyez purs"				vii 20-21		6-13	xxx 18 (xxx 17)	2 (2
7	travail interdit levain pain fermenté	7-8	18 et 25	16 15 et 19 15 et 19-20					
8	„du 14 au soir au 21 au soir"			18					
9	„dans vos chambres"			15 et 19					
		Affinités d'ordre littéraire							
4	„comptez"	15-16 (xxv 18)			xv 13, 28	xliv 26			
6	„soyez avertis"				xv 31	iii 17-22 xxxiii 1-9			

De même, Ex. xii 15 reprend de façon partielle Lev. xxiii 6 afin d'introduire les précisions relatives aux azymes énoncées parallélement aux versets 15 *b* et 18-20. Or la ligne 8 du papyrus renvoie clairement à Ex. xii 18. Il est dès lors difficile d'échapper à l'impression que la mention du 14 Nisan, à la ligne 4, renvoie à Lev. xxiii 5 (et parallèles), et que l'expression „dans vos chambres", à la ligne 9, a pour répondant l'expression „dans vos maisons" en Ex. xii 19. Si la ligne 4 (mention du 14 Nisan) traite de la Pâque, la mention de la „pureté" rituelle à la ligne 6 s'explique d'elle-même, comme dans Nomb. ix 6-13; le texte juridique allégué implicitement est alors Lev. vii 20-21.

Dans ces conditions, l'ensemble du „papyrus pascal" forme un tout parfaitement cohérent, et les deux affinités littéraires relevées aux lignes 4 et 6 apparaissent comme tout à fait naturelles. Quant à la ligne 7, l'interdit du „fermenté" qu'elle renferme n'est fondé ni sur Ex. xii 15 *b* (puisque la ligne 8 allègue l'ordonnance d'Ex. xii 18-20), ni sur Ex. xii 19 *a* (rappelé à la ligne 9), mais sur Ex. xii 20 *a*: „Vous ne mangerez pas de pain levé". Il se trouve que cette

formule constitue une excellente séquence avec ce qui subsiste de la ligne 7: „(De la boisson fermentée) ne buvez pas et quoi que ce soit de fermenté . . . (ne mangez pas)". Ces inférences n'aboutissent pas à des certitudes absolues; mais les probabilités qu'on en tire sont suffisantes pour que l'on doive s'y tenir tant que des raisons contraignantes n'obligeront pas à adopter d'autres conclusions. Telle est la base sur laquelle il faut tenter maintenant de restaurer le texte du document mutilé.

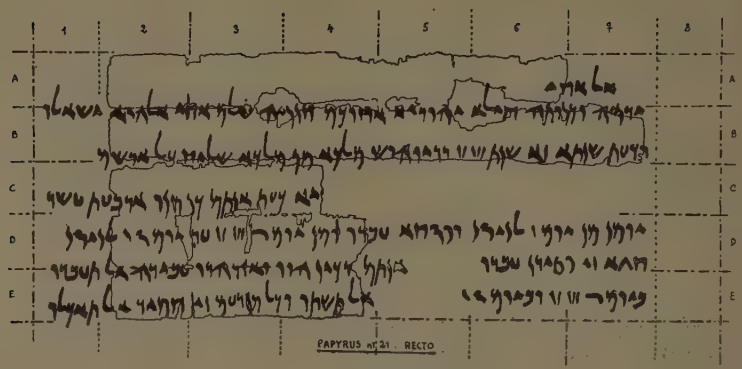
II

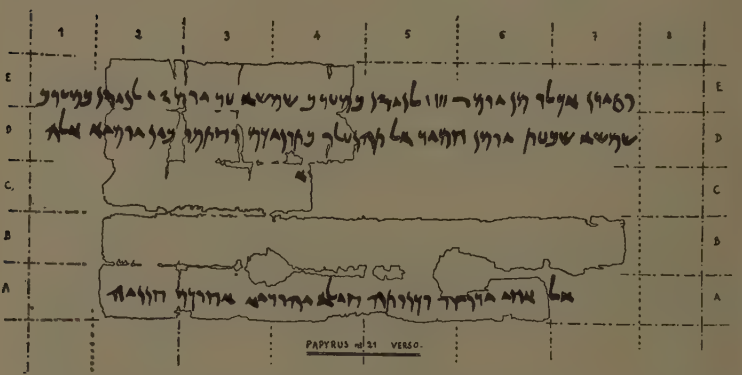
En prenant pour base les parallélismes littéraires et les références législatives du „papyrus pascal", il me semble possible de proposer, pour une assez large part de son texte, une restauration sérieusement probable. Avant de l'énoncer, je dois cependant aborder deux questions délicates sur lesquelles les auteurs sont très divisés. Quelle était la longueur des lignes à restaurer? Quelle lecture faut-il adopter pour les signes discutés?

Quelle était la longueur des lignes à restaurer?

„The length of the lines can only be determined by the amount required to complete the sense" (Cowley, *A.P.*, p. 63). A cette méthode tout empirique et bien hasardeuse, Kraeling substitue des considérations certainement plus solides: „From a comparison with other epistolary papyri it seems certain that 10 cm. or about one-third of the papyrus or 23 letter spaces in each line is broken off on the left. A portion of lines 4-10 or 22-25 letter spaces is also missing on the right" (*op. cit.*, p. 93). Il est exact que „epistolary papyri were usually written on sheets wider than those used for legal texts" (*id. ibid.*, p. 286). La règle n'est pourtant pas sans exception (*A.P.* 33, Sachau, pl. 4), aussi le critère choisi ne peut-il être tenu pour absolu. De même, il existe un format „standard" pour les contrats (autour de 26-28 cm.), mais un petit nombre d'entre eux ne s'y conforment pas (*A.P.* 7 et 35; Sachau, pl. 26 et 35).

Plusieurs indices me conduisent à penser que le „papyrus pascal" n'était pas aussi large que la grande supplique des Juifs d'Eléphantine à laquelle se réfère Kraeling (*A.P.* 30). Dans son état actuel, il a environ 21 cm. au niveau de la ligne 3. Il est évident que, dans le sens de la hauteur, il fut plié en cinq. Prenons le côté verso (Rückseite), et donnons à ces cinq parties, de bas en haut, les appellations





A B C D E [1]). A se repliait sur B, E sur D puis sur C: le pli central (marqué par une forte usure) passait entre B et C. Dans le sens de la largeur, on discerne en trois endroits des traces de pliure verticale: 1) vers le centre; 2) à 32 mm. du bord gauche; 3) à 32 mm. du bord droit (d'où la chute d'un petit rectangle, qui a fait disparaître le début de la linge 11). En outre, deux larges trous, symétriques par rapport à l'axe central, montrent que le papyrus a été rongé, le long de la

[1]) Voir les planches. Les cinq bandes horizontales ABCDE y sont indiquées. En outre, j'ai marqué des divisions verticales correspondant aux pliures (entre 2 et 3, entre 4 et 5, entre 6 et 7) et aux endroits où je présume que le document plié était attaché. J'espère par ce moyen rendre plus intelligibles les explications qui vont suivre. Le lecteur pourra les vérifier plus aisément en opérant sur un *fac-simile* du document.

pliure qui sépare A de B, à mi-distance entre les plis verticaux; la trace d'érosion atteint son point maximum à 35 mm. du pli vertical de gauche et à 36 mm. du pli vertical de droite.

Cet ensemble de particularités conduit à reconstituer de la façon suivante la manière dont le papyrus était plié. Prenons-le sur le *verso*, A étant rabattu sur B, E et D étant rabattus sur C. Replions le bas (A-B) sur le haut (C-D-E). Replions la partie gauche sur la partie droite, en suivant l'axe central. Les deux „trous" symétriques viennent se superposer exactement, et l'on s'aperçoit que le plus étendu (celui de droite) est situé dans une couche de papyrus plus exposée aux influences extérieures que son homologue de gauche. Les deux traces de plis verticaux situées à 32 mm de chaque bord se superposent également, invitant à rabattre sur le centre toute la bande latérale qu'ils délimitent. Cette bande, constituée actuellement par six épaisseurs de papyrus (cinq à gauche, une à droite) recouvre environ la moitié de la largeur restante. On constate ainsi que la brisure du papyrus à ses deux extrémités correspond, sur une face du document replié, à l'érosion marquée par des trous sur l'autre face. Tout se passe comme si le document, plié en cinq sur la hauteur puis en quatre sur la largeur, avait été alors attaché vers le milieu par un cordonnet: la pourriture de ce lien expliquerait fort bien, d'une part la chute des bandes latérales (1 et 8 sur la planche), d'autre part l'érosion du document sur quatre épaisseurs (les trous). En outre, l'usure (ou la moisissure) a attaqué le papyrus au niveau des plis verticaux sur les couches les plus exposées: celles qui étaient situées à l'extérieur. Aussi la bande C, qui enveloppait le tout, est-elle la plus attaquée; immédiatement au-dessous d'elle, les bandes D et E ont perdu toute leur partie droite; la bande A, qui venait ensuite, a perdu son extrémité droite (A 7), tandis que la bande B, mieux protégée, l'a conservée en partie (B 7); la bande verticale 2 s'est conservée sur toute la hauteur, car elle était protégée par B 7; enfin, les bandes verticales 3-4, placées à l'intérieur, ont été, de ce fait, presque intégralement sauvées.

Ainsi toutes les particularités du document, tel qu'il se présente actuellement, sont expliquées dans cette hypothèse, et je n'en vois aucune autre qui puisse en donner raison au même degré. La conjecture de Kraeling me paraît notamment devoir être écartée: l'axe vertical situé au milieu du papyrus fragmentaire marquait aussi le milieu du document complet. Si l'on considère la bande B (la moins mal conservée) on est amené à supposer qu'elle se prolongeait primitivement de chaque côté sur une largeur à peu près équivalente et l'on

peut estimer à 3 cm. ou 3 cm. 1/2 la partie actuellement disparue. Conformément à l'habitude, la marge de droite devait être vierge à peu près sur cette largeur, tandis qu'à gauche les lignes pouvaient se prolonger, suivant la nécessité, jusqu'à l'extrême bord du document, — mais sans marge fixe. Il devient ainsi très clair qu'à la ligne 3 le mot ועכת était en première position, tandis qu'à la fin de toutes les lignes (de 2 à 9) le texte à restaurer occupait une largeur maxima de 3 cm. 1/2. Il se trouve que l'évaluation empirique de Cowley coïncide pratiquement avec celle qui vient d'être établie par une méthode plus rigoureuse. Au total, le „papyrus pascal" pouvait avoir environ 27-28 cm. de largeur (format „standard" des contrats). Sur un point au moins, le pliage du document tel qu'il vient d'être décrit diffère sûrement de celui qui devait être le sien quand il parvint à ses destinataires: l'adresse se trouve à l'intérieur (ligne 11). Mais il n'y a pas lieu de supposer qu'il s'agit d'une copie. Tout porte à croire que nous avons en mains l'original de la lettre de Ḥananiah, soigneusement conservé dans les archives de la communauté d'Eléphantine.

Lecture des signes discutés.

A la ligne 4, avant יא, il subsiste une trace de lettre que les éditeurs et les commentateurs tiennent unanimement pour un ד. Sur cette base, ils restaurent ainsi les deux mots qui terminent le rescrit royal auquel Ḥananiah se réfère: חילא יהודיא. Or on pourrait, avec tout autant de vraisemblance, voir dans la trace encore perceptible le début d'un מ. Cette lecture suggérerait une restauration toute différente de la fin de la phrase: אלה שמיא, nom officiel de Yahwé dans le langage de la chancellerie perse (*A.P.* 32/3, 4, etc. . . . Esdr. vii 11, etc. . . .). Cette conjecture ouvrirait des perspectives intéressantes: soit, par exemple, que dans l'édit royal, il ait été question de célébrer la Pâque „en l'honneur du Dieu du ciel", (expression classique: Deut. xvi 1, Nomb. ix 11, 2 Chron. xxx 11); soit, plus simplement qu'on y ait fait mention de „la Loi du Dieu du ciel" (Esdr. vii 12) — hypothèse fort plausible dans un document juridique. J'ajoute que toutes les restaurations fondées sur l'autre lecture donnent à la phrase un tour rigide, voire quelque peu forcé; la lecture que je suggère permettrait plus de souplesse. Néanmoins, comme il s'agit là d'une conjecture, je ne me hasarderai pas à proposer un texte précis. Le dernier mot de la ligne 3 et la moitié de la ligne 4 nous échappent.

A la ligne 5, il ne subsiste que deux lettres du dernier mot de la

phrase commencée en 4 B. On peut les lire רו ou דו. La première lecture ne suggère aucun sens satisfaisant. La seconde présente deux possibilités intéressantes:

1) העדו, qui pourrait terminer une phrase comme: „. . . enlevez le levain de vos maisons", allusion à Ex. xii 15 („Dès le premier jour vous enlèverez le levain de vos maisons"). Sans traduire exactement l'héb. שבת hif, עדה haf en fournirait un bon équivalent dans le présent contexte.

2) עבדו, qui terminerait une phrase relative à la célébration de la Pâque: פסחא עבדו. L'expression „faire la Pâque" ne se trouve ni dans Lev. xxiii, ni dans Nomb. xxviii, ni dans Ex. xii 1-20; mais elle est familière au narrateur sacerdotal auquel on doit Nomb. ix 1-14 (dont on a signalé la parenté avec le papyrus pascal), Ex. xii 43-50 (apparenté à Nomb. ix 14 et à Ex. xii 19, que connaît Ḥananiah); elle est également employée par le Chroniste (2 Chron. xxx et xxxv; Esdr. vii 19); enfin elle figure sur un ostracon d'Eléphantine (*RES* 1792: cf. inf.). Toute une série d'indices convergents (que j'indiquerai plus loin) me conduisent à adopter la seconde hypothèse.

A la fin de la ligne 7, après un א, subsiste une trace de lettre diversement interprétée. Sachau: כל מנדעם זי חמיר א[יתי בה]. Cette conjecture ingénieuse n'emporte pas la conviction de Staerk, qui lit: א[ל תאכלו]. Cowley trouve que cette manière de restaurer la phrase „would be better, but it would be difficult to restaure the next line"; aussi se rallie-t-il sans enthousiasme à la conjecture de Sachau, comme font Lagrange, Galling, Ginsberg. Ungnad ne se prononce pas. Vincent: א[ל אשתכח]. Un examen attentif invite à écarter la lecture de Sachau. Si la trace de lettre encore visible provenait d'un י, elle aurait un tracé oblique, descendant de gauche à droite. Or l'inclinaison du trait (d'ailleurs médiocre) est en sens inverse; de plus, il se termine, en haut de son extrémité droite, par un léger crochet. Tout conduit à voir là le reste d'un ל. On trouve, il est vrai, dans quelques papyri, des י tracés à la hâte et plus ou moins „inversés" dont la forme pourrait, à la rigueur, correspondre à cette trace; mais il n'y en a aucun dans *A.P.* 21. En revanche, tous les ל de ce dernier se terminent à une hauteur analogue; enfin, à la ligne 11, le ל de חילא présente à l'extrémité droite de son trait horizontal le même petit crochet dirigé vers le haut. On lira donc en cet endroit אל.

Le texte lacunaire de la ligne 9 débute par un mot incomplet: עלו . . . Avant le ע, on distingue une trace de lettre que Sachau tient pour un ו (d'où: ועלו; de même Lagrange, Vincent; Ungnad

émet un doute sur cette lecture); au contraire COWLEY songe à un ן (d'où: תהנעלו; de même GINSBERG). VINCENT (*op. cit.*, p. 247) tente de donner à la lecture de SACHAU un appui paléographique: „La tête si caractéristique du ן, avec la pointe qui remonte en haut, n'existe pas. Il faut y voir simplement la haste supérieure d'un ו". Ce raisonnement me paraît inexact: a) Le haut de la lettre a disparu parce que le papyrus est précisément brisé en cet endroit, mais il est absolument certain qu'elle se prolongeait vers le haut; cela ne prouve pas que c'était un ן, mais cela n'exclut ni un ו ni un ן; b) Si la trace restante semble présenter en bas un angle net qui la fait ressembler à la haste d'un ו (cf. les ו de la ligne 6), c'est qu'une tache du papyrus prolonge en cet endroit la trace laissée par l'encre; la distinction de la tache et de l'encre se voit assez nettement quand on examine la planche de SACHAU à la loupe avec un fort éclairage; c) Le même examen minutieux permet d'apercevoir, à droite de la trace de lettre, en bordure extrême du document brisé, le papyrus qui reparaît *sans encre* sur environ 1 mm. de hauteur et 2/10 mm. de largeur maxima: la trace de lettre est donc constituée par un trait allant de haut en bas et qui s'incurve vers la droite à la hauteur du ע qui suit. C'est là exactement ce qui convient à un ן (voir les ן des lignes 4 et 6, notamment celui de אנתם qui est particulièrement incurvé); par contre, un ו est radicalement exclu. BARTH, suivi par STAERK, lirait תעלו: le sens serait le même, mais la lecture d'un ת en cet endroit est impossible.

A la même ligne 9, doit-on lire חתמו ou סתמו? Le problème est difficile à trancher, car, en toute hypothèse, la lettre est mal formée. On ne lui trouve aucun équivalent exact dans les planches dressées par ROSENTHAL (*Die aramäistische Forschung*, Schrifttafeln 3 et 4), ni d'ailleurs dans aucune photographie de document actuellement publiée. Il faut remarquer toutefois que, dans la graphie du 5ème siècle, le ח est relativement stable tandis que le ס présente des formes très diverses, parfois même aberrantes (*A.P.* 22, col. VII, l. 125, SACHAU pl. 20, ס de כסף; *A.P.* 12/7, SACH. pl. 17, ס de כוסי). Avec JOÜON (*Notes* . . . , p. 66), je préférerais donc lire ici un ס: correctement commencé (d'une façon analogue à celui de la ligne 8), il présenterait ensuite un trait horizontal trop long et placé trop haut, et se terminerait par une queue verticale, normale en soi, mais placée encore trop haut et, surtout, séparée du trait qui la précède (cette dernière anomalie lui donne une fausse allure de ח).

A la fin de la ligne 9, on pourrait tout aussi bien lire יומי en construction génitivale (LÉVY: „pendant les jours de la fête", *REJ* 1912);

יומין (VINCENT, *op. cit.*, p. 248; mais le י ne serait pas nécessairement la marque du duel; ce pourrait être une *mater lectionis* du pluriel. Cf. ROWLEY, *The aramaic of the O.T.* p. 65, et LEANDER, *Laut- und Formlehre . . .* 45 b); יומיא (COWLEY, GINSBERG).

A la fin de la ligne 10, „a possible א remains and a trace of ך". (COWLEY). SACHAU et UNGNAD ne discernent que le א (en le pointant !). Le א ne me paraît pas douteux (comparer ceux de la ligne 6, ou mieux celui de la ligne 7). Par contre la trace qui précède pourrait provenir d'un ך, d'un ד, d'un ר, d'un מ . . .

Restauration proposée.

1 [אל אח]י
2 [י]דניה וכנותה ח[ילא י]הודיא אחוכם חנ[ניה] שלם אחי אלהיא [ישאלו]
3 וכעת שנתא זא שנת 5 דריוהוש מלכא מן מלכא שליח על ארשׁ[ם.....]
4 .....[יא כעת אנתם כן מנו ארב[עת עשר]
5 [יומן מן יום 1 לניסן ופסחא עב]דו ומן יום 15 עד יום 21 ל[ניסן]
6 [חגא זי פטירן עבדו.....אנתם]דכין הוו ואזדהרו עבידה אנ[ל תעבדו]
7 [ביום 15 וביום 21 .....]אל תשתו וכל מנדעם זי חמיר אנ[ל תאכלו]
8 [פטירן אכלו מן יום 14 לניסן ב]מערב שמשא עד יום 21 לניס[ן במערב]
9 [שפשא שבעת יומן חמיר אל תה]נעלו בתוניכם וסתמו בין יומי[א אלה]
10 .....]א
11 [אל] אחי ידניה וכנותה חילא יהודיא אחוכם חנ[ניה

Soit, en traduction française: (1) [A mes frères] (2) Yadeniah et ses compagnons les militaires juifs, votre frère Ḥananiah. La prospérité de mes frères, que les dieux [(l')accordent !] (3) Et maintenant, cette année, année 5ème du roi Darius, de par le roi il a été mandé à Arsham . . . . . (4) . . . . . Maintenant vous, comptez ainsi quat[orze (5) jours depuis le jour 1er de Nisan et la Pâque célébr]ez; et depuis le jour 15ème jusqu'au jour 21ème de [Nisan (6) célébrez la fête des Azymes. (Maintenant?) vous] soyez purs et tenez-vous en garde: aucun travail ne [faites (7) le jour 15ème et le jour 21ème . . . . . .; (aucune boisson aigre)] ne buvez et quoi que ce soit de fermenté n[e mangez pas. (8) Mangez des azymes depuis le jour 14ème de Nisan au] coucher du soleil jusqu'au jour 21ème de Nisa[n au coucher (9) du soleil. Pendant sept jours, du „fermenté" n'intro]duisez pas dans vos appartements et tenez(-le?) caché durant [(ces?)] jours(-là?) (10) . . . . . (11) [A] mes frères Yadeniah et ses compagnons les militaires juifs, votre frère Ḥananiah.

Quelques remarques sur la restauration du texte.

Aux lignes 3 et 4, il me paraît impossible de restaurer avec quelque probabilité la teneur du décret royal. C'est là un problème historique qui requiert une étude spéciale. En tous cas, le texte proposé par Cowley (et retenu à sa suite par beaucoup d'historiens) me semble devoir être écarté: „(4) In the month of Tybi, let there be a Passover for the Jewish garrison". Il est fort douteux, en effet, que la pièce administrative officielle, même si elle concernait la Pâque, ait précisé en quel *mois* selon le comput égyptien la fête juive de Nisan devait être célébrée. L'indiction n'aurait été valable que pour l'année en cours. La base du comput égyptien et celle du comput babylonien n'avaient rien à voir l'une avec l'autre. D'une part, le premier jour de l'an égyptien (1 Ṭhot), revenant à date fixe 365 jours après le précédent, prenait tous les quatre ans un jour de retard sur l'année solaire astronomique; d'autre part, il ne tenait aucun compte de la lune (cf. Erman-Ranke, *op. cit.*, p. 447-448). A l'inverse, le premier jour de l'an babylonien était fixé chaque fois en fonction du lever de la lune, à l'époque de l'équinoxe de printemps (Dhorme, *Les religions de Babylonie et d'Assyrie*, p. 285) et l'on ajoutait quand il le fallait un mois supplémentaire. Il s'ensuivait une absence totale de correspondance entre les deux calendriers, avec des variations considérables dont la double datation de plusieurs contrats d'Eléphantine nous permet de mesurer l'ampleur. C'est ainsi que le 1 Kislew tombait: en 465, le 1 Ṭhot (1er mois égyptien; *A.P.* 6); en 460, le 11 Epiphi (11ème mois égyptien; *A.P.* 8); en 456, le 3ème jour épagomène (entre le 12ème et le 1er mois égyptien; *A.P.* 10); en 447, le 7 Mesore (12ème mois ég.; *A.P.* 13); en 416, le 9 Ṭhot (*A.P.* 25). En tenant compte du décalage de 11 jours subi par l'année égyptienne par rapport à l'année astronomique entre 460 et 416, il reste une variation maxima de 50 jours pour la même date du 1 Kislew. L'existence d'un 2nd Elul ou d'un 2nd Adar réduisait la possibilité d'écart lorsqu'il s'agissait d'établir la correspondance entre le 1 Nisan et l'année égyptienne; mais l'écart possible équivalait néanmoins à la durée d'une lunaison (cf. Kraeling, *op. cit.*, p. 51, avec indication d'une bibliographie sur la question). L'hypothèse de Cowley étant exclue, la question du décret royal reste ouverte.

Lignes 4 B-5 A. Me fondant sur les parallélismes étudiés précédemment, j'estime que la mention de la Pâque est ici de beaucoup l'hypothèse la plus probable (cf. sup.). Il ne s'agit là nullement d'une

restauration „purement conjecturale" (KRAELING, p. 95) puisqu'elle a pour garantie l'étroit rapport du „papyrus pascal" avec la législation sacerdotale. Par contre, il me paraît gratuit d'affirmer que, puisque Ḥananiah développait dans sa lettre les tabous relatifs aux Azymes, il n'eût pas manqué de développer aussi les tabous relatifs à la Pâque s'il avait parlé de cette dernière: qu'en savons-nous? KRAELING écrit encore: „If line 4 says: 'Thus shall you count fourteen days', the thought need not have continued in a manner commanding the Passover". Mais Lev. xxiii 15-17 présente exactement une construction semblable qui s'achève sur un commandement concernant la fête des Semaines. Enfin, nous n'avons aucune preuve formelle qu'en 419 les milieux juridiques auxquels se rattache Ḥananiah aient eu l'intention d'appliquer à la lettre la prescription deutéronomique qui restreignait au seul Temple de Jérusalem la célébration de la Pâque. PEDERSEN (*Israel*, III-IV, p. 413) fait remarquer à juste titre que le rituel sacerdotal de la Pâque combine les deux aspects qu'a revêtus cette fête au cours des temps: une célébration familiale et une festivité publique; mais le point de vue familial y prévaut, contrairement à Deut. xvi 1-8. Par exemple, Ex. xii 7 suppose une manducation de l'agneau pascal dans les maisons particulières, alors que Deut. xvi 7 prescrit une manducation de la victime dans le Temple où elle a été immolée. C'est pourquoi, conclut-il, „it is possible that this form (of the legend) came to existence outside Palestine, where visits to the Temple of Jerusalem were excluded, the Passover being, none the less, celebrated". Les légistes juifs de Babylonie ne s'en tenaient-ils pas encore à cette position en 419? On ne peut exclure a priori une telle hypothèse. A moins de prouver que le Deutéronome et les codes sacerdotaux ont été fondus dans une compilation législative unique *avant* 419 et que Ḥananiah se réfère à cette synthèse juridique: mais, dans l'état actuel de nos connaissances, rien n'est moins certain. Je crois donc devoir, pour l'instant, m'en tenir aux indications fournies par les parallélismes: Ḥananiah ne réglemente pas en détail la célébration de la Pâque, mais il en précise la *date* d'après le calendrier de Lev. xxiii.

Une remarque fort judicieuse de KRAELING me semble d'ailleurs donner à cette hypothèse un appui assez inattendu. „It is quite conceivable that this festival (la Pâque) prior to the Deuteronomic law was observed by non—sheep and goat—rising persons with sacrifice of first fruits (cf. Gen. iv 3-4). In such a more primitive manner it would have been practicable to celebrate it at Elephantine" (*op. cit.*, p. 96). Telle serait la „Pâque" archaïque mentionnée notamment sur

l'ostracon d'Oxford, dont A. DUPONT-SOMMER a naguère proposé une interprétation nouvelle [1]). Assurément, cette suggestion soulève autant de problèmes qu'elle n'en résout. Du moins contribue-t-elle à rendre plausible la mention de la Pâque dans la lettre de Ḥananiah.

Pour la construction de la phrase qui a pour verbe מנו, je me suis laissé guider par le parallélisme de Lev. xxiii 15-16 (et déjà Deut. xvi 9). Dans la supputation d'un intervalle de temps déterminé, il est normal de mentionner son point de départ, à l'aide de la préposition מן [2]). Cette tournure, préférable à celle de COWLEY, etc. . . . („comptez 14 jours au mois de Nisan"), est adoptée par DUPONT-SOMMER: „. . . comptez 14 jours depuis le début de Nisan . . ." (יומן מן ראש ניסן. . .: *REJ*, 1946-1947, p. 41). Néanmoins, la restauration ainsi proposée s'avère légèrement trop courte lorsqu'on la soumet à une vérification matérielle; c'est pourquoi j'en suggère une fondamentalement analogue, mais un peu plus longue.

Ligne 6 A. Tous les commentateurs sont d'accord sur l'*idée* exprimée en cet endroit du texte, mais ils diffèrent d'avis sur la *formule* exacte employée par Ḥananiah. COWLEY: „. . . (are) the seven days of Unleavened bread", qualifie lui-même sa restauration de conjecturale. VINCENT, après avoir expliqué qu'il était „opportun de supposer ici l'ancien précepte repris par le Code sacerdotal dans sa teneur même" (p. 244), adopte la formule d'Ex. xxiii 15 et xxxiv 18: „. . . pendant sept jours vous observerez la fête des Azymes" [3]). Mais le texte qu'il

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[1]) *REJ*, 1946-47, p. 39 sq. La Pâque est mentionnée aux lignes 3-5 de la face convexe, où on lit: שלח לי אמת תעבדן פסחא. SAYCE traduisait: „Send to me a maid who shall prepare the Passover". DUPONT-SOMMER: „Envoie-moi (un message): quand célébrerez-vous la Pâque?" Il tient אמת pour l'équivalent du jud.-aram. אֵימַת („quand"), attesté également dans les pseudo-idéo-grammes employés en pehlvi. La forme étonne d'autant moins que le terme semble emprunté à l'akkadien (ZIMMERN, *Akkadische Fremdwörter*, p. 70): *ina matē* > *immatē*, *imata*, *immat* (BEZOLD, *Bab.-ass. Glossar*, p. 185). La graphie אמת de l'ostracon d'Oxford répondrait exactement à cette dernière forme. On doit noter d'ailleurs que la graphie défective מת est connue du dialecte ḥadramautique, à côté du minéen מתי (M. HÖFNER, *Altsüdarabische Grammatik*, 128. Cf. GES.-B. p. 474 b). La question posée par l'expéditeur de l'ostracon montre qu'à son époque la Pâque est célébrée à Eléphantine, mais pas à date fixe. Cette interprétation est de beaucoup préférable à celle de SAYCE, retenue par VINCENT (*op. cit.*, p. 265-269).

[2]) Lev. xv 13 et 28, Ez. xliv 26 mentionnent également le point de départ de la période considérée, mais avec d'autres formules: „. . . après sa purification" (אחרי); „quand il sera guéri" (כי); „quand elle sera guérie" (אם).

[3]) En faveur de cette formule, on ne peut tirer argument de Ex. xii 17: תשמרו את־המַצּוֹת. Cette expression du TM est à la fois étrange et isolée. Avec BEER

propose mélange de façon singulière l'hébreu et l'araméen: שבעת יומן תשמרו חג המצות. A tout le moins faudrait-il traduire: חגא זי פטירן טרו. Le verbe נטר traduit régulièrement שמר dans le Targ d'Onqelos; l'impératif טר est attesté dans *Aḥiqar* 98 et son pluriel טרו dans: DRIVER, *Aramaic Documents*, 7/6; par contre l'emploi de שמר dans *Aḥ.* 97 et 101 semble être un hébraïsme (JOÜON, *Notes* . . . p. 15, citant NÖLDEKE). La restauration proposée par MEYER: „. . . pendant sept jours vous mangerez des azymes", aurait d'excellents appuis dans Lev. xxiii 6, Nomb. xxviii 18, Ex. xii 15 et 18; mais l'étroit parallélisme de la ligne 8 avec Ex. xii 18 invite à la réserver pour cet endroit (cf. inf.). LAGRANGE: „Vous ferez la fête des Azymes"; mais tous les verbes attestés dans les lignes qui subsistent sont, soit à l'impératif, soit au jussif s'ils comportent une négation; un futur est donc ici peu probable; un jussif sans négation, quoique possible (LEANDER, *op. cit.*, 23 c; *BLA* 26 d), ne s'impose pas. GINSBERG: „Observe the Festival of Unleavened bread", ce qui suppose: חגא זי פטירן עבדו (cf. sup. „observe the Passover"). Cette formule précise n'est employée nulle part par le rédacteur sacerdotal; elle appartient à la phraséologie du Chroniste (2 Chron. xxx 21, xxxv 17; Esdr. vi 22). Mais comme l'expression „faire la Pâque" (עשה, aram. עבד) est déjà attestée dans des textes sacerdotaux avec lesquels notre papyrus présente de nombreuses affinités (Nomb. ix 1-14, Ex. xii 47-48), on peut tenir pour probable que l'expression parallèle employée par le Chroniste était d'usage courant dès l'époque où ils ont été rédigés. C'est pourquoi je l'ai retenue.

Il faut observer toutefois que, pas plus que celle de COWLEY, elle ne suffit à combler la lacune du papyrus. On peut, certes, avec COWLEY, introduire le pronom אנתם au début de la phrase suivante; les documents publiés par DRIVER montrent que c'est là une construction familière à l'araméen d'empire (*Letters* 6/2, 7/5, 8/5, 10/4); comme elle figure déjà à la ligne 4 pour introduire l'impératif מנו, on peut en supposer l'existence ici avec une très grande vraisemblance. Mais אנתם ne comble pas encore toute la lacune (voir la planche). Il est toujours aisé de boucher les trous d'un texte en y insérant des adverbes: de telles hypothèses ne coûtent pas cher. Mais dans le cas présent, il se trouve qu'une adverbe serait parfaitement à sa place. La phrase qui se termine portait sur une question de calendrier. A

(*HzAT*) on retiendra plutôt la lecture des LXX: אתּ־המִצְוָה הזאת (cf. Lev. xxii 31; Neh. i 5, 7, 9; Ex. xx 6; Prov. xix 16 etc.).

partir du milieu de la ligne 6 s'amorce un nouveau développement: Ḥananiah y rappellera les trois „interdits" principaux applicables à la période des Azymes (contacts „impurs", travail aux jours de chômage sacré, boisson et nourriture fermentées). Il serait normal qu'un adverbe marque ici l'endroit où la pensée rebondit pour aborder un nouveau sujet: soit על כן, attesté en aram d'Eg. (*Ah.* 117, 187) et couramment employé dans les passages juridiques de la Bible (par ex. Lev. xvii 12, Ex. xx 1: le Targ. conserve cette formule telle quelle); soit plus simplement le banal כעת déjà rencontré aux lignes 3 et 4 (très fréquent dans les documents publiés par DRIVER: cf. l'index, p. 58).

Lignes 6 B-7 A. La lettre des passages législatifs auxquels se réfère Ḥananiah conduirait à restaurer le texte de la façon suivante: „Ne faites pas de travail le 1er et le 7ème jour". Mais cela supposerait qu'il a été question au préalable des *sept* jours d'Azymes (COWLEY, MEYER). Si ma restauration de la ligne 5 est exacte, il faut supposer que la ligne 7 A mentionne deux *dates* précises: „ . . . le 15ème jour et le 2ème jour". Cette formule s'entendrait mieux si le nom du mois figurait en toutes lettres à la suite; mais il ne semble pas y avoir la place nécessaire.

Le nom de la *boisson* interdite ne peut être restauré avec une réelle probabilité (cf. sup.). Je l'ai donc laissé en blanc. Pour lier ce nouveau précepte au précédent, COWLEY introduit en cet endroit la conjonction אף: c'est en effet plausible, mais purement hypothétique.

Ligne 7 B. Après l'adverbe אל, on peut hésiter entre deux constructions: „ . . . qu'il ne soit pas trouvé chez vous (ou: dans vos maisons)", ou bien: „. . . ne mangez pas". Chacune possède des appuis dans les textes. VINCENT retient la première en se fondant sur Ex. xii 19; mais il me semble préférable de conserver ce parallélisme pour la ligne 9. En outre après „ne buvez pas de (boisson fermentée)", on attend une interdiction portant sur la *manducation* de la nourriture fermentée; pour la formule, voir Ex. xii 20, qui reprend Deut. xvi 3 (mais ce dernier texte est à la 2ème personne du *sing.* tandis que le premier est au *pluriel*, comme tous les verbes du „papyrus pascal").

Lignes 8 et 9 A. Le rapport de 8 B avec Ex. xii 18 ne me paraît pas douteux. Il faut donc restaurer ainsi le texte: „[. . . depuis le jour 14ème de Nisan au]coucher du soleil jusqu'au jour 21ème de Nisa[n au coucher du soleil . . .]", et exprimer, soit avant, soit après cette indication, le précepte: „ . . . mangez des Azymes . . ." (plutôt que: „vous mangerez"). Il faut aussi réintroduire la mention du

„ferment" ou du „pain fermenté" (pratiquement: חמיר) au début de la ligne 9 (suivant le parallélisme probable de Ex. xii 19 *a*), car la mention qui en est faite à la ligne 7 est trop éloignée du verbe תהנעלו, — et d'ailleurs, entre temps, il a été question d'autre chose. Il y a lieu, en outre, de mentionner au début de la ligne 9 les „sept jours" durant lesquels le „fermenté" ne doit pas être „introduit dans les appartements". Il ne reste donc de place pour „ . . . mangez des azymes . . ." qu'au début de la ligne 8. Or le texte ainsi reconstruit remplit exactement les lacunes du papyrus; les prescriptions données s'y présentent dans un ordre satisfaisant; enfin, la mention de „sept jours" au début de la ligne 9 explique de façon excellente l'expression employée à la fin de la même ligne: „durant (ces) jours(-là)". Il y a là, me semble-t-il, un ensemble d'indices convergents qui confèrent une réelle probabilité à une restauration où rien n'est laissé au simple hasard, puisque les lignes 7 B, 8 et 9 A équivalent presque littéralement à Ex. xii 18, 19 *a* et 20 *a*, tandis que les lignes 6 B et 7 A reprenaient Ex. xii 16 *a*.

Cowley propose, au début de la ligne 9; אל יתחזי בכם, visiblement d'après Deut. xvi 4 (repris dans Ex. xiii 7). Mais Ḥananiah se réfère sûrement à la législation sacerdotale et non au Deutéronome. De plus, la construction de la phrase ainsi restaurée est dure: „anything at all in which there is leaven", placé en tête, joue le rôle d'objet par rapport au premier verbe: „do not eat", puis devient sujet (sous-entendu) du second verbe: „let (it) not be seen among you", enfin redevient objet (encore sous-entendu) des deux verbes: „do not bring (it) into your dwellings but seal (it) up . . .". La syntaxe araméenne a beau être souple: elle friserait ici l'incohérence.

La lecture ועלו devant être écartée à la ligne 9, les hypothèses de Sachau, Lagrange et Vincent tombent du même coup. Elles étaient d'ailleurs sujettes à d'autres critiques. Sachau traduisait: „ . . . et entrez dans vos demeures", en se référant à Deut. xvi 7; mais le parallélisme ne peut être retenu et, d'ailleurs, Sachau avouait que, dans cette perspective, le verbe suivant n'offrait aucun sens intelligible. Lagrange proposait pour la ligne 9: „[et le 14ème jour] enfermez-vous dans vos chambres intérieures et scellez. Entre les deux jour[s (10) vous immolerez et mangerez la Pâque]"; or עלו ne peut être traduit par „enfermez-vous" et la fin est purement conjecturale. Vincent: „[. . . vous mangerez (9) des azymes. Immolez la Pâque] et entrez dans vos demeures et scellez entre les [deux] jours". Pour réintroduire en cet endroit une prescription relative

à la Pâque, V. fait appel à Ex. xii 22 [1]. Mais il y a une coupure très nette entre xii 20 et xii 21: xii 21-23 constitue une réglementation de la Pâque *parallèle* à xii 1-14, artificiellement placée par le rédacteur final du Pentateuque *à la suite* de l'ordonnance sacerdotale sur les azymes (xii 15-20); on ne peut donc tirer d'une telle séquence aucun argument solide [2].

Lignes 9 B-10. Nous entrons ici sur le terrain des hypothèses les plus mouvantes. Tout d'abord, rien ne permet de restaurer avec quelque probabilité la ligne 10. Cowley et Vincent: „Qu'il soit fait comme l'a ordonné Darius le roi", s'appuient sur Esdras vi 12: „Moi, Darius, j'ai donné cet ordre; qu'il soit ponctuellement exécuté". Mais il me semble nécessaire de bien distinguer dans le „papyrus pascal", d'une part le *rescrit* envoyé à Arsham (lignes 3-4), d'autre part les *instructions* données par Ḥananiah à ses „frères" (ligne 4 B à la fin). Nous ne sommes pas autorisés à supposer que Ḥananiah terminait *sa propre lettre* par une formule de chancellerie réservée aux *décrets royaux*. Il est donc fort possible que la phrase commencée par סתמו se continuât à la ligne 10; il est également possible qu'elle se terminât à la fin de la ligne 9. Comme ce point ne peut être tranché en aucune façon, la phrase en question demeure pour nous une énigme.

En outre, la lecture du verbe סתמו n'est pas sûre. Son sens non plus,

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[1]) De provenance indéterminée. La *Bible du Centenaire* attribue Ex. xii 21-23 au „rédacteur". Couroyer (*Bible de Jérusalem*) pense que ces versets „ne doivent pas provenir de la tradition sacerdotale qui a déjà donné les prescriptions concernant la Pâque ni de la tradition yahwiste qui fait sortir les Israëlites pendant la nuit (cf. v. 30)". Noth, (*Überlieferungsgeschichte des Pentateuch*, p. 32) maintient une provenance yahwiste. Beer (*HzAT*) discerne ici l'ancienne couche J[1]. Tout le monde s'entend au moins sur un point: ces versets ne proviennent pas du code sacerdotal.

[2]) Vincent (p. 269) prétend que „les prescriptions relatives à la fête des Maṣṣôt se trouvent insérées entre deux contextes qui déterminent les prescriptions pascales", non seulement dans Ex. xii 15-20 mais aussi dans Ex. xxiii 15, Lev. xxiii 5, Nomb. ix 11 et xxviii 16-17, Deut. xvi 1-8, Ez. xlv 21. Or, Ex. xxiii 15 ne nomme pas la Pâque ; Lev. xxiii 5 et Nomb. xxviii 16 sq. parlent, après la mention des Azymes, non de la Pâque elle-même, mais des sacrifices et repas sacrés à faire durant la semaine des Azymes; Nomb. ix 11-13 ne parle pas des jours d'Azymes; Ez. xlv ne revient pas sur la question de la Pâque. Seul Deut. xvi 1-8 soutiendrait le point de vue de Vincent; mais tous les parallélismes discernables dans la lettre de Ḥananiah renvoient à la législation sacerdotale; bien mieux, aux termes de Deut. xvi, il ne saurait être question d'immoler la Pâque à Eléphantine. Tout le raisonnement à l'aide duquel l'auteur précité cherche à prouver qu'il était question de la Pâque à la ligne 9 du papyrus est donc dénué de fondement.

— quelle que soit la lecture adoptée ! Quoi qu'en dise COWLEY, les verbes חתם et סתם ne sont pas tout à fait équivalent. Il est extrêmement improbable que סתם soit un saf'el de חתם (JASTROW, *Dictionary* . . . p. 1031 b). VINCENT donne à חתם pa. un sens réfléchi ou passif: „Il semble qu'une seule signification soit possible: Enfermez-vous soigneusement, tenez-vous cachés" (p. 247). Mais rien ne justifie une telle hypothèse. Job xxiv 16 (allégué par VINCENT) n'éclaire rien, car il s'agit d'un passage obscur et difficile; KÖHLER traduit: „tenir la maison fermée" et ZORELL: „tenir la porte fermée"; mais DHORME: „repérer (une maison) en y apposant une marque" (*Le livre de Job*, *Etudes bibliques*, p. 332). Par ailleurs, le sens de „enfermer (une chose)" ne paraît pas attesté pour חתם.

Avec la lecture סתם la difficulté est un peu moindre. Quelle que soit l'étymologie du terme, il existe une parenté évidente entre le judaram סתם, le syr. *ṣṭm*, l'ar. *ṣṭm* (fermer, boucher une porte) et *sdm* (fermer, barricader une porte), le mand. סדאם (*obstruxit*). D'où le sens dérivé: „tenir (une chose) cachée, secrète" (Dan. viii 26; xii 4, 9. — Cf. Ps. li 8). On pourrait supposer, dans le papyrus pascal, une prescription ainsi conçue: „Quant au levain, n'en introduisez pas dans vos appartements, mais tenez-le caché durant ces jours-là". Mais, encore une fois, il s'agit là d'une conjecture.

Conclusion provisoire.

Le texte du „papyrus pascal" semble donc pouvoir être restauré de façon réellement probable dans sa plus grande partie. Assurément, les restitutions proposées, pour vraisemblables qu'elles soient, ne sauraient servir de base à des conclusions solides. Mais il subsiste assez de texte pour que l'on soit amené à poser, à ce propos, un certain nombre de questions importantes. Où en était, en 419, la législation de la Pâque et des Azymes? Où en était la formation littéraire de cette vaste compilation qu'est la Thora? Quel fut le but de la mission de Ḥananiah en Egypte (*A.P.* 38/7)? Le „papyrus pascal" est-il en rapport avec cette mission? Dans quelle situation se trouve-t-il avec les missions de Néhémie et d'Esdras à Jérusalem? Bornant mon étude au *texte* même du papyrus, j'ai dû laisser de côté tous ces *problèmes généraux*. Il ne serait pas inutile de les reprendre maintenant de façon systématique: les parallélismes étroits que présente le document avec la législation sacerdotale permettraient peut-être, sinon de les résoudre, du moins d'en éclairer ici ou là les données.

Il est du moins un point, fort secondaire à la vérité, sur lequel je désire attirer l'attention. On parle souvent d'un décret de Darius II relatif à la Pâque (COWLEY, p. xxiv; VINCENT, p. 257 etc.), ou encore d'un ordre royal prescrivant de célébrer les Azymes (RICCIOTTI, *Histoire d'Israël*, trad. AUVRAY[1], p. 212; KRAELING, *op. cit.* p. 94). Or en fait, nous ignorons absolument la teneur du rescrit adressé à Arsham dont Ḥananiah annonce l'arrivée à ses „frères". Il est fort possible que ce document de chancellerie ait eu un contenu beaucoup plus général que celui qu'on lui prête habituellement. La seule partie du papyrus qui traite certainement de questions en rapport avec la Thora constitue une communication de Ḥananiah aux Juifs d'Eléphantine, et il n'est pas du tout certain que les explications données par lui soient le simple développement de l'édit royal mentionné au début de sa lettre. Le titre donné au document par le *Textbuch* de GALLING me semble donc un peu abusif: „*Osterbrief Darius' II*". Il vaut mieux, avec GINSBERG (*in*: PRITCHARD, *op. cit.* p. 491), parler prudemment du „*Passover Papyrus*".

DIE „DIALEKTISCHE NEGATION" ALS SEMITISCHES IDIOM

VON

HEINZ KRUSE

Tôkyô

Dass man mit einer grammatisch korrekten Übersetzung nicht immer bis zum letzten Verständnis eines fremdsprachlichen Textes vorstossen kann, wird oft übersehen. Jede Sprache hat ihre eigenen Redewendungen und stilistischen Ausdrucksmittel, die, wörtlich in eine andere übertragen, befremdend wirken oder gar unverständlich werden können. Die Mentalität der abendländischen Sprachen ist zudem von der der semitischen so verschieden, dass unter gleich scheinenden Redeformen sich ganz andere Vorstellungen verbergen können, die vom Grammatiker nicht berücksichtigt werden, zumal wenn er, wie es früher noch häufiger als heute geschah, mit indoeuropäischen Sprachkategorien an die semitischen Sprachen herantritt. Hier hat die Stilistik, und zwar die vergleichende Stilistik, eine wichtige Aufgabe; und es ist kein geringer Mangel, dass die neueren Grammatiken des Hebräischen sich zumeist mit der Darstellung der Morphologie und Syntax begnügen, was innerhalb der europäischen Sprachen weniger verhängnisvoll sein mag, sich aber um so schlimmer auswirkt, je grösser die Distanz zwischen den verglichenen Sprachen ist. Die älteren Grammatiken sind in dieser Hinsicht vollkommener; und die letzte grosse Stilistik des Hebräischen von E. König [1]) ist noch heute ein unentbehrliches Hilfsmittel, wenn sie auch mancher Verbesserungen und Ergänzungen, besonders hinsichtlich der heute mit Recht so sehr berücksichtigten Literaturgattungen, bedürfte. Aber selbst König bleibt vielfach, wenn auch längst nicht in dem Masse wie seine Vorgänger, in der Voraussetzung befangen, als ob aller sprachliche Ausdruck eigentlich in der disziplinierten Logik der griechisch-lateinischen Klassik

[1]) E. König, *Stilistik, Rhetorik, Poetik in Bezug auf die biblische Literatur*, Leipzig 1900; zur Frage: S. 74-76.

einherschreiten müsse. Doch gerade die semitischen Sprachen mit ihrer Formenarmut sind viel mehr von psychologischen Motiven geformt als von logischen und verlangen für ihr Verständnis mehr nach intuitivem Einfühlen als nach dem zergliedernden Verstand. Beispiel dafür ist eine stilistische Erscheinung, auf die gelegentlich in exegetischen Abhandlungen hingewiesen wird, die aber, vermutlich wegen der Ablehnung von seiten des sonst so treffsicheren Semitisten E. König, nicht die Beachtung gefunden hat, die sie bei ihrer Wichtigkeit für das Verständnis mancher Schriftstellen verdiente.

Es handelt sich um die Gegenüberstellung zweier Aussagen, von denen die eine (meist steht sie an erster Stelle) verneint, die andere bejaht wird, um dem bejahten Glied einen besonderen Nachdruck zu verleihen. A. Vaccari z.B., der sicher als erfahrener Alttestamentler und Kenner semitischer Sprachen über ein gutes Einfühlungsvermögen verfügt, beschreibt dieses Idiom folgendermassen [1]): „ ... die hl. Schrift kennt eine Redewendung (idioma), die in erster Linie vom hebräischen Sprachgebrauch herrührt, derzufolge ein verneinter Satz, dem eine gegenteilige positive Aussage folgt, keine absolute, sondern nur eine relative Verneinung bildet; algebraisch ausgedrückt: 'nicht A, sondern B' besagt in der Sprache der Bibel bisweilen 'nicht so sehr A als vielmehr B'. Dies ist im Hebräischen sogar der gewöhnliche Ausdruck für 'nicht so sehr, als'. "

Als Beispiele führt er an: 1 Sam. viii 7; Mc. ix 37; Jo. xii 44; vi 32; Act. v 4. Dabei ist die umstrittendste Stelle, Jer. vii 22, noch gar nicht genannt, die schon früher, mehr als alle anderen, zur Beschäftigung mit diesem Idiom herausgefordert hatte [2]). Aber schon bevor

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[1]) A. Vaccari, „Antica e nuova interpretazione del Salmo 16 (15)", in: *Biblica* 14 (1933), 431. Ich übersetze aus dem Italienischen. Vgl. denselben Autor in: *Gregorianum* 1 (1920), 225: „Secondo lo stile ebraico il pensiero espresso dal profeta (Jer. ix 22-23) si tradurrebbe acconciamente nelle nostre lingue occidentali: '*Non tanto* si glori il sapiente della sua sapienza e il forte della sua fortezza, o il ricco della sua ricchezza, *quanto* del conoscere me ...' ".

[2]) K. Marti, „Die Spuren der sogenannten Grundschrift des Hexateuchs in den vorexilischen Propheten des Alten Testaments", in: *Jahrbuch für prot. Theologie* 6 (1880), 310 ff.

F. Hommel, „A rhetorical figure in the Old Testament", in: *Expository Times* 11 (1900), 439-441, 517-519, 564.

E. König, „Der Jeremiaspruch 7, 21-23 nach seinem Sinn, seiner kultusgeschichtlichen Stellung und seinem geistesgeschichtlichen Anlasz untersucht", in: *Theol. Studien und Kritiken* 1906, 327-393, besonders 351-358.

Auch A. Vaccari kommt darauf zu sprechen in: *Verbum Domini*, 19 (1939), 199.

man, in Unkenntnis dieser Spracheigentümlichkeit, die Jeremias-Stelle zu einer Hauptinstanz für die späte Abfassung des „Priesterkodex" machte, war sie als stilistische Erscheinung den älteren Hebraisten längst aufgefallen. So spricht J. GUSSETIUS (Gousset) schon in der ersten Auflage seiner *Commentaria Linguae Hebraicae* [1]) von dieser „negationis improprietas" als von einer wohlbekannten Tatsache. Er bringt eine Menge von Beispielen und einige gute Bemerkungen, ohne jedoch auf die nähere Erklärung des Phänomens einzugehen: „לא interdum non praefacte negare aut absolute, sed poni pro 'non tantum', vel 'non tam', in confesso est. ... (Beispiele) ... Caeterum ista negationis improprietas sese vel experimentis, vel analogia fidei evidentissima manifestat. Ita ut possit esse figura quaedam orationis, ut hyperbole, vel exaggeratio ad rem intentam majori emphasi dicendam adhibita. Quae cum ita sint, Lector non debet particulam לא spectare ut ancipitem inter sensum absolutum et comparativum, quasi aequali jure liceret ipsi, eam, quo mallet modo, sumere. Sed pro proprio sensu, nempe absoluto, standum est, donec vel experientia, vel analogia fidei, alium sensum doceat. Absque quo consilio Lector ad omnes voces improprietatem nonnumquam passas fluctuaret incertus."

Schon hier macht sich also die Besorgnis bemerkbar, die Sicherheit der Interpretation möchte unter der Annahme einer solchen Verwendung von לא leiden; aber sie veranlasst ihn nicht, wie später KÖNIG, eine solche Verwendung überhaupt abzulehnen.

FLACIUS bringt in seiner „*Clavis*" [2]) die Sache unter dem Stichwort „Hyperbel", bzw. „Meiose"; seine Erklärung ist dürftig und schwankend: „Posses hunc Hebraismum et sic describere, quod non raro aliqua simpliciter affirmantur aut negantur, quae si sine omni conditione aut circumstantia accipiantur, aut falsa aut absurda vel denique et impia sunt." Oder: „Posses aliqua praecedentium exemplorum et hac sequenti regula complecti: quod videlicet persaepe (!) negativae orationes, in speciem simpliciter aliquid negantes, non simpliciter, sed secundum quid tantum, accipiendae sint, id est, ex eorum hypothesi, ad quos dirigitur (sic!)."

CHR. NOLDE [3]) führt s.v. לא, teils unter der Bedeutung „non tam", teils unter „non tantum" die üblichen Beispiele an, ohne eine weitere

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[1]) Amsterdam 1702, s.v. לא S. 422a.
[2]) *Clavis Scripturae*, Frankfurt 1719, II, 385.
[3]) *Concordantiae particularum*, Jena 1734, S. 424.

Erklärung zu versuchen. S. GLASSIUS [1]) gibt, nachdem er zunächst für den angeblich absolut verneinenden Gebrauch der „Komparativpartikeln" (מן usw.) eine Menge Beispiele angeführt hat, als Gegenstück dazu eine Liste von Stellen, die den komparativen Gebrauch der gewöhnlich absolut verneinenden Partikeln (לא usw.) dartun sollen: „Comparativus saepe ita circumscribitur, ut alterum, et quidem inferius, ex duobus comparatis negetur, alterum affirmetur, cui excellentia tribuenda est." Es ist ein nicht sehr glücklicher Griff, der Mangel an Einfühlung in den Geist der hebräischen Sprache verrät, wenn er diesen Gebrauch des לא als „ἐλλειπτικῶς" für 'non solum' darstellt, als ob der Hebräer dabei die Vorstellung des abendländischen 'nicht nur' hätte, und dann das 'nur' der Kürze halber ausliesse. Aber schon seine Vorgänger haben diese irreführende Erklärung gegeben, die den Sinn der Verneinung im Grunde in ihr Gegenteil verkehrt; und sie ist es wahrscheinlich, die E. KÖNIG zu seiner Entrüstung Anlass gegeben hat: „Eine solche Umbiegung der Negation hebt ja einfach ihren Charakter auf. Welche Gefahr für die Sicherkeit der Exegese würde entstehen, wenn die Verneinung 'nicht' und 'kein' nicht den Sinn von 'nicht' und 'kein' besitzen sollte!" (Jeremiaspruch, *l.c.* pag. 355). Besser ist schon, was GLASSIUS weiter unten sagt: „Negatio in his non tam negat, quam exaggerat; est potius αὐξητική, quam ἐκκλειστική.

Alle älteren Autoren kommen über eine formal-logische Erklärung nicht hinaus; aber sie bejahen grundsätzlich diesen Gebrauch der Negation, während E. KÖNIG meinte, ihn ablehnen zu müssen.

Sehen wir uns nun die Beispiele etwas näher an. Während F. HOMMEL (*a.a.O.*) zunächst nur zwei Beispiele der hl. Schrift kennt (Jer. vii 22 und Dt. v 3) und A. VACCARI deren fünf anzugeben weiss (s.o.), bringen die älteren Autoren (und E. KÖNIG, jedoch, um sie alle abzulehnen) eine stattliche Reihe von Stellen, die zwar nicht alle stichhaltig sind oder überhaupt nicht hierher gehören, aber doch zeigen, dass es sich um eine recht verbreitete Erscheinung handeln muss. In der Tat findet man schon bei einigem unsystematischen Lesen eine beachtliche Anzahl von Stellen, von denen zwar die meisten wenig auffallen, aber im Prinzip die gleiche Spracheigentümlichkeit bezeugen wie Jer. vii 22. Ohne im einzelnen eine Entscheidung treffen zu wollen, möchte ich folgende Stellen zur Prüfung vorlegen:

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[1]) *Philologia sacra*, ed. J. A. DATHE, Leipzig 1776, I, 418 ff.

Gen. xlv 8; Ex. xvi 8; 1 Sam. viii 7; 2 Chron. xix 6; Act. v 4; 1 Thess. iv 8;

Ps. xxxiii 16-18; xliv 7-8; cxlvii 10-11; 2 Makk. xv 21; Qoh. ix 11; Zach. iv 6; — Ps. xl 7-9; l 9-15; li 18-19; Is. i 11-17; lviii 5-6; Jer. vii 22-23; Os. vi 6 vgl. Mt. ix 13; Am. v 21-24; Mich. vi 6-8; —

Gen. xxxii 28 = xxxv 10; Dt. v 3; Job xxxii 8-9 (vgl. xii 12-13); Ps. cxxvii 2; cxlvi 3-5, vgl. Jer. xvii 5-8; cxlvii 19-20 (?); Prov. viii 10; xvii 12; xxiii 23 (?); Sap. xvi 26 vgl. Dt. viii 3 und Mt. iv 4; Is. xiii 17-18 (?); xxxvi 12; xliii 18-19 (?); lx 19-20; Jer. ix 22-23; Ez. xvi 47; Joel ii 13; Am. v 25-26; Mt. v 39 (?); vi 31-33 vgl. Phil. iv 6; Mt. ix 13; x 20 vgl. Mc. xiii 11; Mt. x 34; xii 31-32 (?); xii 48-49; xv 24; Mt. xviii 22; xxiv 36 (?); Mc. ix 37; Lc. x 20; xii 4-5; xiv 12-13; xxii 42 vgl. Jo. v 30 und vi 38; Lc. xxiii 28; Jo. iii 17; v 22 vgl. 19 und 30; v 31-32; v 45; vi 27; vi 32; vii 16, vgl. xiv 24; viii 50; ix 3; xii 44; xv 16; xvii 9; xx 17; Ro. ix 13 (?) = Mal. i 2-3; 1 Cor. i 17; ix 9-10; xv 10; 2 Cor. viii 5; Eph. vi 12; Tit. iii 5 (?) vgl. Ro. iii 28 usw. aber Gal. v 6; Jac. i 13-14; 1 Petr. iii 3-4; 1 Jo. iii 18.

Diese Liste liesse sich sicherlich noch bedeutend vermehren. Es geht jetzt nicht darum, für jede einzelne Stelle den Beweis für oder wider anzutreten; es soll nur das Vorhandensein dieser Stileigentümlichkeit grundsätzlich aufgewiesen und eine Erklärung versucht werden. Es ist zunächst auffallend, dass sich besonders die atl. Beispiele vor allem um gewisse Themen gruppieren, nämlich die Themen „sendende Autorität und Gesandter (oder Stellvertreter)" „menschliche Anstrengung und göttliche Gnade" und „Kultus und Ethos", z.B. Ex. xvi 8: „Nicht gegen uns richtet sich euer Murren, sondern gegen Jahwe!" Ps. xliv 4: „Nicht durch ihr Schwert haben sie das Land gewonnen, ... sondern Deine Rechte und Dein Arm ...", Os. vi 6: „An Liebe habe ich Wohlgefallen, nicht an Opfer, Gotterkenntnis gilt mir höher als Brandopfer." Diese Themen bieten offenbar einen günstigen Boden für die Anwendung dieses Idioms.

Was geht nun in der Seele des Hebräers vor, wenn er etwa den erstgenannten Satz hört oder spricht? Welche Vorstellung verbindet sich mit diesem sprachlichen Ausdruck? Es ist klar: er denkt nicht „ἐλλειπτικῶς": „Euer Murren richtet sich 'nicht nur' gegen uns, sondern (auch) gegen den Herrn." In diesem Sinn kann nicht von einem „relativen" Gebrauch der Verneinung die Rede sein, und darin ist E. König durchaus Recht zu geben. Der Hebräer denkt vielmehr, wie er spricht, das heisst: „Euer Murren richtet

sich tatsächlich *in einem gewissen Sinne* nicht gegen uns." Dabei ist ihm klar, dass, dem äusseren Anschein nach, das Murren sich sehr wohl gegen Moses richtet; ja, die Israeliten hatten ja gerade die Meinung und Absicht, gegen Moses und Aaron zu murren, und es wäre ihnen vielleicht gar nicht eingefallen zu murren, wenn ihnen bewusst gewesen wäre, dass sie damit gegen den Herrn murrten. Diese Evidenz des äusseren Anscheins will nun Moses als Sprecher keineswegs leugnen (vgl. den vorhergehenden Vers, wo er es geradezu ausspricht); es wäre auch vergeblich gewesen. Er will nur sagen: „Ihr murrt gegen uns, aber dieses Murren ist *eigentlich*, *im Grunde*, nicht so sehr gegen uns als gegen den Herrn gerichtet, dessen Gesandte wir sind. Dass es gegen uns geht, kann man vernachlässigen; es ist nicht der Rede wert. Das Wichtige, worauf es hier ankommt, ist vielmehr die Rücksicht, unter der euer Murren gegen Gott gerichtet ist." Wir haben hier die typischen Elemente dieses Idioms:

1. eine evidente, selbstverständliche oder zum mindesten naheliegende Wahrheit, die scheinbar und äusserlich gesehen schlechthin geleugnet wird und die ohne Schaden geleugnet werden kann, weil niemand wegen ihrer Selbstverständlichkeit in den Irrtum geführt wird, sie solle unter *jeder* Rücksicht geleugnet werden;

2. die ebenso schlechthinnige Bejahung eines entgegengesetzten Sachverhalts, wodurch die entgegenstehende Negation noch unterstrichen zu werden scheint, und in jedem Fall ein Widerspruch heraufbeschworen wird;

3. die einem „distinguo" gleichkommende *Synthese*, die jedoch sprachlich nicht in Erscheinung tritt, sondern in der Seele des Zuhörers vollzogen wird, indem er intuitiv erfasst, was wir zergliedernd etwa folgendermassen ausdrücken können: „Der Sprecher kann unmöglich den ganzen Sachverhalt schlechthin haben leugnen wollen; also hat er ihn nur unter einer bestimmten Rücksicht geleugnet, um eine andere Rücksicht um so stärker zu bejahen und zu betonen, auf die es ihm besonders ankommt."

In dem vorliegenden Beispiel ist der Sinn so klar, dass wir die Worte auch in unseren Sprachen so stehen lassen können, ohne etwas hinzuzufügen. In anderen Fällen muss der Deutlichkeit halber die Relativität der Verneinung sprachlich zum Ausdruck gebracht werden, aber nicht einfach durch 'nicht nur, sondern auch', sondern eher durch 'nicht so sehr, als (vielmehr)' ('non tam, quam') oder auch nur durch ein 'eher' oder 'vielmehr' (plutôt, rather) im positiven Glied. Sonst kann es zu Misverständnissen kommen, besonders

wenn der negierte, naheliegende Sachverhalt einem der Hörer oder Leser nicht in dem Masse selbstverständlich ist, wie es der Sprecher annimmt. Das Hebräische, das die Relativität gar nicht andeutet, ist hier wie so oft in Gefahr, zweideutig zu werden, besonders für den modernen Leser. Denn da wir über die Intonation des Bibelhebräischen trotz aller masoretischen Akzente nur sehr wenig wissen, kann es leicht sein, dass der Hebräer durch eine besondere Betonung des positiven oder negativen Terminus beim Sprechen auf die stillschweigend zu machende „Korrektur" der uneigentlichen Sprechweise hinwies. Das Hebräische überlässt ja auch sonst viel dem Gefühl (man denke etwa an den Gebrauch der „Tempora" beim Verb), und wir sind leicht geneigt, ihm daraus den Vorwurf der Ausdrucksarmut und mangelnden Logik zu machen. Aber vielleicht liegt es nicht so sehr am fehlenden Verstand, als am übermächtigen Affekt, und es ist bezeichnend, dass die in Frage stehende stilistische Eigentümlichkeit besonders in der direkten Rede, im Gespräch und in der Dichtung verwendet wird, wo durch die paradoxale Redeweise die Lebhaftigkeit des gesprochenen Wortes eine Verstärkung erfährt. Es dürfte daher nicht so abwegig sein, wenn wir dies Idiom als „dialektische Negation" bezeichnen, zumal in der Dialektik gegensätzliche Aspekte ein und derselben Sache bis zum scheinbaren Widerspruch gegenübergestellt werden, um der Wahrheit nach allen Seiten hin gerecht zu werden und das Wichtige hervorzuheben.

Prüfen wir nun nach diesem leicht einsichtigen Beispiel einige andere, die uns wichtig erscheinen. Os. vi 6 (s.o.) bot die Eigentümlichkeit, dass dort im Parallelstichus eine komparativische Wendung gleichen Inhalts angefügt wird (ähnlich vgl. Prov. viii 10). Man hat daher diese Stelle, neben anderen, dazu benützt, um zu beweisen, dass מן manchmal eine absolute Negation vertrete, und hier zu übersetzen sei: „An Gotteserkenntnis habe ich Wohlgefallen, *nicht* an Brandopfern." Aber hier können wir E. König voll und ganz zustimmen, wenn er eine solche Bedeutung von מן ablehnt. Der Hebräer hat wohl die Möglichkeit, absolut zu verneinen; dagegen fehlt ihm ein eigentlicher Komparativ. Er braucht also nicht ein לא durch ein מן zu umschreiben, wohl aber ein 'vielmehr'. So ist also eher umgekehrt anzugleichen: „Ich habe *mehr* Wohlgefallen an Liebe als an Schlachtopfern, an Gotteserkenntnis mehr als an Brandopfern." Wenn E. König hier die wörtliche Übersetzung unter Verschiedenheit der beiden Stichen beibehalten zu müssen

glaubt, weil er darin eine Steigerung (a majore ad minus!) erblickt, so liegt das an seiner Verkennung der „dialektischen Negation". Wir sehen aber an diesem Beispiel, dass dem Hebräer sehr wohl ein Mittel zur Verfügung stand, die dialektische Negation zu umgehen, nämlich durch das komparative מן (das freilich seinerseits auch oft mehrdeutig ist); dass es sich also nicht um einen Notbehelf, sondern um ein bewusst gewolltes stilistisches Mittel handelt. Alle übrigen Stellen, die für die absolut verneinende Bedeutung von מן oder seiner griechischen Entsprechungen ins Feld geführt werden, sind daher in gleicher Weise zu verstehen wie die dialektische Negation und ähnlich wiederzugeben (d.h. wörtlich durch 'mehr'; z.B. einige der bezeichnendsten:

Jo. xii 43: „An der menschlichen Ehre lag ihnen mehr als an der Ehre vor Gott."

Mt. xxi 31: „Die Zöllner und Dirnen kommen eher in das Reich Gottes als ihr" (Jesus lag es fern, die „Hohenpriester und Ältesten des Volkes" durch eine apodiktische Prophezeiung: — ‚die Dirnen kommen ins Himmelreich, ihr aber nicht' — vom Gottesreich auszuschliessen).

Lc. xviii 14: „Dieser ging *eher* (παρά; vgl. die Varianten) gerechtfertigt nach Hause als jener." Auch hier will Jesus nichts über den absoluten Gnadenstand der beiden aussagen.

In den Sprüchen haben wir noch ein zweites Beispiel für den oben besprochenen Parallelismus, Prov. viii 10: „Nehmt Unterweisung an, und nicht Silber, Erkenntnis lieber als auserlesenes Gold!" Die beiden Stichen sind durchaus parallel und besagen keine Steigerung. Dass man Geld und Gold nicht zu verschmähen braucht, war den Kindern Israels zu evident, als dass sie in Gefahr gekommen wären, die erste Negation absolut zu verstehen.

Ein anderes für den Gebrauch der dialektischen Negation günstiges Gebiet ist der Gegensatz zwischen menschlicher Bemühung und göttlicher Gnadenhilfe. Wenn etwa am Schluss des 2. Makkabäerbuches die tapferen Freiheitskämpfer „den wundertätigen Herrn anrufen, wohl wissend, dass der Sieg *nicht* durch Waffen erfochten wird, sondern dass Gott dem Würdigen den Sieg verleiht, wie er es für gut erachtet," (2 Makk. xv 21), so könnte man zunächst auf die Vermutung kommen, die Makkabäer hätten auf die Waffen verzichtet, die Hände in den Schoss gelegt und auf ein Wunder gewartet; aber nichts wäre verkehrter als dies. Sie wussten genau, dass der Fromme so auf Gott vertrauen soll, als ob alles von seiner Gnade

abhinge, dabei aber sich selbst so anstrengen, als ob alles vom eigenen Bemühen abhinge. Es ist genau derselbe Gedankengang, der etwa hinter Dt. viii 17-18 steht: „So wirst du denken: 'Meine Kraft und meine starken Arme haben mir diesen Wohlstand verschafft'. Bedenke aber, dass es Jahwe, dein Gott, war, der dir die Kraft gab, Wohlstand zu erwerben," oder hinter Ro. ix 16: „Nicht das eigene Wollen oder Laufen, sondern Gottes Erbarmen führt zum Erfolg." Gerade zu Zeiten, wo sich ein allzu grosses Vertrauen auf die eigene Kraft bemerkbar machte, wie bisweilen im Kriege, lag es nahe, auf die grössere Bedeutung der göttlichen Hilfe hinzuweisen, und das geschah, indem man die Bedeutung der Waffen (in der Darstellung, nicht in der Praxis!) einfach leugnete, wie etwa 1 Sam. xvii 47: „Jahwe schafft den Sieg nicht durch Schwert oder Speer, sondern die Entscheidung im Kampf liegt bei Jahwe!" Man vergleiche nun etwa, was VON RAD in Verkennung des Idioms aus dieser Stelle herausliest: „Jetzt sind heiliger Krieg und der Gebrauch von Waffen Gegensätze, die sich überhaupt ausschliessen, — eine Auffassung, die die Scharen unter Barak und Debora gewiss nicht begriffen hätten. Dass Goliath nun aber doch nicht unmittelbar durch ein Wunder von Jahwe besiegt ist, dass es dazu doch einer Schleuder bedarf, das ist eigentlich eine gewisse Inkonsequenz (!), zu der den Erzähler seine Aufklärung nötigt." [1])

Am meisten verkannt und umstritten ist unser Idiom jedoch an den Stellen, die den Gegensatz von Kultus und Ethos betreffen, besonders in Bezug auf das Opfer. Die klassische Stelle ist Jer. vii 22-23: „Denn ich habe euern Vätern, als ich sie aus Ägypten wegführte, nichts in bezug auf Brandopfer und Schlachtopfer gesagt, sondern ich habe ihnen dies Gebot gegeben: 'Gehorchet meinen Befehlen . . .' ". Dies ist die wörtliche Übersetzung, ohne Auflösung oder Synthese des Gegensatzes. Es ist bekannt, was aus diesen und ähnlichen Stellen gemacht wurde: der Beweis für eine opfer- und kultlose Moseszeit. Man vergleiche nur, welche Folgerungen etwa B. DUHM daraus zieht [1]): Es sei klar, dass die ganze Opfergesetzgebung nicht aus der Zeit Moses stammt, sondern auf viel späteren Menschensatzungen beruht und ein „willkürliches Produkt der Buchmänner" sei. Das Argument steht aber auf sehr schwachen Füssen und ist nur möglich unter Missachtung der idiomatischen Darstellungsart. Genau besehen, ist hier nichts anderes gesagt, als Os. vi 6 nach

[1]) G. VON RAD, *Der Heilige Krieg im Alten Israel*, Zürich 1951, S. 48.
[2]) B. DUHM, *Das Buch Jeremia*, Tübingen 1901, S. 81 f.

der oben gegebenen Erklärung. Nichts war den Zeitgenossen des Jeremias alltäglicher und selbstverständlicher als der Opferkult und dass Gott den Vätern die verschiedensten Opfer vorgeschrieben hatte. Ihre Gottesverehrung erschöpfte sich geradezu in den äusseren Kultformen des Opfergottesdienstes, und bei jedem Opfer wurden ihnen sicherlich die entsprechenden „Einsetzungsberichte" zu Gehör gebracht, sodass keiner, der Jeremias hörte, auf den Gedanken kam, als wolle er den mosaischen Ursprung aller Opfervorschriften rundweg ableugnen. Aber durch den Gegensatz: „Dieses Gebot habe ich ihnen gegeben: 'Gehorchet meinen Befehlen' ", wurden sie auf die stillschweigende Einschränkung der vorausgegangenen Negation hingewiesen: in *dem* Sinne hatte ihnen freilich Gott keine Opfervorschriften gegeben, dass die Opfer „ex opere operato" allein, ohne die subjektive Gesinnung des Gehorsams, einen Wert hätten haben sollen. Es war also weiter nichts gesagt als der auch sonst sehr vertraute Gedanke von 1 Sam. xv 22: „Hat etwa Jahwe an Brand- und Schlachtopfern dasselbe Wohlgefallen wie am Gehorsam gegen seine Befehle? Wisse wohl: Gehorsam ist besser als Schlachtopfer und Folgsamkeit besser als das Fett von Widdern!" Hier (wie Judith xvi 16) ist der Gedanke komparativisch ausgedrückt, aber dem Sinne nach der gleiche: der Gehorsam ist es erst, der dem Opfer seinen Wert verleiht.

Die Tatsache, dass Jeremias, ohne ein Missverständnis befürchten zu müssen, dieses rhetorische Paradoxon gebrauchen konnte, ist vielmehr ein Zeichen für die Selbstverständlichkeit, mit der man damals von dem mosaischen Ursprung der Opfergesetzgebung überzeugt war; und damit wird unsere Stelle ein Beweis *für* das hohe Alter der betreffenden Pentateuchstellen, ganz abgesehen davon, dass es a priori wenig Wahrscheinlichkeit für sich hat, Moses zum Verfechter einer neuzeitlichen opferlosen, sich auf Ethik beschränkenden Religion machen zu wollen.

Die Erklärung, die E. König von Jer. vii 21-23 gibt (er ist natürlich gegen B. Duhm), ist gekünstelt und schränkt den Sinn von בְּיוֹם „am Tage" und אֲבוֹתֵיכֶם „eure Väter" zu sehr ein (er verweist auf Dt. v 22). „Allen Momenten der Textaussage entspricht nur das Urteil, dass Jeremia zu der von Gott dem Volke selbst bei dessen Erlösung aus Ägypten verkündeten Forderung die Opfervorschriften nicht gerechnet hat, sondern nach seinem Bewusstsein jene grundlegende Forderung vielmehr (!) auf religiöse Ergebenheit Israels

an seinen Gott und auf volle praktische Hingabe an die Gesamtsumme der Gottesweisungen zielte" (Jeremiaspruch, S. 358). Der Ausdruck „am Tage" ist sehr allgemein und steht oft für „zur Zeit als"; wollte man es auf den Tag des Auszuges oder der Bundesschliessung beschränken, so wäre auch im Sinne des Jeremias nichts gewonnen. Seine Zuhörer hätten leicht einwenden können: „Zugegeben, dass am Sinai nichts darüber gesagt wurde; aber im Verlauf des Wüstenaufenthalts hat Gott es so angeordnet!" Tatsächlich kommt es aber auf Zeit und Ort gar nicht an, und Jeremias wollte nur sagen: „Mit all den Opfervorschriften hat Gott den Gehorsam gemeint und nicht die materielle Gabe."

Ganz ähnlich wie Jer. vii 22-23 ist Amos v 21-24 und wohl auch die schwierige Stelle Am. v 25-26 zu verstehen; die Vielfalt der Übersetzungen lässt vermuten, dass der Text nicht ganz in Ordnung ist. MENGE übersetzt: „Habt ihr mir etwa Schlachttiere und Speisopfer vierzig Jahre lang in der Wüste dargebracht, ihr vom Hause Israel? Nein, weil ihr euren König Sakkuth umhergetragen habt und Kewan, eure Götzenbilder, das Sternbild eures Gottes, so will ich euch in die Gefangenschaft führen, noch über Damaskus hinaus!" Meist wird das ה interrogativum als Partikel aufgefasst, die eine verneinende Antwort erwarten lässt (= „etwa", lat. „num"). Andre möchten übersetzen: „Habt ihr (nicht schon) in der Wüste mir Opfer dargebracht und (dabei) Götzendienst getrieben (wie jetzt)?" Aber die Beispiele für eine affirmative oder exklamative Bedeutung von ה (= lat. „nonne?"), die etwa P. JOÜON anführt [1]), überzeugen nicht recht. Auch die alten Übersetzer haben unsre Stelle als Verneinung verstanden (LXX μή, Vg. numquid). Der erste Teil setzt also das Gegenteil voraus von dem, was bisher eine der festesten Überzeugungen der Zuhörer war [2]). Daher musste ein Gegensatz kommen, eine Antithese als Gegengewicht gegen die paradoxe Leugnung, indem gesagt wurde, was das Volk in der Wüste denn nun getan habe. Das muss also der Inhalt von Vers 26 sein. Dagegen stehen zwei Schwierigkeiten: 1. die Form *wqaṭaltî* die hier nicht futurischen, sondern perfektiven (und adversativen) Sinn haben müsste, und 2. die scheinbar akkadische Herkunft der genannten Gottheiten. Zur ersten ist zu sagen, dass diese Form auch sonst perfektiv gebraucht werden kann [3]), z.B. 1 Reg. iii 11 nach Negation,

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[1]) P. JOÜON, *Grammaire de l'Hébreu Biblique*, Rome 1947, § 161b.
[2]) Vgl. Ex. xxiv 5 (E); xxxii 6 (E); xl 29 (E) usw.
[3]) Vgl. JOÜON, *a.a.O.*, § 119z.

wie hier. Zur zweiten haben wir zu wenig Anhaltspunkte; vielleicht sind es der Sache nach ägyptische Gottheiten und dem Namen nach akkadische. So liesse sich also auch übersetzen: „Habt ihr mir etwa Schlacht- und Speiseopfer die 40 Jahre in der Wüste dargebracht, Haus Israel? (Nein, — mehr noch als das) habt ihr euren König Sakkuth umhergetragen ... Ich aber werde euch in die Gefangenschaft führen." In keinem Falle aber lässt sich aus dieser dunklen Stelle eine Instanz für die völlige Opferlosigkeit der Moseszeit machen. Die absolute Kultfeindlichkeit der Propheten dürfte auch allmählich als überwunden zu gelten haben [1]).

Dass die Verneinung nicht immer formal durch לא oder seine Synonyme ausgedrückt werden muss, sondern eine virtuelle Verneinung genügt, zeigen auch andere Beispiele, wie Is. lviii 5 ff: „Soll das etwa ein Fasten sein, an dem ich Wohlgefallen habe: ein Tag der Selbstkasteiung? ... Ist nicht vielmehr das ein Fasten, wie ich es liebe: ungerechte Fesseln lösen ...?" Vgl. auch 1 Sam. xv 22. Es handelt sich eben nicht um eine sprachlich-grammatische Erscheinung, bei der die Worte den Ausschlag geben, sondern um eine Denkform, ein Stilmittel, bei dem es auf den Sinn ankommt. Ähnlich Mt. xii 48: „Wer ist meine Mutter und wer sind meine Brüder? (Nicht die, die du meinst, sondern) — auf die Jünger zeigend — Sieh da, meine Mutter und meine Brüder!" Damit ist natürlich keine Leugnung der eigenen Verwandten ausgedrückt, sondern die dialektische Hervorhebung der geistlichen Verwandtschaft und Jüngerschaft: „Nicht so sehr diese, die Blutsverwandten, sind meine Lieben, als vielmehr die, welche meine Worte befolgen!"

Eine verborgene Negation liegt auch vor in Ro. ix 13 = Mal. i 2-3: „Jakob habe ich geliebt, Esau aber gehasst," was nichts weiter besagt als: „ich habe Jakob mehr geliebt als Esau," als ob da stände: „Jakob habe ich geliebt, Esau aber nicht." „Hassen" ist oft nur ein starker Ausdruck für „nicht lieben". In ähnlicher Weise ist die Forderung Jesu zu verstehen, dass man Vater und Mutter hassen (= nicht lieben) müsse, um sein Jünger zu sein (z.B. Lc. xiv 26). Dieses „nicht lieben" ist dialektisch zu verstehen im Sinne von: nicht *so sehr* lieben (wie den Herrn), also gleichbedeutend mit der verständlicheren Formel Mt. x 37: „Wer Vater und Mutter *mehr* liebt als mich, ist meiner nicht wert." Vgl. Jo. xii 25.

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[1]) Vgl. A. C. Welch, *Prophet and Priest in Old Israel*, 1953, das mir leider nicht zugänglich war.

Ein etwas versteckter Fall ist auch Ps. cxxvii 2: „Vergeblich steht ihr vor der Sonne auf, — den Seinen gibts der Herr im Schlaf!" Da soll nicht der Faulheit das Wort geredet werden, sondern nur gesagt sein, dass es *mehr* auf die Gnade Gottes ankommt als auf das eigene Bemühen. Die dialektische Negation berührt sich in diesem Fall mit der eigentlichen Hyperbel.

Die Negation (und die entsprechende Antithese) kann sich ferner über den Rahmen eines einzelnen Satzes hinaus erstrecken, sodass sich ganze Abschnitte gegenüberstehen. Man vergleiche etwa Ps. l 8-15, wo in den Versen 8-13 auf verschiedenste Weise die Notwendigkeit der materiellen Opfer verneint, und dann 14-15 zum „Opfer des Lobes" aufgefordert wird, nicht aus einer angeblichen Kultusfeindlichkeit, sondern nur, um auf die rechte Wertordnung der beiden Frömmigkeitsformen hinzuweisen. Es wäre auch zu untersuchen, wie weit manche der sich widersprechenden Äusserungen Qohelets, d.h. seine starken Negationen gegenüber Äusserungen einer positiven Haltung (vgl. etwa Kap. ii) dialektisch und relativ zu verstehen sind und nur die Masslosigkeit auf das rechte Mass zurückführen sollen. Manche verneinenden Aussprüche der Bibel, die dem Exegeten zu schaffen machen, dürften durch Beachtung dieser stilistischen Eigentümlichkeit neues Licht empfangen. Etwa Mt. xii 31 (Lc. xii 10): „Jede Sünde und Lästerung wird den Menschen vergeben werden; aber die Lästerung des Geistes wird nicht vergeben werden." Dies könnte, abgesehen von Mc. iii 28f, relativ verstanden werden: „Alle Sünden finden *eher* Vergebung als die Sünde wider den Geist." Dass mit reumütiger Umkehr alle Sünden vergeben werden, ohne diese aber keine, wird als evident vorausgesetzt.

Oder Mt. xxiv 36: „Was die Stunde betrifft, so kennt sie keiner, auch der Sohn nicht, nur der Vater allein," d.h. „Niemand, auch der Sohn nicht, kennt die Stunde *so gut* (oder: in dem Sinne) *wie* einzig der Vater." Dass der Sohn alles weiss, war Überzeugung der Jünger (vgl. Jo. xvi 30; xxi 17). Oder Jo. xx 17: „Jesus sagte zu ihr (Magdalena): 'Du brauchst mich nicht festzuhalten, denn ich bin noch nicht aufgestiegen zum Vater (d.h. es handelt sich nicht um eine Erscheinung aus dem Jenseits, die schnell verschwindet), vielmehr gehe zu meinen Brüdern!" Der Auferstandene will die Liebesbeweise Magdalenens nicht schlechthin abweisen, sie mag es immerhin tun; aber sie kann es auch lassen, da sie später noch Gelegenheit dazu hat, denn der Herr bleibt noch 40 Tage auf Erden. Wichtiger ist jetzt, dass sie zu den Jüngern gehe.

Auf eine andere Stelle weist schon Hieronymus hin, nämlich auf Mt. xv 24: „Non quo et ad Gentes non missus sit, sed quo primum missus sit ad Israel" [1]). Jedoch ist hier die Negation wahrscheinlich doch absolut zu verstehen, da eine Sendung Jesu zu den Heiden den Jüngern kein so vertrauter Gedanke gewesen zu sein scheint, dass sie eine paradoxale Negation richtig verstanden hätten [2]).

Mag es auch in einzelnen Fällen zweifelhaft sein, ob eine dialektische Negation vorliegt oder nicht, weil wir eben heute nicht mehr immer mit Sicherheit erkennen, ob der geleugnete Sachverhalt dem Angeredeten evident, naheliegend oder selbstverständlich genug war, mit andern Worten, ob die Verneinung für ihn hinreichend paradox war, dass er sie als solche empfand; prinzipiell lässt sich das Vorhandensein dieser Spracheigentümlichkeit im Hebräischen, und als Hebraismus im Griechischen, nicht gut leugnen. Was E. König dagegen vorbringt, indem er jeden einzelnen Fall zu einer „absoluten" Negation zurechtzubiegen sucht, geht von falschen Voraussetzungen aus (s.o.) und überzeugt nicht. Er ist wohl auch der einzige, der sich gegen die Annahme wehrt. Ganz anders F. Hommel, der sich dafür auf seine Erfahrung beruft: „When one has been occupied for five and twenty years with the most diverse semitic languages, he acquires a kind of instinctive feeling of what is an Oriental mode of expression, and what is not." [3]). Was E. König zu seiner ablehnenden Haltung bewogen haben mag, scheint die Besorgnis gewesen zu sein, es könnten dadurch alle Verneinungen unsicher werden und in die Gefahr willkürlicher Umbiegung ins Gegenteil kommen. Von seinem Standpunkt aus war das nicht ganz unbegründet. Wenn wir aber bedenken, dass ganz bestimmte und für den Angeredeten leicht erkennbare Voraussetzungen gegeben sein müssen, um eine „dialektische Negation" anzunehmen (s.o.), dann schwindet die Gefahr der Zweideutigkeit weit mehr als bei anderen Unbestimmtheiten des Hebräischen.

Es wäre nun zu verwundern, wenn die dialektische Negation als Idiom und rhetorisches Mittel auf das Hebräische beschränkt geblieben wäre. Das ist nun nicht der Fall. K. Marti und F. Hommel (*a.a.O.*) haben auf einige arabische Beispiele hingewiesen, die teils

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[1]) Hieronymus, *Comm. in Matth.* cap. xv; PL. xxvi 114.

[2]) Vgl. auch Augustinus zu Joh. xiv 24; PL. xxxv, 1629 („Videtur enim paucis verbis quasi contraria locutus").

[3]) In: *Expository Times*, 11 (1900) 439-441.

von A. SOCIN [1]), teils von A. F. MEHREN [2]) gesammelt worden waren. Da sie recht typisch und lehrreich sind, mögen sie hier Platz finden:

SOCIN (Nr 68): *Naqlu l-ḥiǧārati maʿa šaḫṣin ḥakīm,*
wa-lā širbu l-ḫamri maʿa raǧulin ʾalīm.

„Steine tragen mit einer verständigen Person und nicht Wein trinken mit einem ränkischen Manne," d.h. „Lieber Steine schleppen mit einem Weisen als Wein trinken mit einem Schurken."

SOCIN (Nr 138): *Bayḍa l-yawm, wa-lā farḫa bukra.*

„Ein Ei heute und nicht ein Hühnchen morgen." Der Sinn ist ohne weiteres klar. K. MARTI zitiert ferner aus Ḥariri's Maqâmen (Maq. xi; ed. DE SACY, pg. 107) ein angebliches Beispiel, das sich aber beim näheren Zusehen als einfache Litotes erweist: „Ihr lacht beim Begräbnis, und (zwar) nicht mit eurem Lachen zur Stunde des Tanzes, d.h. nicht wie ihr beim Tanze lacht (sondern noch mehr!)".

MEHREN (S. 136; aus al-Kazwini's „*Talḫīṣ al-miftāḥ*", 14. Jahrh., vgl. HOMMEL, *a.a.O.*): „*Laysa, man māta fa-staraḥa, bi-maytin, innamā l-maytu mayyitu l-ʾaḥyāʾi.*" Wörtlich: „Nicht, wer gestorben ist und dann (im Grabe) ruht, ist ein Toter; sondern der Tote ist der Gestorbene der Lebenden," d.h. „Nicht *der* ist (eigentlich) tot, der gestorben ist und im Grabe ruht, sondern der ist der (wahre) Tote, der unter den Lebenden tot ist," nämlich, wie aus dem Zusammenhang hervorgeht, vor Elend.

MEHREN (S. 190, aus der „Überlieferung", *ḥadīṯ*): „*Laysa š-šadīdu bi-ṣ-ṣuraʿati, innamā š-šadīdu l-laḏī yamliku nafsahu.*" Wörtlich: „Der Starke ist nicht ein Niederwerfer, sondern der Starke (ist nur der,) welcher sich selbst beherrscht," d.h. „Stark ist nicht so sehr, wer seine Feinde besiegt, sondern vielmehr, wer sich selbst bezwingt." Hier kann die dialektische Negation auch in unsern Sprachen gut beibehalten werden.

Ferner ebendort: „*Laysa ḏāka bi-r-raqūbi, wa-lakinna r-raqūbu l-laḏī lam yuqaddim min wuldihi šayʾan.*" Wörtlich: „Nicht dieser ist ein Kinderloser, sondern der Kinderlose ist der, welcher nicht eins seiner Kinder vorausgeschickt hat," d.h. „Nicht so sehr dieser (den ihr meint, der nie Kinder hatte) ist der wahre Kinderlose, sondern vielmehr, wer keines seiner Kinder in die andere Welt vorausgeschickt hat."

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[1]) In: „*Einladung zur akademischen Feier des Geburtsfestes Seiner Majestät des Königs Karl von Württemberg,*" Tübingen 1878.

[2]) A. F. MEHREN, *Rhetorik der Araber*, Wien 1853.

Es ist beachtlich, dass den arabischen Rhetorikern dieses stilistische Mittel durchaus geläufig war und sie sogar einen eigenen Ausdruck dafür geprägt haben: *an-nafyu li-l-mauḍū'i* = negatio suppositi, „Verneinung des ursprünglichen Wortbegriffes". Sie „besteht (nach MEHREN) darin, dass einem Wort sein gewöhnlicher Begriff abgesprochen und ein anderer zugeteilt wird, um den Ausdruck zu verstärken." Freilich ist es nicht der „ursprüngliche" Wortbegriff, der verneint wird, sondern der geläufige; während die Hervorhebung gerade dem eigentlichen, wahren und ursprünglichen Sinn gelten soll.

F. HOMMEL fügt noch zwei weitere Beispiele hinzu, die aber sehr undurchsichtig und zweifelhaft sind. Die hier angeführten dagegen zeigen deutlich die gleiche Anlage wie die der heiligen Schrift und beweisen damit, dass es sich bei der „dialektischen Negation" nicht um einen blossen Hebraismus handelt. Vielleicht ist es Leidenschaftlichkeit und Vorliebe für lebendige, kontrastreiche Schilderung, die den Semiten zu dieser Schwarz-Weiss-Malerei greifen lässt: „Nur so, — nicht so!", wo ein nüchterner Sinn das eine betonen und im übrigen beides gelten lassen würde. Aber es liegt eine Gefahr der Einseitigkeit darin. Das Wörtchen „allein" hat ja schon manches Unheil angerichtet, wenn es da angebracht wurde, wo es eigentlich „sowohl als auch" heissen musste: „Das eine tun und das andre nicht unterlassen!"

PROBLEMS OF THE BOOKS OF CHRONICLES*)

BY

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The British Society for Old Testament Study has invited me to read a paper to its members. I much value the great honour you have done me, and thank you sincerely for the invitation to come to Edinburgh. But when I announce as the subject of my paper: "Problems of the Books of Chronicles", many of you will perhaps be thinking that this is a case of carrying coals to Newcastle; to choose deliberately to speak in the city in which Adam WELCH worked for so long, on the Books of Chronicles to the understanding of which he contributed so much. I gladly acknowledge how much I owe to WELCH's own work in the preparation of my commentary on Chronicles. But he would himself have been the last to claim that he had spoken the final word. Scholarship cannot stand still. So I trust that you will accept it as a token of gratitude to WELCH, and at the same time to British Old Testament scholarship as a whole, that I now say something of what I have discovered in my studies of the Books of Chronicles.

ROTHSTEIN, in his great commentary on the First Book of Chronicles, completed after his death by HÄNEL, put forward the theory that two strata must be distinguished in the Books of Chronicles, that of the older Chronicler, about 400 B.C., and that of a redactor who enlarged this work somewhat later from certain specific points of view. This conception has won much favour, and WELCH too, who was critical of ROTHSTEIN's method in many details, came ultimately to the same conclusion. Only occasionally was a tentative doubt expressed. But it may now be said with complete confidence

*) Vortrag vor der British Society for Old Testament Study in Edinburgh am 15. Juli 1954. Für die Übersetzung ins Englische bin ich Herrn P. R. ACKROYD in Cambridge zu grossem Dank verpflichtet. Für die nähere Begründung der ausgesprochenen Thesen verweise ich auf meinen Chronikkommentar, der demnächst im EISSFELDT'schen *Handbuch zum Alten Testament* erscheinen wird.

that this view of ROTHSTEIN and WELCH cannot be maintained. It is true that the Books of Chronicles are not all of one piece. Particularly in 1 Chron. i-ix, there is only a fraction which belongs to the Chronicler, as above all NOTH has shown in his *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Studien*. But all these additions are much too varied and contradictory for them to be attributed merely to one compiler or redactor. In Chronicles we have to deal with only one author, about 400 B.C., but his work has been expanded in the course of time, even as late as the Maccabaean period, by a whole series of additions with differing viewpoints. In the story of David, for example, we need to mark off not merely the well-known large insertion in xxiii 3-xxvii 34, but also considerable additions in chapters xii and xv-xvi. These additions are to be found mainly in the First Book, but it has not been sufficiently recognised that the Second Book also is not free from them, even if they are not so large in extent as in the First. A variety of passages from the Books of Kings, deliberately omitted by the Chronicler, have later been re-inserted, with the result that the present text attributes to the Chronicler unintelligible and contradictory statements which are not his responsibility at all. When the pre-exilic part of the Chronicler's work is freed from all these additions, it appears just as carefully constructed as I believe I have shown the later part to be, in my commentary on Ezra and Nehemiah.

As far as the sources of the Chronicler are concerned, it can be shown that for the story of David and Solomon he had no other material than the canonical books of Samuel and Kings. NOTH has already rightly demonstrated this. All the deviations from the canonical text are the result of his own attitude, and this can be seen without much difficulty even in such marked differences as appear in 2 Sam. xxiv and 1 Chron. xxi. The position is different for the history of the Kings of Judah after the division of the kingdom. The source which he repeatedly quotes here—"the Book of the Kings of Judah and Israel"—which is one single source in spite of the various titles given to it—must have contained more than the canonical Books of Kings. Frequently it is referred to in connection with events and circumstances of which these books say nothing. We must therefore explain whence the Chronicler derived these frequently valuable pieces of information, which he did not get from 1 and 2 Kings. On the other hand, since his dependence on the canonical Books of Kings is evident also in 2 Chron. x-xxxvi, these books must have

been included in this more comprehensive historical work, and the simplest assumption is that this source is to be regarded as an expanded and more complete "new edition" of our Books of Kings — a view which was proposed over fifty years ago by KLOSTERMANN, and undeservedly forgotten.

Now not only ROTHSTEIN and HÄNEL, but also, for example, GOETTSBERGER and in some measure also VAN DEN BUSSCHE, have maintained that the Chronicler, even for the history of David and Solomon where he was using Samuel and Kings, had not our present canonical text of these books, but the lost original underlying them. This assertion could only be made because there was denied to the Chronicler that right to alter which is normally permitted to an author. The Chronicler, in fact, adopts different procedures in regard to his evaluing of the sources. At one point he follows his original closely, merely perhaps using more up-to-date vocabulary, or modernising a place name and clarifying an obscure passage; sometimes he prefers to omit phrases which were unintelligible to him (as they often are to us). Elsewhere he compresses the traditional text, without slavishly adhering to its wording. This itself reveals that he is not by any means content merely to copy his sources, and the same point becomes even more clear in the many places where he deviates from them on substantial grounds. Whereas the compiler of the Deuteronomic history normally reproduced his sources unaltered, and pronounced his judgments only in the framework he provided for the narratives, or in odd inserted remarks, the Chronicler made more substantial alterations in the existing text, when the subject seemed to him to demand them. He did not therefore merely arrange the untouched traditional material in order, and leave his mark on it only in the manner in which he linked the various elements, thus deserving the name of compiler in only a limited way, as GOETTSBERGER supposes. He found means of expressing his convictions by what were at times very marked transformations of his original, and attempted by his own additions and amplifications to give as clear a picture as possible of the events as he saw them. NOTH has already very effectively made this clear. It is true that the Chronicler cannot be included among the great narrative artists of the Old Testament, and dramatic episodes do not interest him; but if he has to describe God's marvellous acts in warfare, or great religious festivals, he deliberately makes them alive and vivid. His ability to create larger units, I would rate higher than does NOTH; he shows it as much in his presentation

of the post-exilic period as in his construction of the David narrative; and in his descriptions of the reigns of individual kings (for example, Ahaz or Hezekiah), produces a more unified picture than that in his canonical original.

As far as the theology of the Chronicler is concerned, I wish to indicate certain points in which, as it seems to me, the normal picture of the Chronicler needs improvement.

What is the purpose of the Chronicler's work? In answering this question, scholars frequently go astray because they isolate the Books of Chronicles and forget that they are continued in Ezra and Nehemiah. If we look at the *whole* work of the Chronicler, then the question of purpose can only be answered in this way: It is to present the realisation of theocracy in Israel. This is based upon the separation of Israel from the world of the nations, and more precisely upon the choice of Judah and Jerusalem, where David had his throne and Yahweh his Temple, for the Davidic dynasty and the Jerusalem Temple are the two focal points of his presentation. But after the rule of God had once been actually established, thanks to the united work of David and Solomon, its continuance was threatened because of the failure of the later members of the Davidic family. Justice would have demanded that Yahweh should bring it to an end, but in his grace he brought out of the disaster a new people of God, which embodied the idea of theocracy.

It is quite true that this leading idea of the Chronicler—"the true Israel is only to be found in Judah and Jerusalem"—provides a point of attack on the claims of the Samaritans. It may then surprise us to find that in the first part of his work he speaks of the whole twelve tribes, if, in fact, election only concerns the kingdom of Judah with its Davidic dynasty and Jerusalem Temple. But this is quite deliberate. For he is anxious to show that this narrowing down of election was not really Yahweh's purpose, but was brought about by human sin. At the time of the coronation of David and Solomon, all Israel was still one heart and soul, and it was only the wickedness of Jeroboam and his accomplices which separated the northern kingdom from the theocracy. This is explicitly stated in what we may call the 'magna carta' of the Jewish monopoly of salvation, the 'Sermon on the Mount' of Abijah in 2 Chron. xiii. When WELCH regards 1 Chron. i-ix as a later addition, he misunderstands the theological purpose of the Chronicler.

But neither does the election of Judah depend upon any merit

of the people. It has not been sufficiently realised why the Chronicler, in the genealogy of Judah (1 Chron. ii), does not pass over the evil-doers, Er, Onan and Achan, but even emphasizes their misdeeds deliberately. Judah also, for which, with Benjamin, the honoured name of Israel was reserved, was by no means perfect, but was already rotten at the roots. This can only be understood on the assumption that the Chronicler wants to make clear that Yahweh's favoured tribe of Judah also lives only by grace. All the more wonderful is the gift which Yahweh bestows upon his people; he makes Judah the seat of the *malkuth Yahweh*, the Davidic king his earthly representative, and the Temple in Jerusalem the sole centre of the cultus. When individual representatives of the chosen house of David proved evil and introduced idolatry into the land, even leading under Ahaz to the closing of the Temple, why was not Judah then rejected like Israel? Certainly good kings always followed evil ones, and zealously repaired the damage; but the decisive point was the assurance of Yahweh that David's throne and the chosen people should always endure (1 Chron. xvii), and thus Yahweh took care, even when his anger against his people had risen so high that there was no further remedy (2 Chron. xxxvi 16), that there should be a new beginning by the arousing of the spirit of Cyrus. This faithfulness of Yahweh to his promise, contrasted with the lamentable failure of the human partner, could only be understood as long-suffering and grace, and thus the election of Judah was from beginning to end purely and simply a matter of grace.

If Yahweh is the sole creator and ruler of his people, it is clear that the attitude of men to him is decisive for the nation and for the individual. David's words to Solomon: "If thou seek him, he will be found of thee; but if thou forsake him, he will cast thee off for ever" (1 Chron. xxviii 9), are echoed again and again; the Chronicler never tires of demonstrating their truth in the whole course of Israel's history and in the fortunes of individual rulers. This point is well-known. But what is not so clearly recognised is that he does not take the doctrine of retribution to its logical extreme: the onslaught of the wild mercenaries (2 Chron. xxv 13) is not attributed to some guilt of Amaziah, and the threatening campaign of Sennacherib in 701 (2 Chron. xxxii) is not explained by a sin of Hezekiah. It is more important to observe that the correlation of act and retribution is, for the Chronicler, no barren and unalterable principle, but is in the hands of the living God, who is not only wrathful but also merciful

(1 Chron. xxi 13, 2 Chron. xxx 9), who opens up the way to repentance for the one who has gone astray. It was by grace that Yahweh did not make punishment follow immediately and mechanically on the sin committed, but first sent his prophets to warn and exhort. The Chronicler is also aware that we cannot by repentance bring divine wrath to an end, but must wait until Yahweh is again merciful (cf. in 2 Chron. xxix v. 10 with v. 36); and he is further concerned with the question as to whether man really is in a position to do the will of God. It is the work of Yahweh's hand when Judah with one accord obeys the divine command (2 Chron. xxx 12), and prayer is to be offered to him for strength and wisdom to fulfil the Law (1 Chron. xxii 12), and that he would himself direct the heart of man to this end (1 Chron. xxix 18). But the Chronicler is confident that Yahweh does hear such prayer, and that he is willing to bestow his grace on whoever 'humbles himself' (2 Chron. xii 7, 12; xxxii 25f.); even a Manasseh could be forgiven for his years of idolatry in consequence of his humbling of himself, and the temptation of Hezekiah led to a good result (2 Chron. xxxii 31). Only when there is obstinacy, continuous deliberate rejection of Yahweh, must disaster run its course (2 Chron. xxxvi 13, cf. xxviii 22), but even then the last word has not been spoken, for Yahweh's faithfulness preserves the life of his people.

The Chronicler is said to be a legalist and a ritualist, but he stands in the genuine prophetic tradition much more than is normally recognised. Trust in God and devout prayer play at least as important a role for him as the keeping of the Law. The importance of faith to the Chronicler has already been admirably demonstrated by VON RAD in his *Geschichtsbild des chronistischen Werkes*; but we must also observe how highly he values prayer. A cry to Yahweh for help does not go unheard, even in the most urgent danger (2 Chron. xviii 31). Prayer brings about even the defeat of Satan, as David experienced when tempted to take a census of the people (1 Chron. xxi 8). It is quite in the Chronicler's spirit that the conclusion has been drawn by a later hand in the remarkable Jabez episode (1 Chron. iv 9f.) that 'prayer defeats magic'. The Chronicler himself resists every kind of magic. When the priests speak the blessing, the result follows not by magic, but because Yahweh hears their prayer in heaven (2 Chron. xxx 27). The further remarkable fact that all the Chronicler's prayers are in prose is probably rightly explained by VAN SELMS as due to his fear lest rhythmical prayers should be understood as able to produce a result mechanically, because of their form.

How little the terms 'ritualist' or 'legalist' do justice to the Chronicler may also be seen in the fact that there are even times when pious motives are preferred to cultic purity. Yahweh hears the prayer of Hezekiah for the pilgrims from the northern kingdom, who, without being purified, ate the Passover contrary to precept: "The good LORD pardon everyone that setteth his heart to seek God, the LORD, the God of his fathers, though he be not cleansed according to the purification of the sanctuary" (2 Chron. xxx 18-20). In a very important passage, the farewell prayer of David (1 Chron. xxix 12ff.), he directs attention to the point that even with a full offering of sacrifices and gifts, man cannot give more to God than he has himself received. So when he elsewhere equates 'seeking Yahweh' with the 'keeping of the Law', which for him naturally brings good fortune, the idea of man's action earning him merit, as later Judaism knew it, is excluded.

Chief among the requirements of the Law for the Chronicler is the honouring of Yahweh in the cultus. His loving descriptions of cultic festivals, his emphasis in these more upon the joyous nature of divine worship than on the idea of atonement, and his tendency to give music and song an important function as often as possible—all these reveal his desire to impress upon his hearers and readers that the praise of Yahweh is the most important duty of his people, which owes its existence and everything to Yahweh. The cultus is not a matter of opus operatum, nor an empty routine, but repeated thanks for the inexhaustible grace of Yahweh's choosing Jerusalem as the centre of the theocracy. Since the Davidic kingdom is one of the pillars of the theocracy, the Chronicler has no desire to limit the privileges of the king in the cultus; entry into the Temple, and, above all, actual sacrificing in the Temple, are alone forbidden him because of the divine Law to the contrary. In the great cult-reforms, the kings are the prime movers, and the high priest stands in the background. On the whole the Chronicler treats the priests with a certain reserve, whereas his whole enthusiasm is for the Levites. This cannot be denied, in spite of NOTH's objections. It is only necessary to read 2 Chron. xxix f., where the zealous Levites are deliberately contrasted with the negligent priests, and are given a special word of praise. That the Chronicler himself belonged to the ranks of the levitical singers is most probable, but two points must be borne in mind: 1) the normal picture of the relationship of the Chronicler to the singers depends largely on secondary material; 2) the great emphasis on

cultic singing is not at all due to the selfish aim of gaining proper recognition for the singers, but above all to his absolute conviction of the duty of the Jewish community to praise Yahweh aright.

If a right cultic practice demanded the properly ordered services of the clergy, it needed also the right attitude on the part of the whole community, the laity. Their part consisted in the regular offering of tithes, and in free-will offerings of money and sacrificial animals; and in this the kings led with their good example. David and his contemporaries made a noble beginning, and under later rulers, king and people competed in their joy in giving. Similarly the post-exilic community showed exemplary readiness to sacrifice (Neh. xii 44-xiii 3). The Chronicler does not hesitate to emphasize repeatedly how joyfully the members of the cultic community fulfilled their obligations, so that even the financial burden was not in any way felt to destroy the festal joy characteristic of the worship of God. This shows how strong was his awareness that every human achievement is only an expression of the thanks due to God for his grace shown in election (1 Chron. xxix 10ff.).

Th. C. Vriezen, in his *Hoofdlijnen der Theologie van het Oude Testament*, has rightly described theocracy as the basic principle of the Old Testament view of history. Since theocracy dominates the Chronicler's whole presentation, it may appear astonishing at first that Vriezen describes Chronicles as standing at the edge of the Canon. Yet in this he is right. For what fundamentally differentiates the attitude of the Chronicler towards the rule of God from the main line of Old Testament thought (that of the prophets), is the almost complete disappearance of eschatological expectation. It is true that there are eschatological undertones in the stress upon the everlasting nature of the Davidic dynasty (cf. in 1 Chron. xvii), and in the prayer for the 'mercies of David' (2 Chron. vi 42); Neh. ix 32 contains hints at least of a prayer for the removal of political servitude, whereas Ezra in Ezra ix 8f. has no word to say against heathen domination, but expresses rather the friendliness of the Persian authorities in their restoration of the Jerusalem Temple, and in the peace and security which they guarantee. The fact that in the whole of the Chronicler's work only these few mere hints of a Messianic expectation are to be found, shows how little real significance they had for the author. Above all, we must not overlook the fact that in the second part of his presentation, the Books of Ezra and Nehemiah, he is pursuing the aim of describing the founding of the new people of God as it

should be in accordance with the will of God—a community gathered around its Temple in zealous worship, protected by secure walls, in obedience to the divine Law, and inwardly separated from everything alien. This means that the actual Jewish community, especially as it is presented in Neh. xii 44-xiii 3, so fully realised the idea of theocracy for the Chronicler that there was no need of any further eschatological hope. The failure of the Davidic dynasty could be borne, so long as the second pillar of the theocracy, the Jerusalem Temple, stood firm. God had made this possible by moving the hearts of the Persian kings. The significance of the house of David for salvation was then limited to the fact that David and Solomon had created for the Temple those ordinances upon which the acceptable worship of the present community depended.

The belief that the actually existing Jewish community, at a certain point in time, embodied the idea of theocracy, is one feature which divides Chronicles from the normal Old Testament conception of the rule of God; the other is the small interest which he shows in the religious fate of the nations. He does not utter hatred against other nations, and he recognises the friendliness of the Persian empire, but apart from 2 Chron. vi 32f., where he merely reproduces the original of 1 Kings viii, he does not concern himself with the question as to whether the heathen can share in the salvation of Israel. He is much too concerned with settling issues with his erring co-religionists, the Samaritans.

The wheel of history has moved beyond the theocratic ideal of the Chronicler. The Davidic house, which the Chronicler had in fact already given up, did not return. The Hasmonean and Herodian kings could not rank as fulfilling Messianic prophecy (in spite of what Noth maintains to the contrary), for the simple reason that they were not of the Davidic house. The Temple in Jerusalem, the guarantee for the Chronicler of divine rule in 'Israel', did indeed acquire new glory by the Herodian rebuilding, and was the undisputed centre of Judaism, but in the year 70 A.D. it was reduced to ruins, and after the revolt of Bar Kochba all hope vanished of ever rebuilding it. But the same God who thus moved the wheel of history had, a few decades earlier, sent his Son into the world, and thereby laid the foundation of the true theocracy.

SHORT NOTES

NĀWĀ ṮHILLĀ (PS. CXLVII 1): LOBPREISEN

Der Ausdruck *nāwā ṯhillā* kommt zweimal im AT vor, Ps. xxxiii 1 und cxlvii 1. Während seine Bedeutung Ps. xxxiii 1 sicher feststeht *lajšārim nāwā ṯhillā*: den Redlichen geziemt [1]) Lobpreis, ist er umso dunkler Ps. cxlvii 1 *halᵉlūjāh kī-ṭōḇ zammrā ʾᵉlōhēnū ki-nāʿīm nāwā ṯhillā* und alle Versuche, ihn auf Grund von Ps. xxxiii 1 zu erklären, können als gescheitert angesehen werden. Schon die alten Übersetzungen standen diesem Vers ratlos gegenüber, denn ihre verschiedenen Übersetzungen spiegeln wohl nicht verschiedene Lesarten wieder, sondern Versuche, dem schweren Text einen Sinn abzubekommen [2]). Daher sind die diversen Versuche moderner Exegeten, auf Grund der alten Übersetzungen den Text zu rekonstruieren als verfehlt abzulehnen [3]).

Es scheint mir jedoch, dass die Schwierigkeit des Verses bloss darin besteht, dass *nāwā ṯhillā* Ps. cxlvii 1 von allen auf Grund von Ps. xxxiii 1 erklärt wurde, anstatt vom Parallelismus des Verses selber auszugehen [4]): *kī-ṭōḇ* im ersten Halbvers ist *ki-nāʿīm* im zweiten parallel, daher ist *zammrā ʾᵉlōhēnu* im zweiten Halbvers *nāwā ṯhillā* parallel, das heisst wir haben in *nāwā* kein Adj. fem. von *nāwe* zu sehen, sondern (entsprechend *zammrā*) inf. fem. *piʿēl* [5]). *Nāwā ṯhillā* bedeutet

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[1]) Über *nāwā* „sich ziemend" siehe die Lexika.

[2]) Die LXX zieht *ʾᵉlōhēnu* zum zweiten Halbvers und lässt *ki nāʿīm* (oder *nāwā*) unberücksichtigt, der Syrer hingegen fügt „ihm" hinzu: ihm gebührt Lob.

[3]) Briggs, *ICC*, zur Stelle konjiziert auf Grund von Ps. cxxxv 3 und sieht in *nāwā ṯhillā* (mit Berufung auf die LXX) eine Glosse auf Grund von Ps. xxxiii 1. Etwas anders H. Schmidt, *Handbuch zum AT*, und Z. P. Chajes, im *Pērūš maddāʿī* des A. Kahana (hebräisch), der den Stil unseres Verses geradezu barbarisch nennt. Baethgen, *Handkommentar zum AT* belässt den Text, bemerkt jedoch, der Versbau sei ungewöhnlich. Auch Bertholet in Kautzsch's *Die Heilige Schrift des AT*[4] bezweifelt die Richtigkeit des Textes.

[4]) Es wäre überhaupt wünschenswert zu untersuchen, wie weit in der Poesie des AT absichtlich bekannte Phrasen in verschiedenen Bedeutungen verwendet wurden, vergleiche B. Jacob, *Genesis*, Berlin 1934, Seite 924 und meine Abhandlung über *ʾaqqeret habbajiṯ*, *Sēpher Cassuto*.

[5]) Also **naʾʾwā* > *nāʾwā* > *nāwā*. Zum Ausfall des Aleph vergleiche Ps. xciii 5 die Leseart *nāᵃwā* gegenüber *nāwā* und die Grammatiken, zum Beispiel Bauer-

also Lob schmücken, lobpreisen [1]) und unser Vers ist zu übersetzen: Hallelujah. Ja köstlich ist's unserem Gott zu singen, ja lieblich zu lobpreisen.

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MAŠTÎN BEQÎR

Sechsmal begegnet uns im AT die kuriose Wendung *maštîn bᵉqîr*. In vier Fällen davon im Zusammenhange mit der Ausrottung nordisraelitischer Königshäuser, in den übrigen zwei Fällen in den Drohungen Davids gegen Nabal (1 Sam. xxv). Zwei Momente fallen dabei sofort ins Auge: erstens — es handelt sich um gottlose Könige (Jerobeam, 1 Kön. xiv 10; Baesa, xvi 11; Ahab xxi 21 und 2 Kön. ix 8) oder um einen direkten Verträter des Kanaanäertums (Nabal [2]), 1 Sam. xxv 22, 34), zweitens — wir werden in die Zeitspanne vom Ende des 11. bis zur Mitte des 9. Jahrhunderts versetzt. Wir befinden uns also im Zeitalter des stärksten religiösen Synkretismus, v o r der grossen prophetischen Reform. Diesen Umstand sollte man jedenfalls nicht ausser Acht lassen, will man richtig verstehen, wer unter *maštîn bᵉqîr* gemeint ist.

Die Tradition ist hier ausnahmsweise von den ältesten Zeugnissen bis auf unsere Tage ganz einmütig, wahrscheinlich darum, weil das Nomen *qîr* ebenso eindeutig ist. So wird die Problematik höchstens darauf beschränkt, ob *maštîn* von einer sonst weder im AT noch in den älteren semitischen Sprachen belegten Wurzel *štn* herrührt (so z.B. GESENIUS-BUHL's *Wörterbuch*) oder eine im hebräischen ungewohnte *t*-Reflexivstammbildung von *šjn* ist (so neuerdings KOEHLER's *Lexicon* in Anschluss an BAUER-LEANDER's *Historische Grammatik* S. 405). Einmal haben wir es demnach mit einer aussergewöhnlichen Wurzel, zum anderen Mal mit einer aussergewöhnlichen Form zu tun. Etwas bleibt in beiden Fällen fraglich, wenngleich an der geläufigen Übersetzung „*der* (*an die Wand*) *pissende*" kaum etwas zu

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LEANDER 223, BERGSTRÄSSER I 90/91, zur Form mit *waw raʾᵃwā* Hes. xxviii 17; bei *nāwā* mag auch Kontamination mit dem *Nifᶜal* von *ʾwj* massgebend gewesen sein, vgl. BERGSTRÄSSER I 90, Anmerkung.

[1]) Vergleiche damit *ʾanwēhū* Ex. xv 2 und das Mittelhebräische, das allerdings von der Exodusstelle beeinflusst ist.

[2]) Das *Qᵉre kâlibbî*, das man doch mit der LXX auch als κυνικος auffassen kann, spricht nicht nur nicht dagegen, sondern vielleicht noch stärker dafür als das *Kᵉtîb kᵉlibbô* (1 Sam. xxv 3). Anders DE BOER, *OTS* vi, 60 (1949).

ändern sein wird. GESENIUS-BUHL's *Wörterbuch* lässt die Ungewissheit durch folgende Notiz: „*Bezeichnung des Mannes im Ggs. zum Weibe, n. and. des kleinen Kindes od. eines Hundes . . .*" gut erkennen. KOEHLER teilt diese Sorge nicht und wir schliessen uns ihm insofern an, dass wir die bei G.-B. dargebotenen Deutungsmöglichkeiten als falsche ablehnen. Dabei muss es jedoch als ernstes Versäumnis KOEHLER's bezeichnet werden, dass er nicht die volle Wendung *maštîn bᵉqîr*, sondern nur das Partizipium allein anführt. Es kann doch nicht als Zufall betrachtet werden, dass j e d e s m a l eben eine *Wand* erwähnt wird, wo von Pissenden die Rede ist.

In den vier Fällen, wo die Ausrottung des Königshäuses angedroht oder vollstreckt wird, finden wir allerdings in Folge der Kürze der betreffenden Berichte keinen Anhaltspunkt zu einer klareren Deutung des Problems. Ja die Umschreibung der in Frage gestellten Wendung *maštîn bᵉqîr* als „*alles, was männlich ist*", wie sie z.B. die Züricher Bibel gebraucht, könnte sogar als sehr zutreffend betrachtet werden — hätten wir nicht den ausführlichen Bericht über den Konflikt Davids mit Nabal. Eben die anscheinend peripherische Erzählung von 1 Sam. xxv konnte Einzelheiten bewahren, die sonst ins Vergessen geraten sind oder auch mit der Zeit absichtlich umgedeutet wurden, da es sich um etwas vom religiösen Standpunkt der späteren Zeit offenbar unreines gehandelt hat. Man vergleiche nur die auffallende Parallelerscheinung von *mištē̱* v. 36 (bis) neben *maštîn* 22, 34 und *boqē̱r* 22, 34, 36 f. neben *bᵉqîr* 22, 34. Dass wir es hier mit einem verfallenen Wortspiel zu tun haben, sollte man nicht bestreiten wollen. Zwar haben die Septuaginta den richtigen Tatbestand auch nichtmehr erkannt, aber das überrascht doch nicht, wenn man damit rechnet, dass wir durch den Text in die Zeit um den Anfang des 1. Jahrtausends versetzt werden und die folgenden Ereignisse tiefstgreifend durch die prophetische Reform vom 8. Jh. an und dann durch das babylonische Exil beeinflusst wurden.

Die grundlegende Frage, von deren Beantwortung die Lösung unseres Problems abhängt, ist die nach der Bedeutung der Wurzel *bqr*. Wir berühren hier wieder eine bereits in anderem Zusammenhange angedeutete Frage [1]), wobei gleichzeitig auf einige wichtigen Unterschiede zwischen dem masoretischen Text und der Septuaginta hingewiesen wurde [2]). KOEHLER's *Lexicon* sieht merkwürdigerweise

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[1]) M. Bič, *Der Prophet Amos — ein Haepatoskopos*, in *VT* I, No. 4 (1951), 293-296. [2]) *Ibidem*, S. 295.

bei *bqr* im AT überhaupt keine kultischen Motive und bleibt demnach stark hinter GESENIUS-BUHL's *Wörterbuch*, das mindestens bei 2 Kön. xvi 15 und Ps. xxvii 4 (wenngleich mit Fragezeichen) einen kultischen Ausdruck voraussetzt. Dabei führt KOEHLER das nabatäische *mbqr'* als Priestertitel an! Dazu vergleichen wir weiter die Ausführungen GOETZ' über den *mᵉbaqqer* aus Damaskus, der noch anfangs der christlichen Aera die Opfertiere nach ihrer Makellosigkeit hin untersuchte [1]). Von da aus erklärt GOETZ auch den arabischen Eigennamen (*al*) *Mubaqqer* (Αλμοβακκερος) als eine Entlehnung. Wahrscheinlich wird aber auch der babylonische *mubaqqir*, den MUSS-ARNOLT als „*He who takes care of the sacrificial gifts*" übersetzt, mit dem *mᵉbaqqer* zusammenhängen [2]), indem beide von einem westsemitischen Stamm *bqr* abzuleiten sind [3]). Für *bōqēr*, das einmal im AT als Synonym für *nōqēd* vorkommt und wahrscheinlich zu diesem sumero-akkadischen Lehnwort als sein westsemitisches, wenn nicht speziell hebräisches Equivalent zu betrachten ist, haben wir andererseits die Deutung als *haruspex* vorgeschlagen [4]). Bei diesem

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[1]) K. G. GOETZ, „Ist der mbqr der Genizafragmente wirklich das Vorbild des christlichen Episkopats?" In *ZNW* XXX (1931), S. 89 ff. Vgl. auch *Kᵉtubbôt* 106a.

[2]) MUSS-ARNOLT, *Assyrisches Wörterbuch*, Berlin 1905, S. 183.

[3]) Die Ansicht, als handle es sich im Hebräischen um einen Aramaismus (vgl. E. KAUTZSCH, *Die Aramaismen im AT*, Halle 1902, S. 23; contra z.B. bereits F. GIESEBRECHT, *Zur Hexateuchkritik*, in *ZAW* I, 1881, S. 198), können wir ruhig ablehnen schon wegen dem reichlichen Vorkommen der abgeleiteten Nomina, von denen zu *boqer* im Aramäischen keine wurzelverwandte Analogie vorliegt. Im AT kommt dieser Ausdruck 194 × vor (in KOEHLER's *Lexicon* versehentlich 120 × angeführt) und *bôqâr* 178 × — neben weiteren drei *hapax legomena* und 7 Verbalformen.

[4]) L.c., *VT* I, 294 ff. Bei dieser Gelegenheit möchte ich kurz auf Professor MURTONEN's Einwendungen (vgl. *VT* II (1952), S. 170 f.) antworten und gleichzeitig dadurch die Bedenken Prof. JACOB's (vgl. „Le Prophétisme israélite d'après les recherches récentes", in *RHPhR* XXXII, 1952, S. 62, Anm. 10) verscheuchen.

1°. MURTONEN ist überzeugt, dass *bôlēs šiqmîm* in Am. vii 14 unsere Deutung von *bôqēr* als *Haepatoskopos* ausschliesse. Das Partizipium *bôlēs* ist jedoch ein *hapax* und die Wörterbücher sind nicht im Stande nachzuweisen, dass es sich dabei wirklich um ein Einritzen der Sykomoren handelt. Das ist höchstens aus der LXX zu schliessen, wobei z.B. der jüdische Gelehrte Salomon ibn Parchon in *bls* eine Mischung von Baumlaub und Weizen als Viehfutter findet (sec. W. BACHER in *ZAW* XI (1891), S. 44). Ich glaube zwar nicht, dass seine Deutung uns der Wahrheit näher bringe, im Gegenteil scheint sie auf der selben Linie mit der Tradition zu stehen, die das νωκηθ der LXX vom 10. Jh. an durch ποιμνιοτροφος anfangs erklärt um es später dadurch völlig zu ersetzen (vgl. Bič in *VT* I, S. 293). Parchon's Deutung ist jedoch nicht ohne Wichtigkeit, da sie sehr klar die konventionelle Auffassung in Frage stellt. Bleiben wir nun bei der Übersetzung der LXX als dem ältesten Zeugnis, können wir im κνιζων συκαμινα ruhig eine Andeutung eines im Altertum verbreiteten Fruktifikationsritus sehen,

letzterwähnten Ausdruck muss man sein Alter in Betracht ziehen, die Mitte des 8. Jahrhunderts. Wie schon oben erwähnt, hat die folgende prophetische Reform, aber besonders das babylonische Exil dazu beigetragen, dass gewisse kultische Handlungen teilweise geändert oder vollkommen abgeschafft wurden. So erklärt sich am einfachsten, dass der *mᵉbaqqer* nur noch formell (ist es aber ganz

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der jedenfalls dem Kultus näher steht als irgendeiner Agrikultur und einen sehr guten Parallelismus zu *bôqēr* bildet. Das folgende *ʾaḥare ha-ṣoʾn* wird dieser Auffassung unterzuordnen sein. Es hat offenbar schon die Übersetzer der LXX irregeführt, da sie für *bôqēr* αἰπολος lesen ohne darauf Rücksicht zu nehmen, dass *bôqēr* mit *baqar* zusammenhängt (und beides mit der Wurzel *bqr* !), wogegen αἰπολος auf *ṣoʾn* hindeutet. Warum sollte Amos nichts mit Kleinvieh zu tun gehabt haben? Nur das will der Text kaum betonen, dass er ein Hirt oder Viehzüchter war, wie die Stelle mit der Zeit gedeutet wurde, denn so eine Mitteilung hätte einen Amazja schwerlich überzeugt. Wir befinden uns doch in der Mitte des 8. Jahrhunderts!

2°. Was den moabitischen König Mešaʿ betrifft (2 Kön. iii 4), hat auch ENGNELL über ihn als *nōqēd* ein sehr klares Wort gesprochen (*Studies in Divine Kingship* . . . , S. 87). Dass weiterhin im AT von seinem Tribut an den israelitischen König gesprochen wird, kann doch nicht als Gegenargument angeführt werden! Hätte denn das AT nichts wichtigeres mitzuteilen als dass jemand, ein König dazu, reich an Herden war? MURTONEN hat nicht beachtet, dass gerade in diesem Falle die LXX-Handschriften erst seit dem 10. Jh. zu Versuchen übergehen das ihnen unbegreifliche und darum nur durch Transskription wiedergegebenen νωκηθ zu erklären.

3°. Der akkadische Text, den ich zur Deutung von *nqd* herangezogen habe, wurde von ZIMMERN im J. 1901 veröffentlicht. Dadurch sind seine etwaigen Mängel leicht erklärlich. Im Lichte der neueren schriftlichen Funde ist jedoch seine Bedeutung stark gestiegen und wir wollen hoffen, dass sich unter den Assyriologen jemand diesem scheinbar peripherischen Problem zuwendet. Ich kann leider MURTONEN nicht beistimmen in seiner Auffassung des *rb nqdm* der ugaritischen Texte als sei er nur ein Vertreter einer „*social class*" gewesen, obwohl er selbst zugeben muss, dass merkwürdigerweise „in two passages, it is true, it appears in the unrelated nearness of *khnm*-priests" (l.c., *VT* II, S. 171). Deshalb kann man auch den ZIMMERN'schen Text nicht nur so leichtfertig abtun.

4°. Die Wurzel *nqd* wird, soweit mir bekannt ist, n i r g e n d s (nicht nur im Hebräischen) von der Markierung der Sklaven oder des Viehes verwendet. MURTONEN versucht also die konventionelle Auffassung von *nôqēd* durch eigene Kombinationen, nicht aber durch Beweise zu stützen.

5°. Das Arabische ist eine junge Sprache im Vergleich mit dem Text von Amos und den von mir angeführten ausserbiblischen Dokumenten. Bedeutet aber das arabische *naqqad* wirklich nur Hirte? Ich bin nicht geneigt auf Wörterbücher zu schwören, wenn ich nicht die betreffenden Texte dabei vergleichen kann. Nur darauf sei noch hingewiesen, dass z.B. die Samaritaner bis zu ihrer Vertreibung während des neulichen jüdisch-arabischen Krieges bei ihren Osterfeiern immer noch die Lämmer sehr gründlich untersucht haben (vgl. J. JEREMIAS, *Die Passahfeier der Samaritaner* . . . , *ZAW* Bh. 59 (1932), worin doch wahrscheinlich alte, längst vergessene Riten nachleben.

gewiss?) das Opfertier beschaute, während der *bôqēr* es zur Eingeweideschau benutzt hat [1]).

Was nun das Nomen *boqęr* betrifft, möge auch an dieser Stelle auf die Feststellung S. MOWINCKEL's hingewiesen sein, dass es im Ps. v 4 etwa Schauopfer, Omenopfer bedeuten muss [2]) und eine Parallele zu *baqqer* Ps. xxvii 4 bildet. In beiden Fällen handelt es sich zweifellos um königliche Psalmen, wo besonders bei der Jahreswende ein solches Orakel eine wichtige Rolle gespielt hat, später jedoch, nach dem Zusammenbruch des Königtums seine Erwähnung umgedeutet werden musste. Es ist allerdings höchst schwierig die einzelnen Schichten innerhalb des AT klar zu trennen, aber in mehreren Fällen dürfte es keinem Zweifel unterliegen, dass unter *boqęr* nicht der Tagesanbruch als Zeitbestimmung sondern die Handlung, die am Morgen bei Sonnenaufgang unternommen wurde, gemeint war. Das würde ganz gut auch für den Abschnitt 1 Sam. xxv zutreffen. David hat für seine Aktion den Augenblick vorausgesehen, wo Nabal das Orakel befragen wollte, um so nicht nur seine Niederlage, sondern vor allem die seine Gottes klar zu beweisen (22, 34), was jedoch auch ohne Davids aktives Eingreifen geschehen ist (36 f.).

Der zweite Ausdruck — *mišteę* — bietet keine exegetischen Schwierigkeiten. Obschon *Trinkgelage* oder *Gastmahl mit Wein* übersetzt, bedeutet es immer ein kultisches Zusammentreffen bei einer ganz bestimmten Gelegenheit. Im Falle Nabals beim *boqęr* bei seiner Schafschur. An solchen Gastmählern konnte begreiflicherweise nicht jeder teilnehmen [3]) und eben auf die, die dazu berechtigt waren, bezieht sich die spöttische Bezeichnung der Wändepisser, *maštîn bᵉqîr*. Das wichtigste war jedenfalls alle Kultfähigen auszurotten, die anderen waren dann machtlos, denn ohne Vermittler konnte die Gottheit ihnen nicht helfen. Und wir haben gesehen, dass

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[1]) Das *bqr* wird ursprünglich im Hebräischen wie im Aramäischen dieselbe Grundbedeutung gehabt haben: *untersuchen*, *beschauen* und erst in zweiter Reihe *spalten* (cf. arab. *baqara*). Die erstere Bedeutung bleibt besonders in den verschiedenen Priestertiteln bewahrt, wenngleich die Zeit zu gewissen Verschiebungen des Inhalts geführt hat. Im AT wird man mit ihrem Vorkommen in seinen älteren Teilen in bedeutendem Umfange rechnen müssen.

[2]) S. MOWINCKEL, *Psalmenstudien I*, S. 146. Zum Übergang der Bedeutung *boqęr* zu *Morgen* vgl. BIČ, l.c., *VT* I, S. 295.

[3]) Vgl. z.B. 1 Sam. ix, wo ausdrücklich *Geladene* erwähnt werden (v 13, 22) und der Ausdruck *ʿam* (12 f., 24) gewiss nicht das Volk oder allgemein Leute, sondern eben diese Geladenen (als Vertragschliessende oder wenigstens als Zeugen einer Vertragschliessung!) bezeichnet. Daselbst *boqęr* v 19. Es handelt sich um Vorbereitungen zur Königserklärung Sauls.

es sich in allen sechs Fällen, wo ein *maštîn b·qîr* erwähnt wird, um geistig unreine Personen handelt, bei denen man also auch nur kanaanäische Gottesvorstellungen voraussetzen darf [1]).

Praha MILOŠ BIČ

A REFERENCE TO EPISPASM IN KOHELETH

תַּרְתִּי בְלִבִּי לִמְשׁוֹךְ בַּיַּיִן אֶת־בְּשָׂרִי. This phrase in Koheleth ii 3 has caused commentators great difficulties. The word לִמְשׁוֹךְ is rendered "cherish" or "pamper" in order to make sense of the verse, although this use of the word has no parallel in Hebrew — apart from a dubious example in the Babylonian Talmud, quoted by Franz DELITZSCH and others [2]). One of the latest commentators (Louis GINSBERG, in his *Studies in Koheleth*, New York 1950) wholeheartedly adopts TORCZYNER's drastic re-arrangement of the text whereby the words בַּיַּיִן אֶת־בְּשָׂרִי וְלִבִּי נֹהֵג are placed after אֲנַסֶּכָה in verse one, and entirely omitted from verse three. GINSBERG feels the strangeness of the resultant phrase אנסכה ביין את בשרי and proposes to emend אנסכה to איטיבה. He then has to explain the phrase "gladden the flesh" where one might expect "gladden the heart" and so tells us that "flesh seems to be synonymous with heart" and cites examples [3]). Through the mutilation of verse three the word לִמְשׁוֹךְ finds itself followed by בַּחָכְמָה which is rendered literally "to tug at wisdom". The whole emendation cannot be said to be very plausible.

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[1]) Die Lösung des Problems liegt im tschechischen seit 1936 in der Dissertationsarbeit des Unterzeichneten, im Druck (tschechisch mit englischem Résumé) seit 1947 vor. Vgl. *VT* I, S. 295, Anm. 1.

[2]) בעלי אגדה מושכין לבו של אדם כמים (Hagigah 14a, cf. Shab. 87a) "The masters of the Aggada refresh the heart of man like water." Thus would DELITZSCH translate the phrase, reading into it the required meaning of משך. JASTROW's interpretation is more likely: "... draw (= attract, appeal to) the heart of man just as one conducts water." The point is lost in translation because a different verb is needed in English. cf. Mishna Mo'ed Katan i 3. מושכין את המים מאילן לאילן "They may conduct the water from tree to tree". Water is a fluid easily conducted substance; the masters of the aggada easily attract their hearers. The point of comparison is in the ease of drawing, not in the refreshing qualities of water.

[3]) Koh. xi 10; Ps. xvi 9; Ps. lxxxiv 3. In all these examples "flesh" and "heart" are *strongly contrasted* not equated; the parallelism being antithetical or, better, cumulative. So אף בשרי ישכן לבטח ... שמח לבי means that there will be *spiritual* rejoicing together with *physical* safety. לבי ובשרי ירננו אל אל חי means that there will be internal rejoicing and physical manifestations of it. The Koheleth passage contrasts physical and spiritual well-being.

The first clue to an understanding of the passage is given by the LXX which renders a text כיין — ὡς οἶνον. From this word it is but a small step to the form כיון which will be found capable of a suitable interpretation. The ease with which such a change may be made is indicated by the recently discovered Habakkuk scroll which in verse ii 5 reads היון for MT היין.

It is well known that בשר can mean the male organ (see BRIGGS-DRIVER-BROWN, *Hebrew-English lexicon* s.v. and especially Lev. xv 3 אִם רָר בְּשָׂרוֹ and Ezek. xvi 26 בְּנֵי מִצְרַיִם גְּדֹלֵי בָשָׂר). Now there is a use of the verb משך with עָרְלָה in later Hebrew meaning to draw the foreskin, i.e. to hide circumcision. The practice which certain Jews adopted to make themselves look like Greeks is mentioned in several extra-Talmudic sources [1]). An example of this expression is in the Palestinian Talmud, Peah i 16b אלו הן שאין להם חלק לעולם הבא המפר ברית זה שהוא מושך לו ערלה. "These are they who have no portion in the World to Come ... he who annuls the covenant ... i.e. he who draws for himself a foreskin." I submit that the expressions מָשַׁךְ בָּשָׂר and מָשַׁךְ עָרְלָה are in reality the same; but the Biblical Hebrew prefers the *Richtungsobject* בָּשָׂר while the later Hebrew prefers the *Ergebnisobject* or "object of result" עָרְלָה.

The rendering would then be "I sought in my heart to render myself uncircumcised like the Greeks" —יָיִן being used in a generic sense. The meaning is quite clear: in his endeavour to gain experience, Koheleth attempted to copy the Greeks and their practices. It is possible that בַּחָכְמָה here refers to Wisdom par excellence i.e. Greek science; so the second clause וְלִבִּי נֹהֵג בַּחָכְמָה may be rendered: "My heart guiding itself by (Greek) Wisdom". The reason for the change of כיון to ביין is not far to seek: it may be regarded as a 'Tikkun Soferim' or euphemistic change, since it was unthinkable to later generations that Koheleth could have considered indulging in a practice which would deprive him of his share in the World to Come.

Finally, I would throw out as a suggestion that a similar practice is referred to in another difficult verse, Hosea vii 5 מָשַׁךְ יָדוֹ אֶת־לֹצְצִים.

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[1]) E.g. 1 Macc. i 16. ἐποίησαν ἑαυτοῖς ἀκροβυστίας (It is noteworthy that the Syriac reads ܡܫܟ ܒܪܝܫܗ ܕܥܪܠܬܐ is a literal translation of משך); Josephus, Ant. XII. v. 1 τὴν τῶν αἰδοίων περιτομὴν ἐπεκάλυψαν.

The word יָד may be a euphemism. The point would be that the "mockers" were in the habit of annulling the covenant, and even the king was drawn into their mockery of the rite.

Manchester Alan D. Corré.

ZUR DEUTUNG DES ORTSNAMENS טרפל = TRIPOLIS IN SYRIEN

Etwa 80 km nördlich von Beirut liegt an der Mittelmeerküste die Stadt Tripoli(s), von den Arabern *ṭarābulus* bzw. *ṭarāblus* genannt. Durch nach Westen vorgelagerte Gartenanlagen geht sie heute fast unmerklich in den etwa 2 km entfernten Hafenort *el-mīna* über. Aus der Geschichte von Tripolis geht eindeutig hervor [1]), dass die sich um den Berghügel gruppierende, heute an den Westhängen des Libanon aufsteigende Stadt *ṭarāblus* jüngeren Datums ist und dass der ältere Hafenort (*el-mīna*), der in der griechischen Überlieferung seit der Perserzeit Τριπολις heisst, zuvor der Träger des Stadtnamens war. Fr. Buhl [2]) spricht das bisher allgemein geteilte Urteil aus, wenn er sagt: „Der alte phönikische Name der erst in der Perserzeit erwähnten Stadt ist unbekannt". So lag es nahe, den heutigen Namen *ṭarāblus* als Übersetzung des griechischen „Dreistadt" anzusehen. Mitbestimmend war die allerdings noch zu erhellende Tatsache, dass auf einer Münze von Tripolis die Legende *'tr* (mit t, nicht mit ṭ) auftauchte [3]), die man als Abkürzung des Stadtnamens ansehen mochte. Dergestalt liess E. Honigmann [4]) die heutige Namensform nur als Übersetzung des griechischen „Dreistadt" gelten. Jedoch ist es, selbst wenn Tripolis erst von den Persern als Generalquartier der phönikischen Hilfsflotte gegründet wurde, höchst unwahrscheinlich, dass Perser und Phöniker, weil es sich um das Quartier der drei Flotten von Tyrus, Sidon und Arwad handelte, der Neugründung einen griechischen Stadtnamen gaben! In einer der aramäischen Chronik von Jerusalem (Esr. iv 6 — vi 18) gewid-

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[1]) Vgl. Fr. Buhl, Art. „Tarabulus" in *Enz. des Islam*, IV, 1934, S. 714f.
[2]) Fr. Buhl, *a.a.O.*, Sp. 714.
[3]) Hill, *Greek coins in the Brit. Mus.*, Phoenicia, S. 120.
[4]) E. Honigmann, *ZDPV* 47 (1924), S. 49; in *PW* (1939), Sp. 203ff. lehnt H. die Auswertung der Münze ab.

meten Studie [1]) habe ich gezeigt, dass zu den Kronzeugen des Artaxerxes um 450 v. Chr. auch die Beamten von Tripolis gehören, die dort als *ṭarpelājē* bezeichnet werden (Esr. iv 9). Damit wird gesichert, dass die Schreibung des Ortsnamens mit ṭ die alte und ursprüngliche ist. Wie ist nun der Ortsname *ṭrpl* zu verstehen? Ortsnamen mit vier verschiedenen Radikalen sind selten [2]). Von den altpalästinischen kommt, wie sogleich zu zeigen ist, als beachtliche Analogie der Ortsname *krml* in Frage. Was den Auslaut mit *l* angeht, so darf nicht unerwähnt bleiben, dass derartige Namensbildungen besonders häufig in Kleinasien begegnen, und W. Borée erwägt bei einigen in aegyptischer Transskription vorliegenden syrischen Ortsnamen [3]) eine Beziehung zu diesen. Neuerdings sind in Listen aus Ugarit nichtsemitische Ortsnamen bekannt geworden [4]), aber einmal handelt es sich um einen weit nördlicheren Bereich, in dem die Gründung von Ortschaften durch „Kleinasiaten" leichter verständlich ist, zum anderen begegnet unter den nichtsemitischen Ortsnamen keine auf *l* auslautenden Bildung. Dagegen ist bemerklich, dass als (semitischer) Orts- und Gentiliz-Name in Ugarit die vierkonsonantische Bildung *gbʿl(y)* belegt ist [5]), die im Typus den Bildungen mit Affix *l* entspricht. Im Unterschied von Gesenius-Kautzsch [6]) verzeichnen Bauer-Leander [7]), wenn man von dem bereits als zweifelhaft angesehenen *ʾarāpel* absieht, nur zwei Affix-Wortbildungen der genannten Art: *gibʿōl*, das zu *gābīʿa* gehört, und u.E. mit „Blütenfeld" zu übersetzen ist, und *karmel*, das zu *kerem* gehört und den mit Wein- und Obstbäumen bestandenen Fruchtgarten bezeichnet [8]). Während J. Aistleitner [9]) auf die Wortbildung *gbʿl* nicht weiter eingeht [10]), sieht er in *bṣḳl* „Keimpflanze" ein Wort mit affigiertem

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[1]) K. Galling, „Kronzeugen des Artaxerxes?", *ZAW* 63 (1952), S. 66 ff.; das dort zum Stadtnamen Tripolis Erwogene ist von dem hier Ausgeführten aus zu verbessern.

[2]) W. Borée, *Die alten Ortsnamen Palästinas*, 1930, S. 33f.

[3]) W. Borée, *a.a.O.*, S. 118.

[4]) A. Alt, Nichtsemitische Ortsnamen im Gebiet von Ugarit, *ZDPV* 67 (1945), S. 114ff.

[5]) Ch. Virrolleaud, „Les villes et les corporations du royaume d'Ugarit", *Syria* 21 (1940), S. 142.

[6]) *Hebräische Grammatik*, 27 Aufl. 1902, § 85 s.

[7]) *Historische Grammatik der hebr. Sprache* I, 1922, S. 503.

[8]) Als Ortsname (*el-ḳirmil*) Jos. xv 55, als Bergnamen (*carmelus*) 1 Reg. xviii 19. Davon ist *Karmel IV* (= das Jungkorn) zu trennen; vgl. L. Koehler, *Lexicon*, Sp. 455.

[9]) *Untersuchungen zur Grammatik des Ugaritischen*, 1954, § 41.

[10]) Hängt *gbʿl* mit *gbʿ* zusammen (Übersetzung: Hügelland)?

l (vgl. hebr. *bāṣēḳ*=Mehlteig). Es könnte Zufall sein, aber es ist immerhin beachtlich, dass von den ableitbaren auf *l* endenden Wortbildungen alle mit dem Agrikulturboden zusammenhängen.

Da in dem aramäischen Gentilicium *ṭarpelājē* nicht nur das *ṭ* sondern auch das *p* gesichert ist, scheidet für die vorgriechische Namensform von *ṭarāblus* jede Interpretation aus, die die beiden letzten Konsonanten mit *bl* = *ba'al* kombinieren wollte. Man wird in *ṭrpl* eine Bildung mit dem Affix *l* und dem Stamm *ṭrp* zu sehen haben. Was bedeutet nun die semitische Wurzel *ṭrp*? Im Hebräischen unterscheiden GESENIUS-BUHL zwei Verben und drei Substantive. *ṭārap* I, verwandt mit syr. „zerschlagen" und arabisch „zurückschlagen" [1]), bedeutet speziell beim wilden Tier das jähe „Reissen" bzw. Zerreissen (des Opfers). Daneben stellen sie das nur im Hif. in Prov. xxx 8 belegte *ṭārap* II in der Bedeutung: geniessen (lassen). Das dreifach aufgeteilte *ṭerep* bedeutet Raub (ad I), Nahrung (ad II) und in Hes. xvii 9: das Blatt. L. KOEHLER [2]) hat zweifellos Recht, wenn er *ṭarpē* (in Hes. xvii 9) mit *ṭārāp* in Gen. viii 11 zusammennimmt und beides von arabischem *ṭarufa*, „frisch, neu sein" ableitet. Im *Lecicon in VT libros* (1953) unterscheidet L. KOEHLER *ṭārap* I in der Bedeutung: „zerreissen", rechnet dazu auch — in abgeschwächter Bedeutung! — das Hif. in Prov. xxx 8 in dem Sinne von: „davontragen lassen, geniessen lassen", und daneben die nur durch das Arabische greifbare Wurzel *ṭrp* II (frisch gepflückt sein), zu der dann das bereits erwähnte *ṭārāp* in Gen. viii 11 und Hes. xvii 9 in der Bedeutung: „frisch gepflückt" gehört. Verständlich ist, dass er *ṭerep* I=Raub (des Raubwildes) zu *ṭārap* I stellt, problematisch dagegen bleibt die Erklärung von *ṭerep* II = Nahrung, wobei jedoch mit Recht ein Zusammenhang zwischen *ṭerep* II (Nahrung) mit der Hif.-Form von *ṭarap* in Prov. xxx 8 statuiert wird. Was das in grosser Variationsbreite begegnende arabische *ṭarafa* angeht, so fehlt nach den Wörterbüchern von LANE, DOZY und WEHR [3]) vollständig eine dem Hebräischen *ṭārap* I entsprechende Bedeutung: „zerreissen"; [4]) umgekehrt fehlt im Hebräischen die Wendung: „mit den Augen blinzeln" (hebr. *rzm*). Vom arabischen *ṭarufa*: „neu, frisch erworben sein" hat das Causati-

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[1]) Für diese Bedeutung des arabischen *ṭrp* habe ich keine Belege gefunden.

[2]) „Hebräische Vokabeln" III, *ZAW* 58 (1940/1), S. 230.

[3]) E. W. LANE, *An Arabic-English Lexicon*, 1863ff; R. DOZY, *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes*², 1927; H. WEHR, *Arabisches Wörterbuch für die Schriftsprache der Gegenwart* 1952.

[4]) Allenfalls käme *ṭarafa* II = „wählen" in Betracht; näher liegt eine Übereinstimmung mit *ṭarufa* und dem causativum (s.u.).

vum den Sinn: „etwas frisch Erworbenes bringen" bzw. „jemandem mit etwas Neuem oder neu beschenken". Von da aus sollte man erwägen, für das Hebräische nur mit *einer* Wurzel *ṭārap* zu rechnen, die den frischen Zugriff umschreibt. Der frische Zugriff des Tieres wäre sein Rauben und sein Raub (Subst.), der frische Zugriff des Bauern bei der Flora das (Frisch-) Abpflücken und die Bereitung des frisch Abgezupften bzw. die (jeweils neu bereitete) Nahrung. Es dürfte jedenfalls kein Zufall sein, dass die Brotbereitung der tüchtigen Hausfrau, die sich schon vor Sonnenaufgang zur Arbeit anschickt, in Prov. xxxi 15 mit *ṭerep* umschrieben wird. Kehren wir uns von da zu Prov. xxx 8, einer für das Verständnis der vierten Bitte des Vaterunsers oft genannten Stelle [1]), so wird man wohl noch präziser zu übersetzen haben. [Armut und Reichtum gib mir nicht, (vielmehr)]: „beschenke mich neu (jeweils von Neuem) mit dem mir nötigen Brot" oder: „Lass mich jeweils von neuem (frisch) finden das mir nötige Brot" [2]). Wenden wir uns von diesen Beobachtungen zu dem Ortsnamen *ṭrpl*, so wäre in ihm wohl am ehesten eine Umschreibung eines für vegetabile Nahrung besonders ertragreichen Gemüse (Getreide) — oder Fruchtbaum — Landes zu sehen. Ist dabei noch der Charakter des „Neuen" mitschwingend, so würde man in *ṭrpl* an ein fruchtbares „Neu-Land" zu denken haben. Man könnte nun mit Recht von der Tatsache aus, dass das *signum* des alten Tripolis das günstige Hafengelände und nicht ein Stück Fruchtland darstellt, gegen die hier vorgetragene Ableitung des Ortsnamens Einwände erheben. Doch könnte die Geschichte des Ortes hier weiterhelfen. In den Amarnabriefen und etwa gleichzeitigen aegyptischen Nachrichten begegnet ein am Meer gelegener Ort Ullaza, den man mit grosser Wahrscheinlichkeit im Bereich von *ṭarāblus* anzusetzen hat [3]). Dann kommt dafür nur der in arabischer Zeit noch als Dependence der weiter inlands gelegenen Stadt *ṭarāblus* geltende namenlose Hafenort *el-mīna* in Frage. Wann das noch zur

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[1]) Joh. Herrmann, „Der a. t. Untergrund des Vaterunsers", *Festschrift Otto Procksch*, 1934, S. 86ff.

[2]) Die Übersetzungen haben mit *haṭrīpēnī* nicht viel anzufangen gewusst. LXX sagt: συνταξον (Weise mir zu), trennt die Verbform von *ṭārap* I = ʿαρπαζειν (das Subst. wird mit τροφη, βρωματα, ʾαρτος und in Mal. iii 10 mit διαρπαγη wiedergegeben). Im Targum heisst es *zīnī* (= Speise mich. . .). Ob das σημερον bei Matth. und das το καθ ἡμεραν bei Luc. (unter der Voraussetzung von Prov. xxx 8 als Vorlage) neben τον ἀρτον τον ἐπιουσιον sich von der Grundbedeutung von ṭaraf erklärt?

[3]) A. Alt, „Das Stützpunktsystem der Pharaonen an der phönikischen Küste und im syrischen Binnenlande", *BBLAK* 68 (1949/51), S. 116f.

Zeit Sethos' I bestehende Ullaza zerstört wurde, wissen wir nicht. Man wird, da der Name in assyrischen Nachrichten nicht mehr auftaucht, an die Wirren beim Vormarsch der Nordmeervölker (um 1200 v. Chr.) denken dürfen. Das jenseits der für *el-mīna* bezeugten Grenzmauer von Ullaza gelegene, noch heute überaus fruchtbare Wiesen- und Fruchtbaumgelände [zwischen *ṭarāblus* und *el-mīna*] dürfte in dieser Zeit oder wohl eher bei Beginn des 1.vorchristl. Jahrtausends die phönikische Bezeichnung *ṭrpl* erhalten haben [1]). Es muss dahingestellt bleiben, ob der persische Satrap, dessen Sitz in Tripolis zu suchen ist [2]), innerhalb der Hafenstadt wohnte oder sein Schloss in den Vorbergen des Libanon hatte, etwa dort, wo später die Burg von *ṭarāblus* lag. Sicher aber dürfte sein, dass wir es in dem griechischen Τριπολις mit einer von griechischen Seefahrern aufgebrachten Aitiologie des Ortsnamens *ṭrpl* zu tun haben, die um so näher lag, als der Hafenort einmal als Generalquartier der phönikischen Hilfsflotte bekannt war, wie auch, dass diese Hilfsflotte von den drei Städten Tyrus, Sidon und Arwad gestellt wurde. Ob es wirklich für die Hilfsflotten und Schiffswerften drei durch Mauerzüge getrennte Quartiere (Diodor XVI, 41) gegeben hat, bleibt eine offene Frage.

Mainz. KURT GALLING

A SUPPOSED DITTOGRAPHY IN DSD

One of the most interesting chapters of DSD (ii, 13 sqq.) deals with the dualistic theory of the two spirits — the spirits of truth and of wickedness: "...And assigned him two spirits by which to walk until the time of his visitation" (iii, 18). There are two rulers, who rule over two parallel realms: "In the hand of the prince of lights is the rule over all the sons of righteousness, *and they walk in the paths of light*; but in the hand of the angel of darkness is all the rule of the

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[1]) Der arabische Dichter *Māmāya ar-Rūmi* (1534/1580 n. Chr.) sagt von Tripolis: „Durch vier Dinge ist sie überragend, und es überragt ihr Rang die übrigen Städte auf dem Meer und dem Festlande: durch weissen Schnee, die Röte ihres Sandes und die Gründe einer Wiese, welche das Blau des Meeres glänzend macht". Mit der Wiese ist das Gartenvorland zwischen *ṭarāblus* und *el-mīna* gemeint. Dion Per. 914 sagt Τριπολις λιπαρη! Vom Fruchtland erhielt dann die phönikische Hafenstadt ihren (phönikischen) Namen.

[2]) K. GALLING, „Die syrisch-palästinische Küste nach Pseudo-Skylax", *ZDPV* 61 (1938) S. 72f. 90ff.

the sons of wickedness, *and those walk in the paths of darkness*" (l. 20-21) [1]).

The last line of this column is partly destroyed. As it stands it reads: דה ... ל ... הן כול עבודה ועל דרכיהן ... ל ... Most commentators on DSD have accepted the view of BROWNLEE [2]) who remarks: "A fortunate dittography enables me to restore the Hebrew thus": ועל דרכיהן כול עבודה ועל דרכיהן כול עבודה [3]).

DEL MEDICO [4]) does not try to reconstruct the missing words, but changes the text instead: "Et il nous ... (lacune) ... era tout travail, et sur notre chemin [tout sera béné-]diction uniquement". To this highly improbable suggestion a note is added to the effect that the הן — suffix stands in these texts instead of נו — "probablement pour ne pas donner prise à la censure".

DUPONT-SOMMER [5]) tries to overcome the difficulty by his conjecture [על סודי]הן כול עבודה ועל דרכיהן [כו]ל [פקו]דה and translates: "...sur leurs (deux) [conseils] tout service, et sur leurs (deux) voies [toute visi]te". This shows, in my submission, that he misses the point completely. It appears that VAN DER PLOEG [6]) also thinks of a suggestion along these lines.

I sould like to maintain, however, that the double על דרכיהן [7]) כול עבודה fits the context exactly. According to the theology of our author the two spirits have been created by God (l. 25) [8]) and every man walks — apparently by divine decision — on his path, which can be either the path of light or the path of darkness (l. 20-21). But — and this is the crucial point — for the onlooker from the out-

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[1]) These realms are parallel also in the sense that they have nothing in common and can never *go together*: כיא לוא יחד יתהלכו (IV, 18). In the language of the *doctrina apostolorum* (see AUDET, *R.B.* 59, p. 228) this is expressed by „Distantia autem magna est duarum viarum".

[2]) See *BASOR* 121, p. 10 and *BASOR Suppl. Stud.* 10-12, p. 15.

[3]) This view is put forward also by HABERMANN, *ʿEdah we-ʿEduth*, Jerusalem 1952, p. 67; LAMBERT, *Nouv. Rev. Théol.* 73, p. 960; AUDET, *loc.cit.*; MILIK, *Verbum Domini* 29, p. 140 and SCHUBERT, *Z. Kath. Theol.* 74, p. 45. Accordingly all of them translate the expression only once.

[4]) In *Deux manuscrits Hébreux de la mer morte*, Paris 1951, p. 51.

[5]) In *Rev. de l'Hist. d. Rel.* 142, p. 22. Cf. *Nouveaux aperçus etc.*, Paris 1953, p. 162.

[6]) In *B.O.* 9, p. 128.

[7]) I agree with DUPONT-SOMMER that the space left favours על rather than ועל.

[8]) In all ensuing discussions concerning the dualism of the sect it should be borne in mind that *light* and *darkness* are not depicted as absolute powers nor is their strife eternal (see iv, 18 sqq.) Cf. meanwhile KUHN, *Z.f. Theol. u. Kirche* 47, p. 199; DUPONT-SOMMER, *loc.cit.*

side there is absolutely no difference between these two parallel realms and everything on earth *can be done either way*: על דרכיהן כול עבודה — ועל דרכיהן כול עבודה.

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MĀGÔR MIS-SĀBÎB AND JEREMIAH'S PUN

At the beginning of Jeremiah xx it is related that the prophet, upon his release from over-night detention at the hands of the priest Pašḥûr, insolently turned to the temple functionary and told him that their god had given him a new name. That the new name *māgôr mis-sābîb* was in some way related to the former name *pašḥûr* is inherently to be expected and is generally accepted. And the exegetical tradition is generally united in equating the element *mis-sābîb* with the synonymous *s'ḥôr* which can be detected in the latter part of *pašḥûr*. The LXX renders the new name as Μέτοικον; it is not certain what verbal allusion, if any, to *pašḥûr* this translation is meant to contain, but the LXX realises that the notions of 'migration, exile' and 'round about' are not readily compatible, and for this reason it omits the latter term from its rendering. Also by pursuing this interpretation of *māgôr* into v. 4 the LXX rather awkwardly makes the mention of general exile precede all mention of slaughter by the sword of the enemy. Against the majority of modern exegetes, who, following Qimhi, interpret the new name as 'Terror all around' (so, e.g., A. R. GORDON in *An American Translation*) or the like, it has to be pointed out that in vv. 4-6 the emphasis is not generally on the fearfulness of any 'encompassing terror' but specifically on the fatal outcome of the impending events for the priest and his associates, that the 'cause of terror' (so *BDB* on v. 4) is surely not the helpless priest but the powerful armed enemy, and that the prediction would require the new name to mean rather 'Trembling at all around' or 'Fearful for every side'.

Elsewhere the phrase *māgôr mis-sābîb* occurs four times in Jeremiah — who is often credited with having coined the expression — and once each in Lamentations and the Psalter. The word *māgôr* occurs alone in the sense of 'terror' only in Isaiah xxxi 9, where it is parallel in sense to the verb *ḥattû* 'be dismayed'. Now in none of the seven occurrences of *māgôr mis-sābîb* (Jeremiah vi 25, xx 3, 10, xlvi 5, xlix 29, Psalm xxxi 14, Lamentations ii 22) does the LXX connect the word

māgôr with 'fear, terror'. In five of the passages the LXX associates the phrase with the root גור either in the sense of 'sojourn with' (Jeremiah vi 25 παροικεῖ κυκλόθεν, xx 3 μέτοικον, Psalm xxxi 14 παροικούντων κυκλόθεν, Lamentations ii 22 παροικίας μου κυκλόθεν) or more particularly in the sense of 'gather in upon, assemble' (Jeremiah xx 10 συναθροιζομένων κυκλόθεν, xlvi 5 περιεχόμενοι κυκλόθεν) and the latter interpretation is also found in the renderings of the Targum. In the remaining instance, which is particularly significant, the LXX has ἀπώλειαν κυκλόθεν (Jeremiah xlix 29) and the notion of destruction is to be found in the Targum to all the passages from Jeremiah, e.g. in xx 3 — 'but they will be assembled against you to kill by the sword from all around'. In other words the Targum combines the two ideas of 'assembling' and 'destroying' in its interpretation of מגור. And it would be wrong to dismiss the Targum as a combination of two separate exegetical traditions, for the combining of two possible senses in homonymous or ambivalent expressions is a natural and familiar stylistic device (cf. König, *Stilistik, Rhetorik, Poetik* [1900], 10ff.; A. Díez Macho in *Sefarad* IX [1949], 289ff.), and in this very instance it can be traced back to Biblical times. For in Psalm xxxi 14a we have a quotation of Jeremiah xx 10 which is followed by the parallel expression 'when they compact against me, and plot to take my life'. The two ideas of 'uniting' and 'killing' are obtained respectively from the root גור in the more special sense of 'associate with, sojourn together' and from the verb מגר Pi. 'cast down, destroy'. The latter word occurs in the Bible in Ezekiel xxi 17 (where Bewer's emendation in BH³ is gratuitous; cf. אל after the construct in Isaiah xiv 19 and see Gesenius-Kautzsch-Cowley § 130 a), Psalm lxxxix 45 (השבת, LXX κατέρραξας) and the Aramaic Ezra vi 12 (LXX καταστρέψει). Whether the Massoretic pointing represents the original pronunciation is a question that cannot now be determined; the vocalisation may have been affected by exegetical considerations, and the original form may well have been an intensive such as *miggûr* (Bauer-Leander, *Historische Grammatik der Hebräischen Sprache* I [1922], § 61 v γ) rather than an infinitive absolute of the simple stem.

The sense 'destruction all around' will be seen to receive more support from the context than the prevailing interpretation. In addition to the parallelism of Psalm xxxi 14 may be cited that of Lamentations ii 22, where it is stated that there will be no survivors. Jeremiah xx 10, xlvi 5 and xlix 29 might support either view of the phrase,

but the preference of the LXX is interesting. In Jeremiah vi 25 the phrase is predicate to חרב לאויב and 'destruction' is more apposite than 'terror'. And in Jeremiah xx 3-4 the reference to 'falling by the sword' agrees better with the notion of 'extermination', and the reference to the death of Pašḥûr's friends makes him the centre of the work of carnage, so that the new name *māgôr mis-sābîb* is doubly apposite.

If this be so it remains to find an equivalent for *māgôr* 'destruction' in the first part of the word *pašḥûr*. The first three consonants of the name provide the clue. The verb פשח is used both in Aramaic (e.g. Targum to 1 Samuel xv 33, Psalm vii 3) and in Hebrew in the sense of 'tear off, strip away'. In the Bible it occurs in Lamentations iii 11, where the parallel שמני שמם and the LXX rendering καὶ κατέπαυσέν (v.l. διεσπάραξέ) με indicate its meaning. Jeremiah in effect says, — 'He is not really Pašḥûr but Māgôr mis-sābîb henceforward for *pašḥûr* in his case is properly *paššaḥ sᵉḥôr*' i.e. 'destruction all about'. For thus says Jehovah, — "I appoint you to destruction, both as to yourself and as to all your friends, for they will fall by the sword of their foes, with yourself as witness ..." '.

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GENESIS XLIX 12

Gen. xlix 12 is translated in the English Authorised Version as well as in the new Revised Standard Version in this way: "His eyes shall be red with wine and his teeth white with milk". In his commentary Gunkel has rendered the verse in the same way: "Seine Augen funkeln von Wein, seine Zähne sind weiss von Milch!" [1]). Michelet, in a Norwegian translation, follows him: "Blank i öine av vin, og hvit om tenner av melk" [2]). In European translations the verse is usually rendered in this way.

If we have a look at the Syriac translation (Peshitta) we see that we have here the same grammatical construction as the Masoretes have (with מן). It can therefore give us little help when we try to find out what is really meant by this verse. In the LXX, however, we find a translation which is highly interesting: χαροποὶ οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ οἴνου, καὶ λευκοὶ οἱ ὀδόντες αὐτοῦ ἢ γάλα. The Vulgate

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[1]) *Genesis*. 5. unveränderte Auflage. Göttingen 1922, p. 483.
[2]) *GTMMM*, vol. 1, Oslo 1929, p. 100.

renders: Pulchriores sunt oculi ejus vino, et dentes ejus lacte candidiores.

As to the meaning of חכלילי, the Greek translation seems to lay the foundation upon which GUNKEL builds, in his interpretation of the word: sparkling. GUNKEL deduces this meaning from a metathesis of the root כחל, "die Augen schminken, wodurch sie feurig und glänzend werden" [1]). This deduction seems necessary to get the meaning "sparkling", as חכלילי will normally have to be connected with Akkadian *ekēlu* = be dull, dark, gloomy [2]).

The translation of the LXX has been authoritative in the interpretation of this word. Nevertheless it is still an open question whether it is correct or not. The Greek translator may have been in the same situation as his later colleagues: that the meaning of the Hebrew word was not quite clear to him.

It seems as if the translator of the passage in the LXX has gone only half the way. That is probably because of the trouble which חכלילי caused him. He translated each half line of the parallelism in its own way. When we consider the way in which such parallelisms are built, that does not seem to be a likely interpretation. Therefore I think it is the difficult word חכלילי which led the translator astray. It is also possible that the use of the idea of wine and vine in the preceding verses made him think that the wine is also here spoken of in the same way, and not in a pictorial one. In the second half line, then, he discovered that there is a picture, but nevertheless he kept the first half line translated in another way, in spite of the parallelism.

In the second half line the translator has taken מן in a comparative meaning: "His teeth shall be whiter than milk". Usually that demands a comparative form of the adjective in Greek, but it is not always necessary [3]).

Most translators as well as commentators seem to be of the opinion that the Hebrew poet is also in v. 12a talking about the abundance of wine which is his theme in v. 11. In v. 12, however, he speaks about the coming ruler of Judah, in whose reign the abundance of wine will come. In v. 12 he thus stresses the impressing personality of the coming king, a man with dark eyes and white teeth.

The translation of v. 12 would then be: "His eyes shall be darker than wine and his teeth shall be whiter than milk".

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[1]) Op. cit. p. 483.
[2]) KOEHLER, *Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti Libros*, p. 297.
[3]) WALTER BAUER, *Griechisch-Deutsches Wörterbuch*, 2. Aufl., 1928, col. 535.

This translation has the advantage that we do not have to presuppose any metathesis to find the meaning of חכלילי. The rendering "dark" ("darker") can be accepted without its causing any trouble at all. We also have the authority of the LXX for the latter half of the verse, and that of the Vulgate for most of the verse.

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יְהוָה = JEJĀ, יהיה = JĀJĀ ?

At least one reader of Mr Norman WALKER's learned note [1]) must confess himself unconvinced. He takes for granted that the spelling introduced into BH³ was meant to give guidance for the actual pronunciation; but earlier discussion [2]) indicates that the reverse is true. When P. KAHLE [3]), tacitly adopting the interpretation given by DALMAN, BAUDISSIN, and BOUSSET-GRESSMANN [4]), asserted that the vowels pointed to the pronunciation שְׁמָא = הַשֵּׁם, it was emphasized that יְהוָה could not be explained without considering יְהוִה for יהוה after אֲדֹנָי; that both pointings had two aspects in common: the simple shewa in the first syllable instead of the composite, and the omission of the middle vowel o; and that the intention with both was to veil the pronunciation, at least in the written text. For this analogies from modern orthodox Jewish usage were given. The substitutes of the Tetragrammaton which had been chosen to preclude blasphemy came themselves to be considered ἄρρητα.

This interpretation in itself proves WALKER wrong: once more it is יְהוִה, which must not be separated from יְהוָה, that defies any reasonable way of explanation.

There are still more reasons against attempting to trace Aquila's pronunciation of his יהיה. He is guided throughout by the principle of reflecting the Hebrew as faithfully as ever possible. His Hebrew text was unpointed. Actually Aquila reproduced it, as it stood, with the single exception that he put a second י instead of ו. This was *his*

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[1]) *V.T.* iii, pp. 103f.

[2]) P. KATZ, "Zur Aussprache von יְהוָה" *T.Z.* 4, 1948, pp. 467ff.; B. J. ALFRINK and P. KATZ, Die Aussprache שְׁמָא für יְהוָה "*T.Z.* 5, 1949, pp. 72ff.

[3]) Paul E. KAHLE, *The Cairo Geniza*, London 1947, p. 172, n. 4.

[4]) *T.Z.* 4, 1948, p. 467, n. *.

way of excluding profanation, and it is difficult to see what else he could have done. Once more Jewish usage offers a parallel. Meticulously pious people use spellings like אלהים or אלקים instead of אֱלֹהִים. Once again it is amazing to realize the pedigree of contemporary habits.

That the Mishna spelled יְיָ is a particularly weak argument. A second century pointed text would be a *unicum*. Even if the later pointing could be proved to represent the original pronunciation, it would be but identical with the pointing of יְהוָה. Moreover there is a variety of spellings: it is sufficient to mention one only, the cluster יָ יָ. The only thing that can be stated is that the two iods are in conformity with Aquila's spelling which, however, does not go as far as יי or יָ יָ, because it does not add abbreviation to the change of the ו to י. This point can therefore safely be neglected.

The pointing of the Hebrew on the one hand, and Aquila's spelling, on the other, both stand for an identical tendency. But what they have in common is nothing more than the wish to make it impossible to read the text as it stands. As has been shown, they attain their end in view by divergent devices, and nothing entitles us to draw from them inferences as to a pronunciation other than the traditional.

Cambridge PETER KATZ

NOTE SUR LE SENS DU VERSET VIII 22 DES PROVERBES

Ce verset est fréquemment traduit, jusque dans les versions les plus récentes [1]): Le Seigneur m'a créée la première de ses oeuvres" (texte de la version SEGOND). Cette traduction paraît être fondée sur Job xl 19 où l'on rencontre la même expression: *rᵊšîth darkô*, traduite, entre autres, par P. DHORME en son commentaire: Il (l'hippopotame) est la première des oeuvres de Dieu". De fortes raisons amènent néanmoins à douter de l'exactitude de cette interprétation. On observera premièrement que ni le Targum ni la Septante n'ont donné à: darkô le sens du mot: oeuvre. En second lieu, cette signification paraît exclue par les versets suivants où il est répété que la Sagesse préexista aux premiers fondements du monde. Enfin le

[1]) Ainsi la *Canisius-Vertaling* (1948): „Jahweh schiep mij als zijn eerste gewrocht, als het eerste werk, dat Hij ooit heeft gemaakt".

mot דרך n'a jamais, si l'on excepte les deux cas susdits, le sens du mot: oeuvre, chose fabriquée. En réalité, il semble probable que le mot דרך doive en la circonstance être rapproché de מחשבה (plan) comme il l'est en Jés. lv 8 et de אמרה = דבר comme il l'est en Ps. xviii 31. En d'autres termes, nous sommes portés à croire que l'interprétation donnée par le dictionnaire GESENIUS aux mots: *rᵊšith darkô* est la vraie. Il les rend par le terme: Urbild (cf. *Wörterbuch* au mot: קנה).

Un texte de Philon d'Alexandrie paraît confirmer cette dernière interprétation, dans lequel cet auteur traite du Logos élaborant le monde. Il en dit: ὁ γεννηθεὶς ... μιμούμενος τὰς τοῦ πατρὸς ὁδούς πρὸς παραδείγματα ἀρχέτυπα ἐκείνου βλέπων ἐμόφου τὰ εἴδη (*de conf. ling.* 63), mots traduits par COLSON-WHITAKER en leur édition de Philon dans la *Loeb Classical Library* comme il suit: „the Son ... followed the ways of his Father and shaped the different kinds, looking to the archetypal patterns which that Father supplied".

Il est clair que dans ce passage le mot ὁδός signifie: modèle, image idéale. Comme, d'autre part, ce sens du mot n'est guère conforme à l'usage grec, le mot ὁδός a toutes chances d'être ici un simple décalque du mot hébreu דרך. Ainsi Philon atteste un emploi du mot דרך qui en fait l'équivalent de plan ou idée.

Mais que dire de Job xl 19? Là aussi, il ne semble pas que la traduction: oeuvre, s'impose. L'auteur du livre paraît vouloir déclarer essentiellement que l'hippopotame manifeste la puissance de Dieu, sa manière unique d'imaginer et d'agir (= דרך). On rendrait donc mieux le sens par une traduction comme la suivante: Il est la première manifestation de la puissance divine, ou encore, du génie divin.

Le premier mot קנה de ce verset des Proverbes nous paraît devoir être traduit, compte tenu du sens des mots *rᵊšith darkô*, par le verbe: produire, d'après le sens qu'il a en Gen. iv 1 et Deut. xxxii 6 [1]). Quant au terme קדם, on pourra y voir un substantif désignant une production qui n'est pas du même ordre que les autres.

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[1]) Sur la signification de ce verbe et l'histoire de tout le verset, le signataire a lu avec le plus grand profit l'article très documenté de C. F. BURNEY, intitulé: „Christ as the APXH of creation", dans le *J. Th. S.*, Janvier, 1926. Le professeur. HUMBERT, de Neuchâtel, a édité aussi une savante étude du verbe qânâ dans la *Festschrift A. Bertholet*, Mohr. Tübingen, 1950. Concluant à l'existence de deux verbes qânâ, l'un, d'usage commercial, signifiant: acquérir; l'autre, très ancien et d'usage cultuel, ayant le sens de: créer (c'est celui-là qu'il voit en Prov. viii 22), il est amené à contester ce dernier sens dans Gen. iv 1 en raison du fait qu'aux autres cas certains de l'emploi de qânâ: créer, le sujet est toujours Dieu. Mais ne peut-on envisager qu'il y ait en Gen. iv 1 une combinaison des deux sens soit correspondant à un sens commun soit artificielle, s'il existe deux verbes originaux,

En conséquence, nous proposons de rendre l'ensemble du verset de la manière suivante: „Le Seigneur m'a produite comme son idée première (en laquelle est l'image originelle des choses), prémices de ses oeuvres depuis toujours (pour ce dernier mot, cf. Ps. xciii 2) ou dans un langage plus habituel:

„Le Seigneur m'a produite comme sa manifestation première, les prémices éternelles de ses oeuvres."

Il n'est pas impossible qu'une analogue doctrine de préexistence ne se lise ailleurs dans la Bible, nommément en Ecclésiaste vi 10: „De tout ce qui est, le nom a déjà été dit" = מה־שהיה כבר נקרא שמו. Si l'on admet, comme il semble qu'on doive le faire, une influence grecque sur l'Ecclésiaste, il n'y a quère de difficulté à voir dans le ‚nom' de ce verset, l'essence des choses, en quelque manière antérieure à leur existence, même dans la philosophie aristotélicienne. La formule du Qohélet correspond assez exactement aux mots par lesquels le Stagyrite caractérisait une définition essentielle: ὁ λόγος ὁ τὸ τί ἦν εἶναι λέγων (cf. *Meta.* 1016 a 33 et 1013 a 27; pour l'interprétation, cf. *de part. anim.* 640 a 33).

L'importance de cette traduction de Prov. viii 22 consiste non seulement en ce qu'elle corrobore le sens donné à ce verset par l'Epître aux Colossiens dans un passage qui lui fait manifestement allusion (i 15): ὅς ἐστιν εἰκὼν τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ ἀοράτου, πρωτοτόκος πάσης κτίσεως: Le Christ éternel est prémices de la création; ce qui signifie qu'il est le modèle de la création et l'image de Dieu car le modèle de l'homme couronnement de la création, n'est autre que Dieu lui-même; mais encore en ce qu'elle permet (sans l'imposer) l'adoption de la lecture textuellement la mieux attestée des versets 3 et 4 du Prologue johannique, suivant laquelle la fin du verset 3 est reliée au début du verset 4 de façon à obtenir: ὃ γέγονεν ἐν αὐτῷ ζωὴ ἦν.

Calvin a connu cette lecture chez Augustin mais il la croyait récente et la rejeta dans les termes suivants:

„Ceux qui divisent d'avec le propos précédent cette particule,

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car la procréation est précisément une manière d'acquisition? La comparaison entre Deut. xxxii 6 et Deut. xxxii 18 paraît, en toute hypothèse, montrer que l'idée de création exprimée par קנה n'était pas ressentie comme éloignée de celle de procréation. Il en va de même en Prov. viii où les versets 24 et 25 parallèles au verset 22 parlent d'un enfantement. De toute façon, Gen. iv 1 oblige à admettre un sens médian entre le sens: créer, du premier des deux verbes distingués par HUMBERT et le sens: acquérir, essentiellement commercial, suivant le même auteur, du second.

De ce qui est fait, pour la conjoindre avec la sentence suivante, amènent un sens contraint, Ce qui a été fait, en elle estoit vie: c'est à dire, vivoit ou estoit soustenu en vie. *Mais ils ne monstreront point que cette façon de parler soit en lieu quelconque attribuée aux créatures.* S. Augustin se monstrant par trop platonicien, selon sa façon, est ravi à je ne say quelles idées, à savoir que Dieu avant qu'il fist le monde, avait la forme de tout l'ouvrage projetée en son entendement et qu'en cette sorte la vie des choses qui n'estoyent point encore, estoit en Christ, pour ce que la création du monde estoit ordonnée en lui". Commentaire sur S. Jean, aux versets cités; le français a été légèrement modernisé.

Il se peut que Augustin ait été parfois trop platonicien mais Calvin paraît s'y être aussi quelque peu trompé; Augustin eût pu invoquer l'Ecriture elle-même.

Bruxelles JEAN DE SAVIGNAC

SOME UNUSUAL WAYS OF EXPRESSING THE SUPERLATIVE IN HEBREW AND MALTESE

In an article published in *VT* 3 (1953) 207-224 Prof. D. W. THOMAS has brought out some unusual ways of expressing the superlative in Hebrew. Many of these superlative expressions occur idiomatically in Maltese. As Maltese is a Semitic language, more precisely an offshoot of Arabic, more or less closely related to Hebrew, I am adducing here a few examples to illustrate this peculiar Hebrew usage.

The Maltese word *mewt* 'death' is very often used idiomatically to express the superlative. Thus we say *ferḥan 'al mewt* 'exceedingly glad'; *'ayyân 'al mewt* 'exceedingly tired'; *kân hemm nâs 'al mewt* 'there was an innumerable crowd'. The superlative or elative meaning is sometimes heightened by the addition of the word *sobtu* (Ital. *subito* 'sudden'), thus *'ayyân 'al mewt sobtu* 'completely exhausted', lit. tired to sudden death.

Most of the examples brought forth by Prof. THOMAS are idiomatically rendered into Maltese by the same word *mewt*. Thus Judges xvi 16 *imdeyyaq 'al mewt* 'bored to death'; 1 Sam. v 11 *biza'* (Arab. *faza'*) *tal-mewt* 'a very great fear'; 2 Kings xx 1 *marid 'al mewt* 'sick unto death', i.e. dangerously sick. We have this superlative meaning, though in a different construction, in Gen. xxv 32 *holekh lamuth* lit. 'I am going to die', i.e. I am almost dying of hunger and exhaustion,

I am extremely tired and hungry. We say simply *meyyet* 'dead' with or without the addition of the words *bil-ʿaya* 'of tireness' and *bil-ǧûʿ* 'of hunger'. The usual explanation: 'I am continually exposed to danger' is less probable.

Sometimes we use the participle-adjective *meyyet* 'dead' to express an intense desire; thus *meyyet bâš narak* 'I am longing to see you'. But this idiom is not paralleled by Hebrew usage. The expressions *meyyet bil-ǧûʿ*, *bil-ʿatš*, etc. 'to be dying of hunger, thirst', etc. are common to many languages.

Another word which is used in Maltese to express the superlative is *aḥḥar* 'last', corresponding to Hebr. *neṣaḥ* 'end' [1]). Thus *ferḥan ʿal aḥḥar* 'exceedingly glad'. Sometimes the word *aḥḥar* is repeated for the sake of greater emphasis, thus *sal-aḥḥar tal-aḥḥar* 'till the end of the end', i.e. till the extreme end, an expression which corresponds exactly to Is. xxxiv 10 *neṣaḥ neṣaḥim*. Cp. also the expression *fl-aḥḥar mill-aḥḥar* 'in the long run'.

In the following passages the word *neṣaḥ* and its Maltese equivalent *aḥḥar* are used with a superlative meaning: Job xxxiv 36 'May Job be tested to the end', i.e. thoroughly, Malt. *sal-aḥḥar* or *ʿal aḥḥar*; Ps. lii 7 'God will pull you down *completely*', Malt. *ʿal aḥḥar*; Ps. lxxiv 3 'Turn your steps toward the *irreparable* ruins'; Ps. lxxix 5 'How long will you be *so violently* angry?'; perhaps also Ps. lxxiv 10 'How long shall the enemy revile your name *outrageously*?' and Ps. lxxxix 47 'How long will you *persistently* hide yourself?' Interesting is Ps. xxxviii 7 where the expression *ʿad meʾōd* is rendered ἕως τέλους by the LXX as if it were *laneṣaḥ*, thus showing the identity of meaning of the two expressions.

Of the use of the word *Alla* 'God' to express the superlative only a few traces exist in Maltese. An expression still in daily use is (*min*) *ṣḥâḥ Alla* '(from) very early morning', from dawn. There is in Malta a steep uphill road called *it-telʿa taʿ Alla u ommu* 'the ascent of God and his mother', i.e. a very steep slope, the word *ommu* being merely added for the sake of greater emphasis. Our dictionaries record the expression *namar Alla* 'very great numbers', the word *namar* being the Arab. *numar* plural of *numra* 'number' from Ital. *numero* (see Dozy s.v.). Once I heard an illiterate person saying: *Kän bard divin* (Ital. *divino* 'divine') 'it was bitter cold'.

Malta P. P. Saydon

[1]) Prof. Thomas informs me that he intends to write on this use of *neṣaḥ* on another occasion.

"ISRAEL"

Two statements of special interest to the writer occur in TSEVAT's article "The Canaanite god Šälaḥ" in *V.T.* IV, pp. 41-9. They are the reference to the change of *yiš* into *'iš* in proper names, that is to say the change of initial yodh into aleph, and the acceptation of the explanation of the Phoenician proper name *'šršlḥ* as *'srślḥ* "Osiris is Šälaḥ". If Asher be a divine name as suggested, then its identity with Osiris is rendered more plausible, both being water-gods, and Osiris traditionally entering Egypt from Phoenicia. The writer in his *Tetragrammaton* (1948) suggested that as Thoth was really Jah-Thothy so Osiris was originally Jah-Seiry, the god of Esau. Just as the Cypriote immigrant into Phoenicia equated Osiris with Šälaḥ, so Jacob took the name 'Israel equating thereby Jah of Seir with 'El of Canaan, and he did this at Penuel as he was on the point of meeting Esau of Seir, so that "'Israel" means "Jah of Seir is 'El".

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A NOTE ON מזה IN PSALM lxxv 9.

The figure of the Cup of Wrath in Psalm lxxv 9, although not without numerous biblical parallels [1]), abounds in obscure phrases still awaiting elucidation. Foremost among them is the phrase ויגר מזה. The English Versions generally render this "and he poureth out of the same"; on the apparent assumption that the subject of the verb is God who is spoken of in the initial phrase of the verse "in the hand of the Lord there is a cup", whilst מזה is presumably regarded as the usual contracted form of מן זה, "from this", referring to the mentioned cup. This rendering, already implied by Rashi's interpretation, is open to objections. The noun כוס is feminine, as evident from Lam. iv 21. It is also treated as feminine in the selfsame verse in שמריה whose pronominal suffix in the feminine necessarily refers to the cup. Seeing now that זה is masculine, the rendering in view presupposes an inconsistency which, whilst not altogether without biblical parallels [2]), is hardly probable. Secondly, the cup not being in any way contrasted in the verse with any other object, there seems

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[1]) Ps. xi 6, *ibid.* lx 5, Isa. li 39, Jer. xxv 15ff., *ibid.* xlix 12, *ibid.* li 39, Ezek. xxiii 32-34, Hab. ii 16, Lam. iv 21.

[2]) Cf. Ibn Ezra *ad loc*, also Gen. xxxii 9 and Rashi *ad ibid.*

to be no reason for the emphasis implied by the demonstrative in מזה. On two grounds, therefore, ממנה [1]) would have been more logical than מזה and also more consistent with general usage in biblical Hebrew.

The second objection is equally valid as regards the rendering *et propinabit ex eo* in the *Psalterium iuxta Hebraeos* by Jerome [2]), where מזה seems to be looked upon as a reference not to the cup but to the wine therein [3]). The same applies to the practically identical interpretation by EHRLICH who renders "*davon schenkt er ein*" and stresses that "מזה *ist nicht daraus, d.h. aus dem Becher, sondern davon, vom Weine*" [4]). This difficulty is obviated by Ibn Ezra and Kimhi who suggest that the cup, filled with wine above its capacity, caused its contents to overflow its brim on both sides. Accordingly, they interpret the phrase in view as ויגר מזה ומזה. On the other hand, מזה in this sense is very forced and altogether without parallel in either biblical or post-biblical Hebrew. Moreover, on the apparent assumption that the cup is the subject of ויגר, there remains the initial difficulty of the inconsistent treatment of כוס once as masculine and once as feminine in the selfsame verse.

No less difficult is the LXX rendering ἐκ τούτου εἰς τοῦτο, the basis of *ex hoc in hoc* in the Vulgate [5]) and of מהנא להנא in the Peshitta, which takes מזה in the sense of מזה אל זה or מזה לזה or possibly presupposes one of the latter readings in its Hebrew *Vorlage*. GRÄTZ [6]) prefers that supposed variant to the MT and is followed therein by a galaxy of biblical commentators. Yet it refuses to give satisfactory sense, as amply demonstrated by the wide variety of interpretations suggested by the scholars adopting it. GRÄTZ himself assumes that מסך in the verse in question is identical with ממסך in Isa. lxv 11 and

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[1]) Or perhaps the shorter form מנה, cf. Job iv 12, possibly preferable for metrical reasons.

[2]) BM MS Harley 2799; ed. LAGARDE, Lipsiae 1874 p. 80; ed. J. M. HARDEN, London 1922, p. 92. Scholars differ whether this is Jerome's first or last version of the Psalms; cf. ALLGEIER, "Die erste Psalmenübersetzung", *Biblica* xii, 1931, 447-82.

[3]) Cf. BRIGGS, *The Book of Psalms II/ICC/*, 164.

[4]) *Die Psalmen*, Berlin 1905, 178.

[5]) As well known, the Psalter in the Vulgate is the *Psalterium Gallicanum*. The rendering of this verse in the *Psalterium Romanum*, BM MS Harley 2799, exhibits some slight variants that have no bearing on the present subject. Regarding the problems connected with these two Latin Psalters cf. ALLGEIER, *l.c.*, and DE BRUYNE, "Le Problème du Psautier Romain", *Rev.Bénéd.* xliii, 1930, 101-126.

[6]) *Kritischer Commentar zu den Psalmen*, Breslau 1882, 446-8.

Prov. xxiii 30 and denotes "mixing bowl". Presuming accordingly that the Psalmist thinks of two objects in the hand (in the singular!) of God, mixing bowl and cup (*Mischkrug und Kelch*), he renders "*und er giesset von diesem in jenen*", *i.e.* from the bowl into the cup. Apart from the absence of any biblical parallel to this supposed notion on the part of the Psalmist, support is lacking for GRÄTZ's identification of מסך with ממסך, as also for his assumption that the latter means a mixing bowl. His line of approach has, rightly, not been adopted by other scholars [1]).

CHEYNE [2]) renders "and he pours out to this one and to that one", apparently on the assumption that the verse in question is a close parallel to the successive offers to drink in Jer. xxv 15ff. This clearly presupposes the reading ויגר לזה ולזה at variance not only with the MT but also with the LXX. The same applies to Hans SCHMIDT's "*er schenkt ein diesem wie jenem*" [3]), which is but a replica of CHEYNE's rendering. DUHM [4]) renders likewise "*diesem wie jenem*" and, apparently aware of the difficulty just mentioned, equates this with "*von diesem* (*Menschen*) *zu jenem*"; which is contrary to the supposed Hebrew original and to the German translation alike. GUNKEL's "*er kredenzt von einem zum andern*" [5]), taking מזה אל זה in the same sense as DUHM, is no improvement on this; it likewise reads into the phrase a double meaning of "*taking from and giving to*" which is equally incompatible with the supposed Hebrew original and his own German translation. BARNES [6]), adopting a practically identical interpretation, is constrained to render "he poureth out going from this one to that one". This, notwithstanding his assertion that it requires the addition of but one single word to the MT, presupposes in the Hebrew original appreciably more than ויגר מזה לזה claimed as the LXX Hebrew *Vorlage*. Even less acceptable, although ingenious, is the interpretation by CHAIES [7]) as "from this (the wine) to these (each one of the wicked)". The more recent renderings by BUTTENWIESER [8]) as "and he pours from it and hands it round" and by OESTERLEY [9]) as "and

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[1]) Cf. the standard commentaries on Isa. and Prov. *ad loc.*; *BDB* p. 587 s.v. מסך and ממסך.

[2]) *The Book of Psalms*, London 1888, pp. 211 & 396.

[3]) *Die Psalmen* (EISSFELDT's Series), Tübingen 1934, 143.

[4]) *Idem* (MARTI's Series), Freiburg 1899, 198.

[5]) *Idem* (NOWACK's Series), Göttingen 1926, 329.

[6]) *The Psalms* (Westminster Series), London 1935, II. 364.

[7]) *Liber Psalmorum* (Kahana's Biblia Hebraica), Kiew 1907, 165.

[8]) *The Psalms*, Chicago 1938, 790-1.

[9]) *Idem*, London 1939, II. 350.

it hath passed from one to another", clearly but verbal variations of some of the earlier interpretations that have been seen to lack real support by the LXX, contribute nothing to the solution of this problem. Moreover, both the LXX phrase in question and its mentioned translations in the Vulgate and the Peshitta unmistakably show that in the very sources whence the variant מזה לזה is derived that phrase was not taken in the sense of a reference to two human beings. In view of this, one cannot but agree with the view of BRIGGS [1]) that the LXX variant implies two cups, the wine of wrath being poured from the one into the other. This notion however, not unlike GRÄTZ's interpretation, makes the meaning of the entire verse even more obscure. BRIGGS, in fact, accepts neither the MT nor the LXX but suppresses מזה as an "interpretative(?) gloss". In fine, he does not attempt to solve the problem.

All the difficulties at once disappear if מזה, instead of being assumed as hitherto to be contracted from מן זה, is regarded as a noun derived from the root נזה. Verbal forms of this root, in the *qal* in the sense of spurting or spattering, and in the *hiph.* in that of sprinkling, occur in numerous biblical passages [2]). מזה is derived from נזה in the same way as numerous other nouns of this type from other ל״ה roots; *e.g.* מכסה, מצפה, מקוה, מקנה, מקרה, מרעה, משנה, משתה, from the respective roots כסה, צפה, קוה, קנה, קרה, רעה, שנה, שתה; or the rarer nouns מבנה [3]), מדחה [4]), מכרה [5]), מקשה [6]), משגה [7]) from their respective roots [8]). Not unlikely, מחזה, מחנה, מחסה, מעלה, מענה, and the rarer מאפה [9]), מחלה [10]), מעבה [11]), מעטה [12]), מעקה [13]), מערה [14]), are likewise nouns of the same type; their different vocalization being due to the guttural first

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[1]) *l.c.*
[2]) Cf. *BDB* p. 633 *s.v.* נזה I.
[3]) Ezek. xl 2.
[4]) Pr. xxvi 28.
[5]) Zp. ii 9.
[6]) Isa. iii 24.
[7]) Gen. xliii 12. Cf. also Job xv 29 for the dubious מנלה.
[8]) It is not impossible that מקצה אחיו in Gen. xlvii 2 and מקציהם in Ezek. xxxiii 2 likewise present a noun of this type and are not contracted, as generally assumed, from מן and קצה. In mishnaic Hebrew, at any rate, one finds מקצת distinct from מן קצת; cf. Shebu. vi 3 הודה במקצת and parallels.
[9]) Lv. ii 4.
[10]) 2 Chron. xxi 15.
[11]) 1 K. vii 46.
[12]) Isa. lxi 3.
[13]) Dt. xxii 8.
[14]) Jud. xx 33.

consonant in their respective roots. As for the change of the hypothetical מנזה into מזה, it is due to the common phenomenon of assimilation. This, as is well known, is the very reason for the contracted form of מן; as in מזה from מן זה in the phrase in question according to its general interpretation, and elsewhere. Assimilation is also otherwise frequently met with, *inter alia*, in various verbal and nominal forms derived from פ"נ roots; e.g. הִזה or מַזה from the root נזה under consideration, or nouns like מִסה, מַסה and מַשה [1]) from the respective roots נסה and נשה. It is true that one can find no nominal form exactly parallel to מִזה. Seeing however that nouns of this type are otherwise well attested in biblical Hebrew, one may well attribute this fortuitous circumstance to the comparative rarity of roots that, like נזה, are both פ"נ and ל"ה.

Taking now מזה in Ps. lxxv 9 as a noun, *viz.* accusative object of the verb ויגר, one will render the phrase in question "he caused a spurt to gush forth", the subject being God [2]). On the basis of this interpretation of the phrase, one will also see more clearly the meaning of אך שמריה in the clause following it. Hitherto the difficulty presented by אך has been glossed over in various ways. In the English Versions אך is rendered "surely", a meaning not reliably attested elsewhere [3]). Ibn Ezra seems to have connected אך with רשעי ארץ at the end of the verse; *viz.* only the wicked shall drain the dregs, not the righteous. Needless to say that this is very forced. GUNKEL and SCHMIDT [4]) resort to emending אך into אף, "auch". All this is now no longer necessary, the verse plainly contrasting שמרים with מזה: a spurting has gushed forth, but the remaining dregs shall be drained by the wicked [5]).

Not improbably, this meaning of מזה underlies a rabbinic homily [6]) paraphrasing ויגר מזה as a drop drunk by the wicked in this world

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[1]) Dt. xv 2.

[2]) One might equally assume that the subject is the wine in the cup. However, in the light of the construction in the few biblical instances of נגר in the *hiph.*, that is less probable.

[3]) In all the instances cited in *BDB* p. 36 s.v. אך I, this particle seems to indicate some contrast, implicit or explicit, and is therefore more adequately rendered "doch wohl" than "surely" (there being a shade of difference between these two renderings given in *BDB* side by side); אך I is thus but a different aspect of אך II.

[4]) *l.c.*

[5]) This has, in fact, already been suggested by GRÄTZ, *l.c.* Nor is it inconsistent with the interpretation of Ibn Ezra.

[6]) Midrash Tehillim, ed. BUBER, Wilna 1891; Sifré Ha'azinu, 324.

in contrast to the dregs remaining in the cup which they are destined to drain in the judgment day to come [1]). If such is the case, the interpretation of מזה submitted here is no novelty but has the support of early rabbinic tradition.

London. E. WIESENBERG

ΟΥ ΔΙΑ ΧΕΙΡ ΠΡΕΣΒΕΩΣ ΟΥΔΕ ΔΙΑ ΧΕΙΡ ΣΕΡΑΦ ΟΥΔΕ ΔΙΑ ΧΕΙΡ ΑΓΓΕΛΟΥ

Isa lxiii 9 (Gk) AND THE PASSOVER HAGGADAH.

Isa lxiii 8, 9:

M.T.:		DS Ia:	
	ויהי להם למושיע		ויהי להמה למושיע
	בכל צרתם לא צר		בכול צרתמה לוא צר
	ומלאך פניו הושיעם		ומלאך פניו הושיעמה
	באהבתו ובחמלתו		באהבתיו ובחומלתיו
	הוא גאלם		הואה גאלמה
	וינטלם וינשאם		וינשאם וינטלם

Gk: καὶ ἐγένετο αὐτοῖς εἰς σωτηρίαν ἐκ πάσης θλίψεως αὐτῶν
οὐ πρέσβυς οὐδὲ ἄγγελος ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἔσωσεν αὐτούς
διὰ τὸ ἀγαπᾷν αὐτοὺς καὶ φείδεσθαι αὐτῶν
αὐτὸς ἐλυτρώσατο αὐτούς
καὶ ἀνέλαβεν αὐτοὺς καὶ ὕψωσεν αὐτούς

The difference of the Greek Text from the Hebrew may be accounted for, grammatically, by assuming that the translator read **צִיר** instead of **צָר** in the second line. This explanation does not, however, absolve us of the necessity to explain the difference of the meaning in the Greek from that in the Hebrew Text.

The *Angel of the Presence* is a religious concept that occurs in post-exilic Jewish writings quite frequently; suffice it to refer to Jubilees i 27, Daniel viii 16, ix 21, Testament of Levi xviii 5, Enoch xx, liv, lxxi, lxxxi, where the angels' names are given, Luke i 19 and the Proseuche Ioseph [2]). Isaiah of the Return ("Trito-Isaiah") expresses the thought that it was this angel to whom the task was

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[1]) This homily is possibly also at the basis of the paraphrase in the Targum. Its text however seems corrupt, perhaps already in the *ed.pr.* which is appreciably different from that in the later edd.

[2]) Origen, *Commentary to John* (*MPG* XIV 168/9).

entrusted to save the Jewish race. The text on which the Greek reading is based expresses a different idea: no subaltern being of the supernatural world, however high in rank, but God Himself has made it His concern to watch over Israel. While other nations are ruled by angels, the people of Israel, God's own portion, a people for God's possession ("For YHWH's portion is His people—Jacob is the lot of His inheritance", Deut xxxii 9; compare Ben Sira xvii 17), are subject to Him alone—dealings between God and Israel could be no other but direct. The Greek Text, so strongly emphasising the distinction of Israel, belongs to an era when angelology had become widely known and accepted by the Jews of the diaspora and Palestine alike; while admitting as true that all nations were governed by one God, the stipulation was made that this was done, in the case of non-Jewish nations, through the intermediary of angelic powers, but as far as Israel was concerned without those intermediaries. No μεσίτης comes in between God and His people.

Jubilees xv 30-32 expresses this idea in powerful language:

"... He has chosen Israel to be His people
And He sanctified and gathered them from amongst all the sons of men
—For there are many nations and many peoples, and all they are His,
But over each one He has placed spirits as rulers who will lead them away from Him—
Yet over Israel He has appointed no angel nor spirit,
For He Alone is their Ruler, and He will preserve them
... that they may be His and He may be theirs from henceforth for ever and ever".

The Greek reading of the Isaian passage obviously belongs to an era of intimate intercourse between Jews and neighbouring nations. Yet there is no reason to think that the translator made the change himself. He followed a Hebrew text that has not survived, but of which a parallel exists in a midrashic expansion to a passage from Deuteronomy. This midrash is recited at the passover service:

וַיּוֹצִאֵנוּ יְיָ מִמִּצְרַיִם:

לֹא עַל־יְדֵי מַלְאָךְ
וְלֹא עַל־יְדֵי שָׂרָף
וְלֹא עַל־יְדֵי שָׁלִיחַ
אֶלָּא הַקָּדוֹשׁ בָּרוּךְ הוּא בִּכְבוֹדוֹ וּבְעַצְמוֹ . . . .

And YHWH brought us out of Miṣrayim:

Not by the hands of an angel
And not by the hands of a seraph
And not by the hands of an envoy
But the Holy One, blessed be He, in His Glory and by Himself . . . .

The idea is the same, in the *Greek Text of Isaiah* and in the *Haggadah shel Pesaḥ.*

London P. WINTER

REVIEWS

AAGE BENTZEN, *Daniel* (Handbuch z. AT, her. v. O. EISSFELDT, I 19), 2. verbesserte Aufl., Tübingen, Mohr (Siebeck), 1952, 87 S. DM 6,10, geb. 8,50.

Gegenüber der ersten Auflage des vorzüglichen, nur allzu kurzen Kommentars von 1937 ist diese um 25 Seiten, d.h. um 40% des früheren Umfangs gewachsen, und der Verfasser hat das benützt, die neuere Literatur möglichst vollständig einzuarbeiten. Auch nicht eine Seite ist ohne kürzere oder längere Zusätze geblieben, wofür man allerdings in Kauf nehmen muss, dass nun die Übersetzung mit den Anmerkungen und die Erklärung sich nicht mehr gegenüberstehen und die Seitenüberschriften nicht mehr mit den letzteren übereinstimmen. Die Auseinandersetzung betrifft namentlich E. J. YOUNG als Vertreter modernster amerikanischer Apologetik, von orientalister Seite (W. VON SODEN, I. und H. LEWY) gemachte Versuche wenigstens da und dort in den Legenden einen historischen Kern (z.B. Naboned hinter „Nebukadnezar") zu finden, H. L. GINSBERG mit seiner überscharfen Textzerlegung und der Annahme eines aramäischen Grundtextes für cc. viii ff., H. JUNKER, der auch für cc. viii ff. eine vormakkabäische Grundlage annehmen möchte, und H. H. ROWLEY, der eine solche selbst zu cc. i-vii bestreitet (für c. vii gibt ihm B. teilweise recht); wobei ich ihm überall im wesentlichen nur beipflichten kann. Zustimmend zitiert er öfter den katholischen Kommentar von STEINMANN (1950); wertvolles Material boten ihm die religionsgeschichtlichen Arbeiten von FESTUGIÈRE. Ausführlicher behandelt ist die Sprachenfrage, wo er aber zu keinem Entscheid kommt (S. 8 f.). Die relative Einheitlichkeit trotz älterer Grundlage in der ersten Hälfte wird mehr betont (S. 9 f.). Die stärkeren Abweichungen der LXX namentlich in c. iv-vi versteht B. jetzt aus einer den Gegensätzen der Makkabäerzeit entsprechenden und letztlich teilweise mündlichen Überlieferung (S. 10).

In dem neu hinzugekommenen § 1 der Einleitung über die Stellung des Buches im Kanon sagt B., es sei bei den Juden zunächst zu den Propheten gerechnet worden und erst später habe sich die Einreihung bei den Ketubim durchgesetzt. Er beruft sich dafür, neben der Tatsache, dass Daniel für Josephus wie für die Evangelien als Prophet galt, auf die von J. P. AUDET im *Journ. of Theol. Stud.* 1950 behandelte, auch bei Epiphanius erhaltene eigenartige Kanonliste aus Jerusalem, die ihn tatsächlich unter den Propheten aufführt. Alter und jüdische Herkunft der Liste sind unzweifelhaft; die Frage ist nur, ob ihr Zeugnis gerade für Daniel ausreicht. AUDET sagt mit gewissem Recht, dass in solchen Listen die bessere Ordnung nicht notwendig auch die ältere sein müsse, da Einheitlichkeit meist erst nachträglich erzielt worden sei. Aber hier wird einem nun doch etwas viel

zugemutet: die Zahl von 27 Büchern, die Bücher des Pentateuch durch Josua auseinandergerissen — was sonst in keinem der bekannten Verzeichnisse (SWETE, Introduction² 197 ff.) der Fall — weiter Num. hinter Dt., Rut mit Job vor Richter, Sam. Kge und Chron. je als zwei Bücher. So sind Zweifel an ihrer Ursprünglichkeit doch wohl am Platz. Mit dem Bemühen um eine sachliche Ordnung erinnert sie an die LXX. Die übliche Stellung Daniels bei den Ketubim braucht man aber nicht aus einer Abneigung der Rabbiner gegen seine Apokalyptik zu verstehen, an der man sich bei seiner sonstigen Gesetzlichkeit schwerlich stark stiess, sondern gleich dem Fehlen im „Hymnus der Väter" des Jesus Sirach einfach aus seiner späten Entstehung.

Neu ist der im Anschluss an NYBERG gemachte und schon aus der *Introduction* II 202 bekannte, immerhin sehr zurückhaltend vorgetragene Versuch, Züge der altorientalischen Königsideologie im Sinn der Uppsala-Schule aufzuzeigen (S. 7). Am ehesten lässt man es für c. vii gelten (S. 62 f.: der Tron; der Menschensohn; die uralte königlich messianische Gestalt umgewandelt in ein transzendent-eschatologisches himmlisches Wesen) und für c. iv (der von Naboned und KAI KAUS bis zu ANDERSENS Märchen vom „Bösen Fürsten" eine Parodie des Kaisers auf dem Himmelstron, S. 45 f.). Weniger leuchtet es ein, wenn er das „pattern" von Tronbesteigung, Descensus und Auferstehung auch in den Märtyrerlegenden c. iii und vi finden will (Feuerofen und Löwengrube das Totenreich usw). Und vollends weithergeholt scheint es, wenn die dithyrambische Schilderung des Nebukadnezar ii 37 f. dem König als erstem Menschen und Urkönig gelten soll (S. 29), oder das „Menschenherz" iv 23 die Identität des Königs mit dem Lebensbaum erweise (S. 41), wo doch, wie B. selber sieht, einfach die Deutung sich schon in das Bild eindrängt; oder bei den Anhängen, wo es sich in der Susanna um das verbreitete Motiv des Knabenrichters handelt und auch die Geschichten vom Bel zu Babel stofflich so sehr gegenüber den kanonischen Erzählungen abfallen.

Im übrigen findet man nur Kleinigkeiten zu berichten; die meisten stammen schon aus der ersten Auflage. S. 16 zu i 1: im Namen Nebukadnezars ist *kudurru* Synonym zu *aplu* u.ä., d.h. „Sohn", s. J. J. STAMM, *Die akkadische Namengebung* 43. S. 21, 3. Absatz: mit Josephus, Origenes und Hieronymus möchte ich doch annehmen, dass die jüdischen Knaben am Hof verschnitten wurden; i 4 widerspricht das nicht, und es wird vorausgesetzt durch 2 Kg. xx 18, wie auch durch das zwar irrige, aber trotzdem bezeichnende εὐνοῦχος aus οἰνοχόος für *mašqā* Neh. i 11. — S. 26 zu ii 48: akk. *šaknu* ist mir nur als weltlicher, nicht auch als geistlicher Titel bekannt. — S. 30 zu iii 19: die Verwendung von *ḥad* beim Multiplikativ ist gemeinaramäisch. — S. 31, Z. 16 lies c. 2 statt 3. — S. 32 zu *taṭlel* iv 9: statt „Schattensuchen" besser nach dem Christlich-Palästin. „ñisten". — S. 36 zu iv 24: „brechen" bedeutet *prq* weder im Hebräischen noch im Aramäischen, nur „abreissen, lösen". — S. 40 zu v 2: im Zitat aus SCHEFTELOWITZ lies S. 68; aber seine indogermanische Etymologie des *mân* ist natürlich unmöglich und am Zusammenhang mit akk. *unūtu* usw. nicht zu zweifeln. — S. 41, Z. 21 lies vs. 5 f., 15 statt 5, 15. — S. 42: die zu v 23b genannten Belegstellen für den „Herrn der Geister" (d.h. Engel)

sind hier, wo vom Lebensodem die Rede ist, nicht recht am Platz. — S. 43 zu vi 1 ist die Meinung von BEVAN nicht ganz zutreffend wiedergegeben und in Z. 7 der Erklärung Col. B viii 34 zu lesen; jene Inschrift vergleicht auch nicht mit einem Baum, sondern redet gerade nur bildlich vom „Schatten" (d.i. Schutz) Babylons. — S. 48 zu *mᵉgîḥân* vii 2: EWALD schreibt „durchbrausen und durchkreisen", nicht „kreissen machen". — S. 75 dass das Gebet in c. ix „ganz allgemein" als spätere Einlage gelte, ist zuviel gesagt, wo nicht bloss BAYER und JUNKER, sondern auch MONTGOMERY und OBBINK es für ursprünglich nehmen; aber stimmen wird es schon. — Bei Tabae als Stätte von Antiochus Tod (S. 83) denken NIESE, ED. MEYER und BICKERMANN vielleicht mit Recht an Gabae-Ispahan. — Bei den „vielen", die nach xii 2 aus dem Todesschlaf erwachen sollen (S. 85), wäre immerhin zu bemerken, dass dies nach rabbinischem Sprachgebrauch auch „alle" bedeuten kann (s. VON GALL, Βασιλεία τοῦ Θεοῦ, 1926, 307 f.) und Test. Benj. x 8 unsere Stelle in diesem Sinn zitiert, womit die sonst freilich ausdrücklich belegte Gruppe der „Mittleren" hier wegfiele.

Die Literaturangaben sind überaus reich und lassen nur ganz selten etwas vermissen; so z.B. S. 68 zu ix 7 FURLANI über Adlerverehrung bei Griechen und Römern, *Studi e Materiali* 7, 21 ff., und zum Feuerstrom vii 10 C. M. EDSMAN, *Le baptême de feu* (1940) 19 ff., 87 ff.

Auf jeden Fall ist es heute neben dem ausführlicheren MONTGOMERY der beste Kommentar zu Daniel.

Basel W. BAUMGARTNER

Dr J. VAN DER PLOEG O.P., *Spreuken* uit de grondtekst vertaald en uitgelegd. Roermond, J. J. Romen & Zonen, 1952. 107 pp.

This commentary forms part of an explanation of the Bible in Dutch by Roman Catholic scholars. Of the seven parts which concern the New Testament already a second edition is in course of publication; the Old Testament will be treated in twelve parts of which the above-mentioned is the first "book" of part VIII. The commentary is meant "to make priest and layman conversant with the text of the Old and New Testament and to provide them with a sound, scientifically justified exegesis". This purpose is certainly very well served by the treatment which the Book of Proverbs received from the hands of the well-known Old Testament scholar and professor of the Roman Catholic University of Nijmegen, Dr VAN DER PLOEG. In the short Introduction of seven pages most of the subjects connected with Proverbia are discussed in a sober and lucid way, unbiassed by dogmatic presuppositions. King Solomon probably has not written a single proverb, only "spoken". We do not know if he has given order to start a collection. A criterion by which to decide which proverbs are Solomonic and which not, does not exist and there is little sense in looking for it. The proverbs can have been handed down orally during some time and collected later on, during which process sayings of different origin easily can have been inserted and genuine Solomonic proverbs altered. Among the "Proverbs outside Israel" VAN DER PLOEG should now have

mentioned also the manifold expressions of Sumerian wisdom as made known by S. N. KRAMER, A. FALKENSTEIN and others, although he could not have recorded yet J. J. A. VAN DIJK's *La Sagesse suméro-accadienne*, Leiden 1953. In the matter of interdependence of Ch. xxii 17 ss. and the Wisdom of Amen-em-ope I consider VAN DER PLOEG too cautious (p. 9 s., 77 s.), as unmistakebly the introductory passage, the ten themata of Prov. xxii 22-xxiii 11, the "thirty" sayings of the collection (which VAN DER PLOEG accepts) and the often literally correspondence of the Egyptian and Hebrew expressions suggest and almost prove the dependence of the Hebrew from the Egyptian collection. On form and rhythm of the Proverbs a little more could have been said than on p. 11 is offered, and the specifically Israelitic characteristics of Proverbs could have been worked out more widely and distinctly as on p. 12. But on the whole VAN DER PLOEG presents just that information which the general reader needs.

The exegesis shows the same good qualities as the Introduction. Scientifically sound, conservative but not timorous in text-criticism, with an extensive use of modern philological studies (as by G. R. DRIVER, D. WINTON THOMAS, TORCZYNER and others), and headed by a translation in very good idiomatic Dutch (I would refer the Dutch reader to i 31b, iii 16, v 10b, viii 19, x 28, xvii 22a, xxi 9, xxv 4b, xxvii 5b) VAN DER PLOEG's interpretation makes a pleasant reading and gives useful information. The author's knowledge of the results of archeology, of the climate of Palestine and his personal acquaintance with the land and its inhabitants often provide interesting illustration.

Very good are his excursions on the *'iššâ zârâ* Ch. ii 16, the famous pericope Ch. viii 22 ss. (in which Wisdom is *not* presented as a divine hypostasis according to the author), the paedagogical standpoint and purpose of Proverbs Ch. x 3, and e.g. on the meaning of *'almâ* Ch. xxx 19.

All this does not mean that VAN DER PLOEG always hits the mark. One may differ from the author in his translation or interpretation in e.g. i 17 s., 21a, 32 ("ontrouw"?), ii 1 ss. (primitive style?), iii 4b (*šeḳel ṭôb*), vi 3 (*ḥitrappēs* "klop hevig"?), 13 ("schuifelen met de voeten"?), 19b (a climax?), 26a, viii 22 (*qânâ* "bezat" instead of "schiep"), ix 7-12 (these verses are an insertion and not part of the invitation of Wisdom), 4 and 16 ("I" instead of "she"), x 9 (*jiwwāda'* "valt op"?), 13, xi 7, xi 17 ("vaartwel" too passive), xiv 8b, 20; 16b (the imperative read as an indicative), xxii 11 (a riddle with its answer?), 21 (those who send are not the parents or guardians), xxvii 9b (why not follow the Septuaginta?), xxviii 2b (can MT be translated like this?), 13 ("fouten" too weak for *pešā'îm*). But there is truth in the opening words of VAN DER PLOEG's Introduction: Proverbs is undoubtedly one of the most difficult, if not as far as textual interpretation is concerned, the most difficult book of the whole Old Testament (p. 7a, cf. p. 12b, 13a, 16b, 17a) and eventual "fouten" of an interpreter like VAN DER PLOEG can certainly not be imputed to him as *pešā'im*. Of his commentary, although destined in the first place for the general reader, can be said with Prov. i 5: *jišma' ḥākām wejôsêph leqaḥ*.

Pretoria B. GEMSER

E. R. THIELE, *The Mysterious Numbers of the Hebrew Kings: a Reconstruction of the Chronology of the Kingdoms of Israel and Judah.* Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1951. Pp. xxii + 298. Price $ 6.00.

This work consists of a most elaborate and important study of the chronology of the kings of Israel and Judah, and whatever view may be taken of the conclusions of the author, it will be of the highest value to all succeeding students of this question. That the chronological data contained in the Biblical books are very confusing and often apparently inconsistent is well known, and most systems of chronology have set aside some of the data as unreliable. It is the thesis of Dr. THIELE that the confusions can be resolved, and that the contradictions vanish on closer investigation. A pilot article published in 1944 [1]) indicated his solution to the problem, and from this article the present writer quoted with approval in his Schweich Lectures [2]) the observation that 'Chronology is the backbone of history'. He has therefore nothing but commendation for the attempt to establish on a firm basis the chronology of the period of the monarchy.

The author takes full account of all the extra-Biblical evidence with which the Biblical evidence must somehow be squared if it is to be acceptable. Where he wishes to set aside the face value of any piece of evidence, whether within or without the Bible, he offers reasons for so doing, since his purpose is to harmonize the evidence rather than to base himself on a selection from it. Some important elements of the problem are our uncertainty as to the precise beginning of the calendar year presupposed in each Biblical statement and our uncertainty as to whether the accession-year system was employed or not. In addition, we have no precise information about co-regencies.

After a careful study of the evidence, Dr. THIELE reaches the conclusion that Judah worked with a Tishri to Tishri calendar, while Israel worked with a Nisan to Nisan calendar. Some of the difficulties that then remain may be removed if it is remembered that in a synchronism given from either the Israelite or the Judahite side the reckoning for the other kingdom may be given according to its own system or the alternative system. Professor SNAITH has raised a doubt about the Nisan to Nisan system [3]), which is confessedly conjectural. The present reviewer can only say that it yields such excellent results that it is very attractive.

As to the reckoning of the first year of a reign, Dr. THIELE's conclusion is that 'Israel at the time of the schism followed the nonaccession-year system and continued its use till the close of the ninth century B.C., when under Jehoash a shift was made to the accession-year system, which continued to the close of Israel's history. Judah at the time of the schism used the accession-year system and continued its use to the middle of the ninth century, from Jehoram to Joash reigns are reckoned according to the non-

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[1]) *J.N.E.S.*, iii, 1944, pp. 137-186.
[2]) *From Joseph to Joshua*, 1950, p. 2.
[3]) *J.B.L.*, lxxii, 1953, p. 131.

accession-year system and from Amaziah, at about the beginning of the eighth century, to the close of Judah's history the accession-year system was again in use' (p. 41). In such a theory there is nothing intrinsically unreasonable, save that SNAITH has again expressed doubt about the likelihood of the assumed change in the time of Jehoash [1]), and its success in restoring order to the apparently contradictory data is in its favour.

Much more serious problems arise in relation to the eighth century B.C.. It is well known that the data concerning Hezekiah are particularly confusing. He appears to have been born when his father was one year old [2]), and different scholars have assigned his accession to at least three different dates according to which piece of Biblical evidence they based themselves on. Moreover, when Sargon's statement that Samaria fell in the first year of his reign is accepted some further difficulties arise. Here the author suggests that Samaria actually fell before Sargon's accession, but it is possible that he was in charge of the operations, and therefore perhaps understandably claims its capture (p. 127). THIELE dates the accession of Hezekiah in 716/15 B.C., so that his reign in no way overlapped with the reign of Hoshea. Here, at least, he is compelled to throw overboard the statements of 2 Kings xviii 1, 9, 10, which are irreconcilable with his theory, and also the statement of 2 Kings xvii 1, which puts the accession of Hoshea in the twelfth year of Ahaz. He does not merely jettison these verses, however, but offers an ingenious explanation of their error. By the assumption of co-regencies for Jotham and Ahaz, and the theory that Pekah claimed the years of the reigns of Menahem and Pekahiah as part of his own reign, THIELE reduces the over-all length of the period which would be yielded by the addition of the lengths of the reigns as given in the Bible, but supposes that a late writer, who was responsible for 2 Kings xvii 1, xviii 1, 9, 10, failed to understand his data and so falsely made Hezekiah's reign to overlap with Hoshea's. Here THIELE advances the complicated theory of what he calls 'Pattern Twelve-Thirteen', which is that this late writer made an error of twelve years for Judah and thirteen for Israel. Hence the true date of the twelfth year of Ahaz, 720/19 B.C., is equated with Hoshea's accession, which fell twelve years before in 732/31, while the correct date for Hezekiah's accession, 716/15 B.C., is made to fall in the third year of Hoshea, which was thirteen years earlier, in 729/28 B.C..

It is surprising that after this recognition of a late writer's ability to fall into error we should have a defence of the late statement in Dan. i 1 that Nebuchadnezzar captured Jerusalem in the third year of Jehoiakim. THIELE recognizes that the battle of Carchemish — called here the second battle — took place in the fourth year of Jehoiakim, in 604 B.C., but Berossus [3]) is cited for evidence that after the first battle of Carchemish

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[1]) *Ibid.*

[2]) Cf. 2 Kings xvi 1 f., where it is said that Ahaz was twenty years of age in the seventeenth year of Pekah, who reigned three more years (2 Kings xv 27), and 2 Kings xviii 20, where it is said that Hezekiah was twenty-five in the third year of Hoshea, who immediately followed Pekah (2 Kings xv 30).

[3]) Apud Josephus, *Antiquities* X, xi. 1.

in 608 B.C., Palestine fell into the hands of Nabopolassar. It is then argued that there was a revolt which Nebuchadnezzar was sent to suppress in 605 B.C., when, however, he was forced to make a hasty return to Babylon to secure the throne, the decisive battle of Carchemish taking place the following year. By this means Nebuchadnezzar is brought to Jerusalem in the third year of Jehoiakim, before the battle of Carchemish, which fell in the fourth year of Jehoiakim (Jer. xlvi 2), which was the accession year of Nebuchadnezzar (Jer. xxv 1).

Since Dan. i 1 states that Nebuchadnezzar was king of Babylon already in the third year of Jehoiakim, it is clear that THIELE finds one error in this verse. It is a pity to spoil a good book by this over-zealous defence of a date on which the main thesis of the book in no way depends. The course of events presupposed by THIELE is in every way improbable. He supposes that after the first battle of Carchemish in 608 B.C. Syria and Palestine came under Babylonian sway and a Babylonian governor was appointed. Within three years a revolt followed, which was reduced by Nebuchadnezzar. Since Berossus is appealed to as authority, it may be noted that he records that Nebuchadnezzar reduced the country to subjection and made it a branch of his own kingdom. Then, the following year, according to THIELE, Nebuchadnezzar found himself once more back at Carchemish where he had started, with a stronger confederation than ever against him, compelled to fight the decisive battle. Of this there is no hint in the surviving passage of Berossus. Moreover, in Jer. xxv 9 ff. we read that in the fourth year of Jehoiakim Jeremiah threatened the king with an attack by Nebuchadnezzar, without the slightest suggestion of a hint that twice within the previous four years Judah had come under the power of Nebuchadnezzar, and that the previous year he had besieged and captured the city and despoiled it of its treasures. It seems much wiser to let Dan. i 1 go along with the four passages in 2 Kings, since even this heroic defence of the reliability of the Biblical chronology cannot claim inerrancy.

At the end of the book stand a number of appendixes into which much valuable work has gone. The variant figures which stand in the Septuagint, in Lucian and in Josephus are examined, and it is shown that the Massoretic text is superior to them all, and that they rest on attempts to iron out the difficulties which the Massoretic figures seemed to involve. There is also a review of modern systems of Biblical chronology from Archbishop USSHER to the present time. For the immense amount of labour which has gone into the volume the reader will have only gratitude and admiration. To the author, and too often also to the reader, it is exacting work, and nowhere is it easy reading. Its thesis is one which cannot be rigidly established, and on a number of details it may be successfully criticized. Its great merit is that it succeeds in finding some order in the chaos, and that it offers principles whereby the contradictions may be resolved, even though the precise application of those principles may not be in all respects certain.

Manchester H. H. ROWLEY

BOOK LIST [1])

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[1]) The mention of books in this list neither implies nor precludes subsequent review at length.

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